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Jho Waite

R. Barley

OBSERVATIONS VPON CÆSARS COMENTARIES.

By CLEMENT EDMVNDES, *Remembrancer of the cittie of* LONDON.

To the PRINCE.

SIR:

HAuing ended this taske of Obſeruations, and according to your gratious pleaſure & command, ſupplied ſuch parts as were wanting to make vp the Totall of theſe Commentaries: it doth return again, by the loweſt ſteps of humbleneſſe, to implore the high patronage of your Princely fauour; Emboldened ſpecially becauſe it carieth Cæſar *and his Fortunes, as they come related from the ſame Author: which, in the deepe Iudgement of his moſt excellent* Maieſty, *is preferd aboue all other profane hiſtories; and ſo, commended, by his ſacred Authoritie, to your reading, as a cheefe paterne and Maiſter-peece of the Art of warre. And herein, your admired wiſedome, may happely the rather deeme it capable of freer paſſage, in that it is not altogether vnproper for theſe happie dayes; as knowing, that Warre is neuer*

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.

ſo well handled, as when it is made an Argument of diſcourſe in times of ſweete and plentious peace. The bleſſings whereof, may euer crowne your yeares; as the ſouueraigne good of this temporarie life, and the chiefeſt Ornaments of Princely condition.

The humbleſt

of your Highneſſe ſeruants,

CLEMENT EDMONDES.

In Clementis Edmondi *de re militari ad* Iul. Cæsaris *Commentarios Obseruationes.*

CVr creperos motus, & aperto prælia Marte
Edmondus nobis pace vigente refert?
Cur sensus mentésque Ducum rimatur, & effert?
Disertéque Anglos bellica multa docet?
Scilicet, vt mediâ meditetur prælia pace,
Anglia bellipotens, nec moriatur honos.
Prouidus hæc certè patriæ depromit in vsus,
Vt patriæ pacem qui cupit, arma parat.

Guil. Camdenus, *Cl.*

To my friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

WHo thus extracts, with more then Chymique Art,
The spirit of Bookes, shewes the true way to finde
Th' Elixer that our leaden Parts conuart
Into the golden Metall of the Minde.
Who thus obserues in such materiall kinde
The certaine Motions of hie Practises,
Knowes on what Center th' Actions of Mankinde
Turne in their course, and sees their fatalnes.
And hee that can make these obseruances,
Must be aboue his Booke, more then his Pen,
For, wee may be assur'd, hee men can ghesse,
That thus doth *CÆSAR* knowe; the Man of men,
Whose Work, im̃prov'd here to our greater gaine,
Makes *CÆSAR* more then *CÆSAR* to containe.

Sam. Danyell.

To his worthy friend, Maister Clement Edmonds.

OBseruing well what *Thou* hast well *Obseru'd*
In *CÆSARS Workes*, his *Warres*, and *Discipline*;
Whether His Pen hath earn'd more Praise, or Thine,
My shallow Censure doubtfully hath swerv'd.
If strange it were, if wonder it deserv'd,
That what *He wrought* so faire, *Hee wrote* so fine;
Me thinkes, It's stranger, that *Thy* learned Line
Should our best *Leaders* lead, not hauing *seru'd*.
But hereby (*Clement*) hast Thou made thee knowne
Able to counsaile, aptest to recorde
The Conquests of a *CÆSAR* of our owne;
HENRY, thy Patron, and my Princely Lord.
Whom (O!) Heav'n prosper, and protect from harmes,
In glorious Peace, and in victorious Armes.

IOSVAH SYLVESTER.

TO MY FRIEND, MAISTER CLEMENT EDMONDES.

Epigramme.

NOt *Cæsars* deedes; Nor all his honors wonne
In these West-parts; Nor, when that warre was done,
The name of *Pompey* for an Enemie;
Cato to boote; *Rome*, and her libertie;
All yeelding to his fortune: Nor, the while,
To haue ingrav'd these Acts with his owne stile;
And that so strong, and deepe, as might be thought
He wrote with the same spirit that hee fought;
Nor that his Worke liv'd, in the hands of foes,
Vn-argu'd then; and (yet) hath fame from those;
Not all these, *Edmondes*, or what else, put to
Can so speake *Cæsar*, as thy Labors doo.
For, where his person liv'd scarse one iust age,
And that 'midst enuy' and Parts; then, fell by rage;
His deedes too dying, saue in bookes: (whose good
How few haue read! how fewer vnderstood!)
Thy learned hand, and true Promethean Art,
As by a new creation, part by part,
In euerie councell, stratageme, designe,
Action, or Engine, worth a note of thine,
T'all future time, not only doth restore
His Life; but makes, that hee can dye no more.

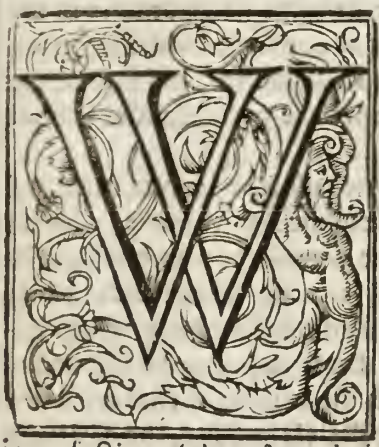
Ben. Ionson.

Another, of the same.

WHo, *Edmondes*, reades thy booke, and doth not see
What th'antique Souldiers were, the moderne be?
Wherein thou shew'st, how much the latter are
Beholden, to this Master of the Warre:
And that, in Action, there is nothing new,
More then to varie what our Elders knew.
Which all, but ignorant Captaines, will confesse:
Nor to giue *Caesar* this, makes ours the lesse.
Yet thou, perhaps, shalt meete some tongues, will grutch
That to the world thou shouldst reueale so mutch;
And, thence, depraue thee, and thy Worke: To those
Caesar stands vp, as from his vrne late rose
By thy great Art; and doth proclame, by mee,
They murder him againe, that enuie thee.

Ben. Ionson.

READING AND DISCOVRSE *are requisite, to make a Souldier perfect in the Arte* Militarie, how great soeuer his knowledge may be, which long experience, and much practice of *Armes hath gained.*



WHEN I consider the weaknes of mans iudgement, in censuring things best knowne vnto it selfe, and the disabilitie of his discourse, in discouering the nature of vnacquainted obiects; choosing rather to hold any sensible impression, which custome hath by long practice inured, then to hearken to some other more reasonable perswasion: I do not maruell that such souldiers, whose knowledge groweth onely frō experience, and consisteth in the rules of their owne practice, are hardly perswaded, that historie and speculatiue learning, are of any vse in perfecting of their Arte, being so different in nature from the principles of their cunning, and of so small affinity with the life of action; wherein the vse of Armes and atchieuements of war, seeme to haue their chiefest being. But those purer spirits, embelished with learning, and enriched with the knowledge of other mens fortunes (wherein varietie of accidents, affordeth varietie of instructions, and the mutuall conference of thinges happened, begetteth both similitudes and differences; contrarie natures, but yet ioyntly concurring to season our iudgement with discretion, and to enstall wisedome in the gouernment of the mind) These men, I say, mounting aloft with the winges of contemplation, doe easily discouer the ignorance of such Martialistes, as are only trained vp in the Schoole of practice, and taught their rudiments vnder a fewe yeeres experience, which serueth to interpret no other author but it selfe, nor can approoue his Maximes, but by his owne authoritie; and are rather moued to pittie their hard fortune, hauing learned onely to be ignorant, then to enuie their skill in matter of warre, when they oppose themselues against so manifest a truth as this: that A meer practicall knowledge, cannot make a perfect soldier.

 Which

Which proposition, that I may the better confirme, giue me leaue to reason a little of the grounds of learning, and dispute from the habitude of Artes and Sciences; which are then said to be perfectly attained, when their particular parts are in such sort apprehended, that from the varietie of that indiuidualitie, the intellectuall power frameth generall notions and maximes of rule, vniting tearmes of the same nature in one head, and distinguishing diuersities by differences of properties, aptly diuiding the whole body into his greatest and smallest branches, and fitting each part with his descriptions, duties, cautions, and exceptions. For, vnlesse the vnderstanding be in this sort qualified, and able by logisticall discourse, to ascend, by way of composition, from singularity to catholike conceptions; and returne againe the same way, to the lowest order of his partitions, the mind cannot bee saide to haue the perfection of that Arte, nor instructed in the true vse of that knowledge: but guiding herselfe by some broken precepts, feeleth more want by that shee hath not, then benefite by that she hath.

Whereby it followeth, that a Science diuided into many branches, & consisting in the multiplicitie of diuers members, being all so interessed in the Bulk, that a Maime of the smallest part, causeth either debilitie or deformitie in the bodie, cannot be said to be throughly attained, nor conceiued with such a profiting apprehension as steeleth the mind with true iudgement, and maketh the Scholler, Maister in his Arte, vnlesse the nature of these particularities bee first had and obtained.

And forasmuch as no one Science or faculty whatsoeuer, in multitude and pluralitie of parts, may anie way be comparable to the Art Militarie, wherein euery small and vnrespected circumstance, quite altereth the nature of the action, and breedeth such disparitie and difference, that the resemblance of their equall participating properties, is blemished with the dissimilitude of their disagreeing parts; it cannot bee denied, but hee that is acquainted with most of these particular occurrences, and best knoweth the varietie of chances in the course of warre, must needs be thought a more perfect souldier, and deserueth a title of greater dignitie in the profession of Armes, then such as content themselues with a fewe common precepts and ouer-worne rules: without which, as they cannot be said at all to be souldiers; so with them and no more, they no way deserue the name of skilfull and perfect men of war. Now whether meere experience, or experience ioyned with reading and discourse, doe feast the minde with more varietie and choice of matter, or entertaine knowledge with greater plentie of nouelties, incident to expeditions and vse of Armes, I will vse no other reason to determine of this question, then that which Franciscus Patricius alleadgeth in his Parallely, where he handleth this argument which I intreat of.

He that followeth a warre (saith he) doth see either the course of the whole, or but a part only. If his knowledge extend no farther then a part, he hath learned lesse then he that saw the whole: but admit he hath seene and learned the instructions of one whole warre; he hath notwithstanding learned lesse then he that hath seene the proceeding of two such warres. And hee againe hath not

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seene so much as another that hath serued in three seuerall warres: and so by degrees, a souldier that hath serued tenne yeeres, must needes knowe more then one that hath not serued so long. And to conclude, hee that hath receiued 22 yeeres stipend (which was the iust time of seruice amongst the Romans before a Souldier could be dismist) hath greater meanes of experience then another, that hath not so long a time followed the Campe, and cannot challenge a discharge by order and custome. And hence it consequently followeth, that if in one, or more, or all these warres, there haue happened few or no actions of seruice, which might teach a souldier the practice of Armes; that then his learning doth not counteruaile his labor. And if the war through the negligence, or ignorance of the chiefe Commanders, haue bin ill caried, he can boast of no knowledge, but that which acquainted him with the corruptions of Militarie discipline: if the part which he followed, were defeated and ouerthrowne, hee knoweth by experience how to lose, but not how to gaine. And therefore it is not only experience and practice which maketh a souldier worthy of his name; but the knowledge of the manifold accidents which rise frõ the varietie of humane actions; wherein reason and error, like Marchants in traffick, enterchange contrary euents of Fortune, giuing sometime copper for siluer, and balme for poyson, and repaying againe the like commoditie as time and circumstances doe answere their directions. And this knowledge is onely to be learned in the registers of Antiquitie and in histories, recording the motions of former ages.

Caius Iulius Cæsar (whose actions are the subiect of these discourses) after his famous victories in France, and that he had gotten the Prouinces of Spaine, broken the strength of the Romaine Empire at Pharsalia, was held a souldier surmounting enuie and all her exceptions: and yet notwithstanding all this, the battell he had with Pharnaces, king of Pontus, was like to haue buried the glorie of his former conquests, in the dishonourable memorie of a wilfull ouerthrow: for, hauing posset himselfe of a hill of great aduantage, he beganne to encampe himselfe in the toppe thereof. Which Pharnaces perceiuing (being lodged likewise with his Camp vpon a Mountaine confronting the Romaines) imbattelled his men, marched down from his camp into the valley, and mounted his forces vp the hill, where the Romans were busied about their intrenchments, to giue them battell. All which, Cæsar tooke but for a brauado: and measuring the enemy by himselfe, could not be perswaded that any such foolehardines could carry men headlong into so dangerous an aduenture, vntil they were come so neere, that he had scarce any time to call the legions from their worke, and to giue order for the battell. Which so amazed the Romaines, that vnlesse, as Cæsar himselfe saith, the aduantage of the place, and the benignitie of the Gods had greatly fauoured them, Pharnaces had at that time reuenged the ouerthrowe of Pompey & the Senat, and restored the Romaine Empire to liberty. Which may learne vs how necessary it is (besides experience, which in Cæsar was infinite) to perfect our knowledge with varietie of chances; and to meditate vpon the effects of other mens aduentures, that their harmes may be our warnings, and their happy proceedings our fortunate directions.

And albeit amongst so many decades of History, which pregnant wits haue

presented to these later ages, we seldome or neuer meet with any one accident which iumpeth in all points with another of the like nature, that shall happen to fall out in managing a warre, or setting forth of an Armie; and so doe seeme to reape little benefit by that wee read, and make small vse of our great trauell: Yet we must vnderstand, that in the Audit of Reason, there are many offices, which through the soueraigne power of the discursiue facultie, receiue great commodities, by whatsoeuer falleth vnder their iurisdiction, and suffer no action to passe without due triall of his nature, and examination of his state; that so the iudgement may not be defrauded of her reuenewes, nor the mind of her learning. For, notwithstanding disagreeing circumstances, and differences of formes, which seeme to cut-off the priuiledge of imitation, and frustrate the knowledge we haue obtained by reading: the intellectuall facultie hath authoritie to examine the vse, and looke into the inconueniences of these wants and diuersities, and by the helpe of reason, to turne it to her aduantage; or so to counterpoise the defect, that in triall and execution, it shall not appeare anie disaduantage. For, as in all other Sciences, and namely, in Geometry, of certaine bare elements, and common sentences, which sense admitteth to the apprehension, the powers of the soule frame admirable Theoremes and Problemes of infinite vse, proceeding with certaintie of demonstration, from proposition to proposition, and from conclusion to conclusion, and still make new wonders as they goe, besides the strangenesse of their Architecture, that vpon such plaine and easie foundations, they should erect such curious and beautiful buildings: so in the Arte Military, these examples, which are taken from histories, are but plaine kind of principles, on which the mind worketh to her best aduantage, and vseth reason with such dexteritie, that of inequalities, shee concludeth an equalitie, and of dissimilitudes most sweet resemblances; and so she worketh out her owne perfection by discourse, and in time groweth so absolute in knowledge, that her sufficiencie needeth no further directions. But as Lomazzo the Milinese, in that excellent worke which hee writ of picturing, saith of a skilfull Painter; that beeing to draw a portraiture of gracefull lineaments, will neuer stand to take the symmetry by scale, nor marke it out according to rule: but hauing his iudgement habituated by knowledge, and perfected with the varietie of shapes and proportions; his knowledge guideth his eye, and his eye directeth his hand, and his hand followeth both, with such facilitie of cunning, that each of them serue for a rule wherby the true measures of Nature are exactly expressed: The like may I say of a skilfull Souldier, or any Artizan in his facultie, when knowledge hath once purified his iudgement, and tuned it to the key of true apprehension.

Lib. 3.

And although there are many that will easily admit a reconciliation of this disagreement, in the resemblance of accidents being referred to the arbitrement of a well tempered spirit; yet they will by no meanes acknowledge, that those monstrous & inimitable examples of valour & magnanimity (wherof antiquity is prodigall, & spendeth as though time should neuer want such treasure) can any way auaile the maners of these daies, which if they were as they ought to be, wold appeare but counterfeit to the lustre of a golden age, nor yet cōpara-

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ble to ſiluer or braſſe, or the ſtrength of yron, but deſerue no better title then earth or clay, wherof the frame of this age conſiſteth. For, what reſemblance (ſay they) is between the cuſtoms of our times, & the actions of thoſe ancient Heroes? They obſerued equity as well in war as in peace: for, vertue rather flouriſhed by the naturall diſpoſition of men, then by lawe and authoritie; the tenure of their Empire was, valour in war, and concorde in peace; the greateſt treaſure which they eſteemed, were the deedes of Armes which they had atchieued for their country, adorning the temples of their gods with pietie, and their priuate houſes with glory, pardoning rather then proſecuting a wrong, and taking nothing from the vanquiſhed but ability of dooing iniury: But the courſe of our times hath another bias; for, couetouſneſſe hath ſubuerted both faith and equity, and our valour affecteth nothing but ambition, pride and cruelty tyrannize in our thoughts, and ſubtilty teacheth vs to carrie rather a faire countenance, then a good nature; our meanes of getting are by fraud & extortion, and our manner of ſpending is by waſte and prodigalitie; not eſteeming what we haue of our owne, but coueting that which is not ours; men effeminated & women impudent, vſing riches as ſeruants to wickedneſs, and preuenting Natures appetite with wanton luxurie; ſupplanting vertue with trechery, & vſing victory with ſuch impietie, as though *iniuriam facere*, were *imperio vti*: and therfore the exemplary patterns of former times wherin true honour is expreſſed, may ſerue to be gazed vpon, but no way to be imitated by this age, being too ſubtile to deale with honeſty, and wanting courage to incounter valour. I muſt needs confeſſe, that he that compareth the hiſtorie of Liuie with that of Guichardine, ſhall find great difference in the ſubiects which they handle; for, Liuie triumpheth in the conqueſts of vertue, and in euery page erecteth trophes vnto valour, making his diſcourſe like Cleanthes table, wherein vertue is deſcribed in her entire Maieſtie, and ſo ſweetned with the preſence & ſeruice of the Graces, that all they which behold her are rapt with admiration of her excellency, and charmed with the loue of her perfection: but Guichardine hath more then Theſeus taske to perform, being to winde through the labyrinths of ſubtilty, and diſcouer the quaint practices of polititians: wherein publike & open deſſignes are oftentimes but ſhadows of more ſecret proiects, and theſe againe ſerue as foiles to more eminent intentions; being alſo diſcoloured with diſſimulation, and ſo inſnared in the ſleights of ſubtiltie, that when you look for war, you ſhall find peace; and expecting peace, you ſhall fall into troubles, diſſenſions and wars: So crabbed and crooked is his argument in reſpect of Liuies fortune, and ſuch art is required to vnfolde the truth of theſe myſteries.

But to anſwere this obiection in a word, and ſo to proceed to that which followeth, I ſay thoſe immortall memories of vertue which former time recordeth, are more neceſſarily to be knowen, then any ſtratagems of ſubtler ages: for, equitie and valour being truely apprehended, ſo ſeaſon the motions of the ſoule, that albeit in ſo corrupt a courſe, they cannot peraduenture ſtir vp imitation; yet they oftentimes hinder many malicious practices, and diueliſh deuiſes, when euill is reproued by the knowledge of good, and condemned by the autho-

authority of better ages. And if we will needs follow those steppes which the present course of the world hath traced, and plaie the Cretian with the Cretian; this obiection hindereth nothing, but that historie, especially these of later times, affordeth sufficient instructions to make a Souldier perfect in that point.

Let not therefore any man despise the sound instructions which learning affordeth, nor refuse the helpes that history doth offer to perfect the weakness of a short experience; especially when no worth can counteruaile the waight of so great a businesse: for, I take the office of a chiefe Commander, to be a subiect capable of the greatest wisdome that may be apprehended by naturall meanes; being to manage a multitude of disagreeing mindes, as a fit instrument to execute a dessigne of much consequence and great expectation, and to qualifie both their affections and apprehensions according to the accidents which rise in the course of his directions; besides the true iudgement, which he ought to haue of such circumstances as are most important to a fortunate end: wherein our prouidence cannot haue enough eyther from learning or experience, to preuent disaduantages, or to take holde of opportunities. Neither can it be denied, but as this knowledge addeth perfection to our iudgement, so it serueth also as a spur to glory, and increaseth the desire of honour in such as beholde the atchiuements of vertue, commended to a perpetuall posteritie, hauing themselues the like meanes to consecrate their memory to succeeding ages, wherein they may serue for examples of valour, and reap the reward of true honour. Or to conclude, if we thirst after the knowledge of our owne fortune, & long to foresee the end of that race which wee haue taken, which is the chiefest matter of consequence in the vse of Arms; what better coniecture can be made, then to looke into the course of former times, which haue proceeded from like beginnings, and were continued with like meanes, and therefore not vnlikely to sort vnto like ends?

And now if it be demanded whether reading or practice haue the first place in this Art, and serueth as a foundation to the rest of the building? Let Marius answer this question: who enuying at the nobilitie of Rome, saith thus; *Qui post quã consules facti sunt, acta Maiorum & Græcorũ militaria præcepta legere cœperint: homines præposteri, nam legere quam fieri, tempore posterius, re & vsu prius est.* Whereas (saith he) reading ought to go before practice (although it follow it in course of time; for, their is no reading, but of some thing practiced before.) these preposterous men, after they are made Consuls and placed at the helme of gouernment, begin to read, when they should practice that which they had read; and so bewray their insufficiencie of knowledge, by vsing out of time that, which in time is most necessarie. This testimonie gaue Marius of reading & book-learning, being himselfe an enemy to the same, forasmuch as al his knowledge came by meer experience. But howsoeuer; his iudgement was good in this poynt: for, since that all motion and action proceedeth from the soule, and cannot well be produced, vntill the Idea thereof be first imprinted in the minde, according to which patterne the outward being and sensible resemblance is duely fashioned; how is it possible that any action can be well expressed,

Salust. de bello Iugur.

ſed, when the minde is not directed by knowledge to diſpoſe it in that ſort, as ſhall beſt agree with the occurrents of ſuch natures, as are neceſſarily intereſſed both in the means and in the end thereof? And therfore ſpeculatiue knowledge as the Tramontane, to direct the courſe of all practice, is firſt to bee reſpected.

But that I may not ſeeme partiall in this controuerſie, but carrie an equall hand betweene two ſo neceſſarie yoak-fellowes, giue me leaue to conclude in a word, the benefite of practice, and define the good which commeth from experience; that ſo nothing that hath beene ſpoken may ſeeme to come from affection, or proceed from the forge of vniuſt partiality. And firſt it cannot bee denied, but that practice giueth boldneſſe and aſſurance in action, and maketh mē expert in ſuch things they take in hand: for, no man can reſt vpon ſuch certainty, through the theorike of knowledge, as he that hath ſeene his learning verified by practice, and acknowledged by the teſtimonie of aſſured proof: beſides, there are many other accomplements gotten onely by practice, which grace the preſence of knowledge, and giue credit to that which we haue read; as firſt to learn the vſe & aduantage of the Arms which we beare; ſecondly, by frequent aſpect & familiarity of dangers, and accidents of terror, to learne to feare nothing but diſhonour, to make no difference between heate and colde, ſommer and winter, to ſleepe in all places as on a bed, and at the ſame time to take pains & ſuffer penury, with many other difficulties which cuſtom maketh eaſie, and cannot be gotten but by vſe and practice.

And thus at length, I haue brought a ſhallow diſcourſe to an abrupt end, wiſhing with greater zeale of affection then I am able with manifeſt proof of reaſon, to demonſtrate the neceſſitie, that both theſe parts were by our ſoldiers ſo regarded, that neither practice might march in obinate blindneſſe without learned knowledge; nor this againe be entertained with an idle apprehenſion without practice: but that both of them may be reſpected, as neceſſarie partes to make a compleat nature; wherin knowledge as the intellectuall part giueth life and ſpirit to the action, and practice as the materiall ſubſtance maketh it of a ſenſible being, and like a skilfull workman expreſſeth the excellency, which knowledge hath fore-conceiued: wiſhing no man to deſpaire of effecting that by practice, which the Theorike of knowledge commendeth. For, *Cur deſperes nunc poſſe fieri, quod iam toties factum eſt?*

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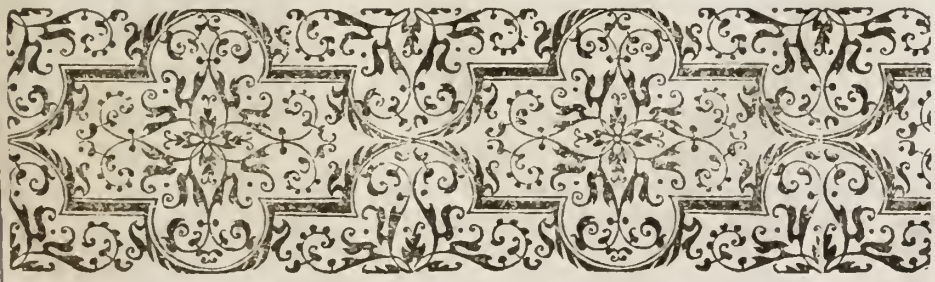


THE SVMME OF THE FIRST BOOKE OF CÆSARS COMMENTARIES; WITH OBSERVATIONS VPON THE ſame; diſcouering the excellencie of *Cæſars Militia.*

THE ARGVMENT.

IN this firſt booke, are contained the ſpecialities of two great warres, begun and ended both in a Summer: the firſt, between Cæſar & the Heluetij: the ſecond, between him & Ariouiſtus, king of the Germans. The hiſtory of the Heluetians, may be reduced to three principall heads: vnder the firſt, are the reaſons that moued the Heluetians to entertaine ſo deſperate an expedition, & the preparation which they made for the ſame. The ſecond, containeth their defeat by Cæſar: and the third, their returne into their Country. That of Ariouiſtus, diuideth it ſelfe into two parts: the firſt giueth the cauſes that induced Cæſar to vndertake that war: the ſecond, intreateth of the war it ſelfe, and particularly deſcribeth Ariouiſtus ouerthrow. *Suitchers.*

CHAP. I.

Gallia deſcribed: the Heluetians diſlike their natiue *ſeate, and propound to themſelues larger territories in* the Continent of Gallia. Orgetorix feedeth *this humour, for his owne ad-* uantage.

ALLIA is all diuided into three parts; vvhereof the Belges do inhabite one, the Aquitanes another, & thoſe which they call Celtes, & we, Galles, a third: all theſe do differ each from other in maners, language, & in lawes. The riuer Garun doth ſeparate the Galles from the Aquitans, and Marne & Seine doe bound them from the Belges: of theſe the Belges are moſt warlike; as furtheſt off the ciuilitie & politure of the Prouince, & leſſe frequēted with Merchāts, or acquainted with ſuch things as are by thē imported to effeminate mens minds: as likewiſe being ſyted next to the Germans beyond the Rhene, with whō they haue continuall wars. For which cauſe alſo the Heluetians *Matrona.* *Sequana.*

doe excell the reſt of the Galles in deeds of Armes, being in daily conflicts vvith the Germaines, for defence of their owne territories, or by inuading theirs. The part inhabited by the Galles, beginneth at the riuer Rhone, and is bounded vvith Garun, the Ocean, and the confines of the Belges; and reaching alſo to the Rhene, as a Linet from the Sequans & Heluetians, it ſtretcheth northward. The Belges take their beginning at the extreame confines of Gallia, and inhabit the Country which lieth along the lower part of the Rhene, trindling to the North, and to the Eaſt. Aquitania ſpreadeth it ſelf between the riuer Garun & the Pyrenean hils, and butteth vpon the Spaniſh Ocean, between the Weſt and the North.

Amongſt the Heluetians, Orgetorix did far exceed all others, both for noble diſcent and ſtore of treaſure: & when M. Meſſala and M. Piſo were Conſuls, being ſtirred vp with the deſire of a kingdom, he mooued the Nobilitie to a commotion; perſwading the State to goe out of their confines with their whole povver: as an eaſie matter for them, that excelled all other in valour & prowes, to ſeize vpon the Empire of all Gallia. To which he did the rather perſwade thē, for-that the Heluetians were on euery ſide ſhut vp, by the ſtrength & nature of the place vvherein they dwelt; on the one ſide, vvith the depth and breadth of the riuer Rhene, which diuideth their Country frō the Germaines; on the other ſide, with the high ridge of the hill Iura, which runneth between them & the Sequans: & on the third part, they vvere flanked with the lake Lemanus, & the riuer Rhone, parting their territories from our Prouince.

Hence it happened, that being thus ſtraightened, they could not eaſily enlarge themſelues, or make war vpon the bordering Countries: and thereupon, beeing men wholly bent to Armes and war, were much grieued, as hauing too little elbow-roome for their multitude of people, and the renowne they had got of their valor; their whole country cōtaining but 211 miles in length, & 180 in breadth. Spurred on with theſe inducements, and mooued ſpecially with the authority of Orgetorix, they reſolued to make prouiſion of ſuch things as vvere requiſite for their expedition; bought great number of Carres, and horſes, for cariages; ſowed much tillage, that they might haue plentie of Corne in their iourney; made peace and amity with the confining Countries. For the perfiting and ſupply of vvhich things, they tooke 2 yeers to be ſufficient; and in the third, enacted their ſetting forward by a ſolemne Law, aſsigning Orgetorix to giue order for that which remained.

Curandum vicinis populis vt pax inter vicinos populos colatur.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

E that will examine this expedition of the Heluetians, by the tranſmigrations and flittings of other Nations, ſhall find ſome vnexampled particularities in the courſe of their proceeding: for, firſt it hath neuer beene heard, that any people vtterly abandoned that Country which Nature or prouidence had allotted thē, vnleſs they were driuen thervnto by a generall calamity, as the infection of the aire, the cruelty & oppreſsion of a neighbor nation, as were the Sueuians, who thought it great honor to ſuffer no man to border vpon their confines; or ſome

ſome other vniuerſall, which made the place inhabitable, and the people willing to vndertake a voluntarie exile. But oftentimes we read, that when the inhabitants of a Countrey were ſo multiplied, that the place was ouer-charged with multitudes of ofspring; and like a poore father, had more children then it was able to ſuſtaine, the abounding ſurplus was ſent out to ſeek new fortunes in forraine Countries, and to poſſeſſe themſelues of a reſting ſeate; which might recompence the wants of their natiue Country, with a plentious reuenue of neceſſary ſupplements. And in this ſort, wee read that Rome ſent out many Colonies into diuers parts of her Empire. And in this manner the ancient Galles disburdened themſelues of their ſuperfluitie, and ſent them into Aſia. The Gothes came from the Ilands of the Baltick ſea, & in Sulla his time, ſwarmed ouer Germanie: beſides many other Nations, whoſe tranſmigrations are particularly deſcribed by Lazius. But amongſt all theſe, we find none that ſo forſooke their Country, but there remained ſome behind to inhabit the ſame; from whence, as from a fountaine, ſucceeding ages might deriue the ſtreame of that ouer-flowing multitude, and by them take notice of the cauſes, which mooued them vnto it. For, their manner was in all ſuch expeditions, and ſending out of Colonies, to diuide themſelues into two or three parts, equall both in equalitie and number: for, after they had parted their common people into euen companies, they diuided their Nobility with as great equalitie as they could, among the former partitions: & then caſting lots, that part which went out to ſeeke new aduentures, left their lands & poſſeſſions to the reſt that remained at home; and ſo by induſtrie, they ſupplied that defect which continuance of time had drawne vpon them. And this was the meanes, which the firſt inhabitants of the earth found out after the floud, to people the vnhabited places, and to keepe off the inconueniences of ſcarcitie and famine.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

E that would prognoſticate by the courſe of theſe ſeuerall proceedings, whether of the two betokened better ſucceſſe, hath greater reaſon to foretell happineſſe to theſe which I laſt ſpake of, then to the Heluetians; vnleſſe their valour were the greater, and quitted all difficulties which hatred and enuie would caſt vpon them: for, an action which ſauoureth of neceſsitie (which was alwaies vnderſtood in ſending out a Colonie) hath a more plauſible paſport amongſt men, then that which proceedeth from a proud voluntarie motion. For, as men can bee content to tolerate the one, if it concerne not their particular; ſo on the other ſide, they count it gaine to puniſh pride with ſhame, and to oppoſe themſelues againſt the other.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

ORgetorix, thirsting after princely dignitie, discouereth the humour of vaine-glorie. For, not contented with the substance of honour, beeing alreadie of greatest power amongst the Heluetians, & ordering the affaires of the State by his owne direction, thought it nothing without the marks and title of dignitie, vnto which the inconueniences of Maiestie are annexed: not considering that the best honor, sitteth not alwaies in imperiall thrones, nor weareth the Diadems of Princes; but oftentimes resteth it selfe in meaner places, and shineth better with obscurer titles.

For proofe whereof, to omit antiquitie, take the familie of the Medices in Florence, and particularlie, Cosimo and Lorenzo, whose vertue raised them to that height of honour, that they were nothing inferiour to the greatest Potentates of their time, beeing themselues but priuate Gentlemen in that State, and bearing their proper names as their greatest titles. But howsoeuer; the opportunitie of changing their soile, was well obserued by Orgetorix, as the fittest meanes to attempt an innouation: but the successe depended much vpon the fortunate proceeding of their expedition.

For, as a multitude of that nature, can bee content to attribute a great part of their happinesse, wherein euery man thinketh himselfe particularly interessed, to an eminent Leader; & in that vniuersall extasie of ioy, will easilie admit an alteration of their State: so, if the issue be in any respect vnfortunate, no man will acknowledge himselfe faultie; but, euery one desiring to discharge his passion vpon some obiect, a chiefe director is likeliest to be the mark, at which the darts of their discontent will be throwne; and then he will find it hard to effect what he intendeth.

CHAP. II.

Orgetorix practices are discouered: his death. The *Heluetians continue the resolution of their expedition*, and prepare themselues *accordingly.*

Cæsar.

ORgetorix, thereupon, vndertook imploiment to the adioyning States; and first perswaded Casticus, the sonne of Catamantalides, a Sequan (vvhose father had for many yeeres raigned in that place, and was by the Senate and people of Rome, stiled vvith the title of a Friend) to possesse himselfe of the Signiorie of that State vvhich his Father formerly inioyed: and in like manner, dealt vvith Dumnorix the Heduan, Diuitiacus brother (who at that time was the onely man of that Prouince, & verie well beloued of the

the Commons) to indeauour the like there; and vvithall, gaue him his daughter in mariage: shewing them by liuely reasons, that it was an easie matter to effect their designes; for that he being sure of the soueraigntie of his State, there was no doubt but the Heluetians would doe much throughout all Gallia, and so made no question to settle them in those kingdoms, with his power and forces. Drawne on with these inducements, they gaue faith and oath each to other, hoping vvith the support of the soueraigntie of three mightie Nations, to possesse themselues of all Gallia.

This thing beeing discouered, the Heluetians (according to their customes) caused Orgetorix to aunswere the matter in Durance: whose punishment vpon the Attaint, was to be burned aliue. Against the day of triall, Orgetorix had got together all his Family, to the number of ten thousand men, besides diuers followers, and others far indebted, which were many; by whose meanes hee escaped a iudiciall hearing. The people, thereupon, being much incensed, agreed, the Magistrate should execute their lawes with force of Armes, and to that end, should raise the Country: but in the meane time, Orgetorix was found dead, not without suspicion (as was conceiued) that he himselfe was guilty thereof.

Notwithstanding his death, the Heluetians did pursue their former designe of leauing their Countrey: and when they thought themselues readie prepared, they set fire on all their Townes (vvhich were in number 12) together with foure hundred Villages, besides priuate houses, and burnt likewise all the Corne, saue that they caried with them; that al hope of returne being taken away, they might be the readier to vndergoe all hazards: And cõmaunded that euery man should carie so much Meale with him, as would serue for three Months.

*Moreouer also, they perswaded the Rauraci, the Tulingi and Latobrigi, their neighbour borderers, that putting on the same resolution, they would set fire on all their habitations, and goe along with them. And likewise tooke vnto them the Boij, which had dwelt beyond the Rheine, but were now seated in the Territories of the Norici, and had taken the capitall towne of that Countrey. There were onely two waies which gaue them passage out of their Countrey: the one through the Sequans, very narrow and difficult, betweene the Hill Iura, & the Riuer Rhone, by which a single Cart could scarce passe; and had a high hill hanging ouer, that a small force might easily hinder them. The other, was through our Prouince, farre easier and readier; forasmuch as the riuer Rhone, running betweene the Heluetians and the * Allobroges (vvho were lately brought in obedience to the people of Rome) did giue passage in diuers places by Foordes.* * Sauoyens.

The vtmost towne belonging to the Allobroges, that bordereth vpon the Heluetians, is Geneua; wherevnto adioyneth a bridge leading to the Heluetians; vvho doubted not but to perswade the Allobroges (that seemed as yet to cary no great affection to the people of Rome) or at least, to force them to giue them passage. Things beeing now ready for their iourney, they assigned a day vvhen all should meete together vpon the banks of Rhone: vvhich day was the first of the Calends of Aprill, in the Consulship of Lu. Piso, and A. Gabinius.

OBSERVATION.

The omission in the Heluetian expedition.

AS these prouisoes were all requisite; so one thing was omitted, which might haue furthered their good fortune more then any thing thought of: which was, to haue concealed by all meanes the time of their departure. For, all the beasts of the wood must needs stand at gaze, when such Lions rouſed themselues out of their dennes; and be then very watchfull of their safetie when they knew the instant of time, when some of their spoiles must needs bee offered to appease their furie. Or at the least, it behooued them so to haue dealt by hostages and treatie, that such as were likeliest, and best able to crosse their designements, might haue been no hinderance of their proceedings: considering there were but two waies out of their Countrey by which they might goe; the one narrow and difficult, betweene the hill Iura and the riuer Rhone, by the Countrey of the Sequani: the other through Prouence, far easier and shorter, but not to be taken but by the permission of the Romaines. But how-so-euer; their errour was, that after two yeeres prouision to goe, and hauing made an exterminating decree which inioyned them to goe, when they came to the point, they knew not what way to goe.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar denieth the Heluetians passage through the *Romane Prouince: he fortifieth the passage* betweene the hill Iura, and the *lake of Geneua.*

Cæsar.

** Rome.*

*AS soone as Cæsar was aduertised, that their purpose vvas to passe thorough our Prouince, he hasted to leaue the * Cittie, & posting by great iourneys into the further Gallia, he came to Geneua. And inrolling great forces throughout all the Prouince, for that there was but one legion in those parts, he brake downe the bridge at Geneua.*

The Heluetians, hauing intelligence of Cæsars arriuall, they sent diuers of the best of their Nobility, Embassadours vnto him, whereof Numeius & Veredoctius vvere the chiefe; to giue him notice, that they had a purpose to passe peaceably through the Prouince, hauing no other way to goe: & therein to pray his sufferance and permission.

Cæsar, well remembring how Lu. Cassius the Consull was slaine, his Armie beaten, and the souldiers put vnder the yoke, did not hold it conuenient to grant their request. Neither did hee thinke that men so ill affected, could forbeare to offer wrongs & insolencies, if leaue were giuen them as was required. Howbeit, for the better gaining of time, and getting such forces together as vvere caused to

to be inrolled, he answered the Commissioners that he would take a time of deliberation; and to that end, willed them to returne againe by the Ides of Aprill. And, in the meane time, with that legion he had ready, and the souldiers that came out of the Prouince, he made a ditch, and a vvall of sixteene foot in height, from the lake Lemanus, which runneth into the Rhone, to the hill Iura, that diuideth the Sequans from the Heluetians, beeing in length nineteene miles; and disposed guarizons and fortresses along the worke, the better to impeach them, if happely they went about to breake out by force.

At the day appointed, when the Embassadours returned, for a resolution, he vtterly denied to giue any leaue to passe through the Prouince; hauing neither custome nor president from the people of Rome, to vvarrant him in that kind. And if they should endeauour it by force of Armes, he would oppugne them.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis manner of prolonging of time, to renforce the troupes or get some other aduantage, as it was then of great vse to Cæsar, and hath oftentimes been practised to good purpose; so doth it discouer to a circumspect enemie, by the directions in the meane time (which cannot easily be shadowed) the drift of that delay; and so inuiteth him vvith greater courage, to take the opportunitie of that present aduantage; especially if tract of time may strengthen the one, and not further the other: which is easily discerned by the circumstances of the action.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe request of the Heluetians seemed to deserue a facile answer; being in effect no more then Nature had giuen to the riuer Rhone: which was to passe through the Prouince, with as much speed & as little hurt as they could: But Cæsar, looking further into the matter, and comparing things already past, with occurrences that were to follow after, found the maiestie of the Romane Empire to be interessed in the answer; beeing either to maintaine her greatnes, by resisting her enemies, or to degenerate from ancient vertue, by gratifying such as sought her ruine: which in matter of State, are things of great consequence. And further, hee knew it to be an vnsafe course, to suffer an enemie to haue meanes of doing hurt; considering that the nature of man is alwaies prone to loade him with further wrongs whom hee hath once iniuried: not but that he could peraduenture be content to end the quarrell vpon that aduantage; but fearing the other, whom he wronged, to expect but an opportunitie of reuenge, he gets what aduantage he can before hand, and so ceaseth not, vntill he haue added a bloody end to an iniurious beginning.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Oncerning this maruellous fortification, between the hill & the lake, how ſeruiceable ſuch works were vnto him in all his wars; in what ſort, and in how ſmall a time they were made; I will deferre the treatiſe of them vntill I come to the height of Aleſia, where he gaue ſome ground of that hyperbolicall ſpeech: *An me deleto, non animaduertebatis decem habere lectas quidem legiones populum Romanum, quæ non ſolum vobis obſiſtere ſed etiam cœlum diruere poſſent?*

CHAP. IIII.

The Heluetians, failing to paſſe the Rhone, take the way through the Countrey of the Sequani. Cæſar haſteth into Italie, and there inrolleth more legions: and returning, ouer-throweth part of them at the riuer Arar.

Cæſar.

He Heluetians, fruſtrated of their former hope, went about, ſome vvith boats coupled together, others with Flats (wherof they made great ſtore) the reſt, by foords and places where the Riuer vvas ſhallowe, ſometimes in the day, and oftentimes in the night, to breake out: but beeing beaten back by the helpe of the fortification, and the concourſe of ſouldiers, and multitude of vveapons, they deſiſted from that attempt.

There was onely another way left, through the Sequans, which they could not take, by reaſon of the narrowneſſe therof, but by the fauour of the Country. And foraſmuch, as of themſelues they were able to preuaile little therein, they ſent Meſſengers to Dumnorix the Heduan, that by his mediation, they might obtaine ſo much of the Sequans. Dumnorix, vvhat through fauour and bountious cariage, was of great power in his Country, much affecting the Heluetians, by reaſon of his mariage with Orgetorix daughter: & drawne on with a deſire of a kingdome, gaue his mind to new proiects; labouring to gratifie many States, to tie them the rather to fauour his courſes. And there-vpon, vndertaking the buſineſſe, got the Sequans to giue the Heluetians leaue to paſſe through their Confines; giuing each other Pledges, that the Sequans ſhould not interrupt the Heluetians in their iourney: nor they, offer any iniury to the Country.

It was told Cæſar, that the Heluetians vvere determined to paſſe through the Territories of the Sequans and Heduans, on the confines of the Santons, vvho are not farre from the borders of the Tholeſans, a people of the Prouince: which if they did, he foreſaw how dangerous it would be, to haue a warlike Nation, and ſuch as were enemies to the people of Rome, to come ſo neere them; and to haue the aduantage of an open and plentious Country.

For

For which causes, he left T. Labienus a Legat, to commaund those works, and he himselfe made great iourneis to get into Italy; vvhere he inrolled two legions, and tooke 3 more out of their wintering Camps, neer about Aquileia: and vvith with these fiue legions, went the next way ouer the Alps, into the further Gallia. Where, by the way, the Centrons, Garocles, and Caturiges, taking aduantage of the open ground, did seek to keep the Army from passage: but, being beaten and put off by many skirmages, they came in seauen daies from Ocellum, a towne in the furthest parts of the neerer Prouince, into the confines of the Vocontij, a people of the further Prouince: from whence he led them into the territories of the Allobroges; and so vnto the Sabusians, that are the first beyond the Rhene, bordering vpon the Prouince.

By that time, the Heluetians had caried their forces through the straights, and frontiers of the Sequans, into the Dominions of the Heduans, and began to forrage & pillage their Country. Who, finding themselues vnable to make resistance, sent Messengers to Cæsar, to require aide; shewing their deserts to be such from time to time of the people of Rome, that might challenge a greater respect, then to haue their Country spoiled, their children led into captiuity, their townes assaulted and taken, as it were in the sight of the Romaine Army. At the same instant likewise, the Ambarri, that had dependancy & alliance with the Heduans, aduertised Cæsar, that their Country was vtterly wasted, and they scarce able to keep the Enemy from entering their townes. In like manner also, the Allobroges, that had farmes and possessions beyond the Rhone, fled directly to Cæsar, complayning that there was nothing left them but the soile of their Country.

*With which aduertisements, Cæsar was so mooued, that he thought it not conuenient to linger further, or expect vntill the fortunes of their Allies were all vvasted, and that the Heluetians vvere come vnto the Zantones. The *riuer Arar, that runneth through the confines of the Heduans and Sequans, into the Rhone, passeth away with such a stilnes, that by view of the eye, it can hardly be discerned which vvay the vvater taketh. This riuer did the Heluetians passe ouer, by Flotes, & bridges of boats. When Cæsar vvas aduertised by his Discouerers, that three parts of their forces were already past the vvater, and that the fourth was left behind on this side the riuer; about the third watch of the night he vvent out of the Camp vvith three legions, and surprising that part vvhich was not as yet gotte ouer the riuer, slew a great part of them: the rest fled into the next vvoods.*

** Soane.*

Zuricke.

This part vvas the Tigurine Canton: and the Heluetians beeing all parted into foure diuisions, this Canton alone, in the memory of our fathers, slew L. Cassius the Consull, and put his Army vnder the Yoke. So, whether it were by chaunce, or the prouidence of the Gods, that part of the Heluetian State, which gaue so great a blowe to the Romaine people, was the first that did penance for the same. Wherin, Cæsar tooke reuenge, not onely of the publique, but of his particular loss; forasmuch as the Tigurines, had in that battell, with Cassius, slaine L. Piso, the Grandfather of L. Piso, his father in law.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis defeat beeing chiefely a ſeruice of execution, vpon ſuch as were taken at a dangerous diſaduantage, which men call vnaware, containeth theſe two aduiſoes. Firſt, not to neglect that aduantage which Sertorius by the haires of his horſe taile hath prooued to bee very important; that beginning with a part, it is a matter of no difficultie to ouercome the whole. Secondly, it may ſerue for a caueat, ſo to tranſport an Armie ouer a water, where the enemie is within a reaſonable march, that no part may be ſo ſeuered from the bodie of the Armie, that aduantage may thereby be taken to cut them off altogether, and ſeparate them from themſelues. The ſafeſt and moſt honourable way, to tranſport an Armie ouer a riuer, is by a bridge, placing at each end ſufficient troopes of horſe and foot, to defend the Armie from ſuddaine aſſaults, as they paſſe ouer the water; and thus went Cæſar ouer the Rhene into Germanie, two ſeuerall times.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The manner of their watch.

COncerning the circumſtance of time, when Cæſar went out of his Campe, which is noted to be in the third watch, we muſt vnderſtand, that the Romans diuided the whole night into 4 vvatches, euery watch containing three houres: and theſe vvatches were diſtinguiſhed by ſeuerall notes and ſound of Cornets or Trumpets; that by the diſtinction and diuerſitie thereof, it might eaſily bee knowne what watch was ſounded. The charge and office of ſounding the watches, belonged to the chieſeſt Centurion of a legion, whom they called Primipilus, or Primus Centurio; at whoſe pauilion the Trumpetters attended, to be directed by his houre-glaſſe.

The firſt watch began alwaies at ſunne-ſetting, and continued three houres (I vnderſtand ſuch houres as the night contained, beeing diuided into twelue: for, the Romaines diuided their night as well as their day into twelue equall ſpaces, which they called houres): the ſecond watch cõtinued vntill midnight; and then the third watch began, & contained likewiſe three houres; the fourth was equall to the reſt, and continued vntill ſunne-riſing. So that by this phraſe *de tertia vigilia*, we vnderſtand, that Cæſar went out of his Campe in the third watch; which was after midnight: and ſo we muſt conceiue of the reſt of the watches, as often as we ſhall find them mentioned in hiſtorie.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar passeth ouer the riuer Arar: his horsemen *incountred with the Heluetians, and were* put to the worse.

AFter this ouerthrowe, he caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer Arar, and caried ouer his Army, to pursue the rest of the Heluetian forces. The Heluetians, much daunted at his suddaine comming, that had gotte ouer the riuer in one day, which they could scarce doe in twentie, sent Embassadours vnto him, of vvhom Dinico was chiefe, that commaunded the Heluetians in the warre against Cassius: who dealt with Cæsar to this effect; That if the people of Rome would make peace with the Heluetians, they would go into any part which Cæsar should appoint them: but, if otherwise he would prosecute warre, that he should remember the ouerthrowe which the people of Rome receiued by their valour; and not to attribute it to their owne woorth, that they had surprized at vnawares a part of their Army, when such as had passed the riuer could not come to succour them. They had learned of their fore-fathers, to contend rather by valour, then by craft and deuices; and therefore, let him beware, that the place vvherein they now vvere, did not get a Name, or carie the marke to all future ages, of an eminent calamity to the people of Rome, & of the vtter destruction of his Army. Cæsar.

To this, Cæsar answered; That he made the lesse doubt of the successe of these businesses, in that he vvell remembred and knew those things, which the Heluetian Commissioners had related: and was so much the rather grieued thereat, because it happened without any cause or desert of the people of Rome; who, if he were guiltie of any wrong done vnto them, it vvere a matter of no difficultie to beware of their practices: but therein was his errour, that he could thinke of nothing which he had committed, that might cause him to feare: neither could he feare without occasion. And, if he would let passe former insolencies, could hee forget those late & fresh iniuries? in that they had attempted to pass through the Prouince by force of Armes, sacked and pillaged the Heduans, Ambars, & Allobrogians? that did so insolently vaunt of their victorie, admiring that these iniuries were suffered so long time to rest vnreuenged; came all in the end to one passe. For, the immortall Gods vvere vvont sometimes to giue happinesse and long impunitie to men; that by the greater alteration of things, the punishment should be the more grieuous for their offences. Howbeit, if they vvould giue Hostages for the performance of those things which were to be agreed vpon, and satisfie the Heduans and Allobrogians, together with their Allies, for the iniuries they had done vnto them, he would be content to make peace with them.

Dinico replied, that they were taught by their Ancestors, to take Hostages, rather then to giue them, whereof the people of Rome were witnesses: and there-

vpon

vpon departed. The next day they remooued the Campe, and the like did Cæsar, sending all his horse before, to the number of foure thousand (which he had raised in the Prouince, and drawne from the Heduans, & there Associates) to vnderstand which way the Enemy tooke: vvho, prosecuting the reare-ward ouerhotly, were forced to vndertake the Heluetian Caualry, in a place of disaduauntage; and thereby lost some few of their Company.

The Enemy, made proud with that encounter, hauing with fiue hundred horse beaten so great a multitude, did afterwards make head vvith more assurance; and sometimes stuck not to sally out of the Reareward, and assault our Partie. Cæsar kept backe his men from fighting; and held it enough for the present, to keepe the Enemy from spoiling and harrying the Country: and went on for fifteen daies together, in such manner, as there were but fiue or sixe miles between the first troopes of our Armie, and the Rearward of theirs.

OBSERVATION.

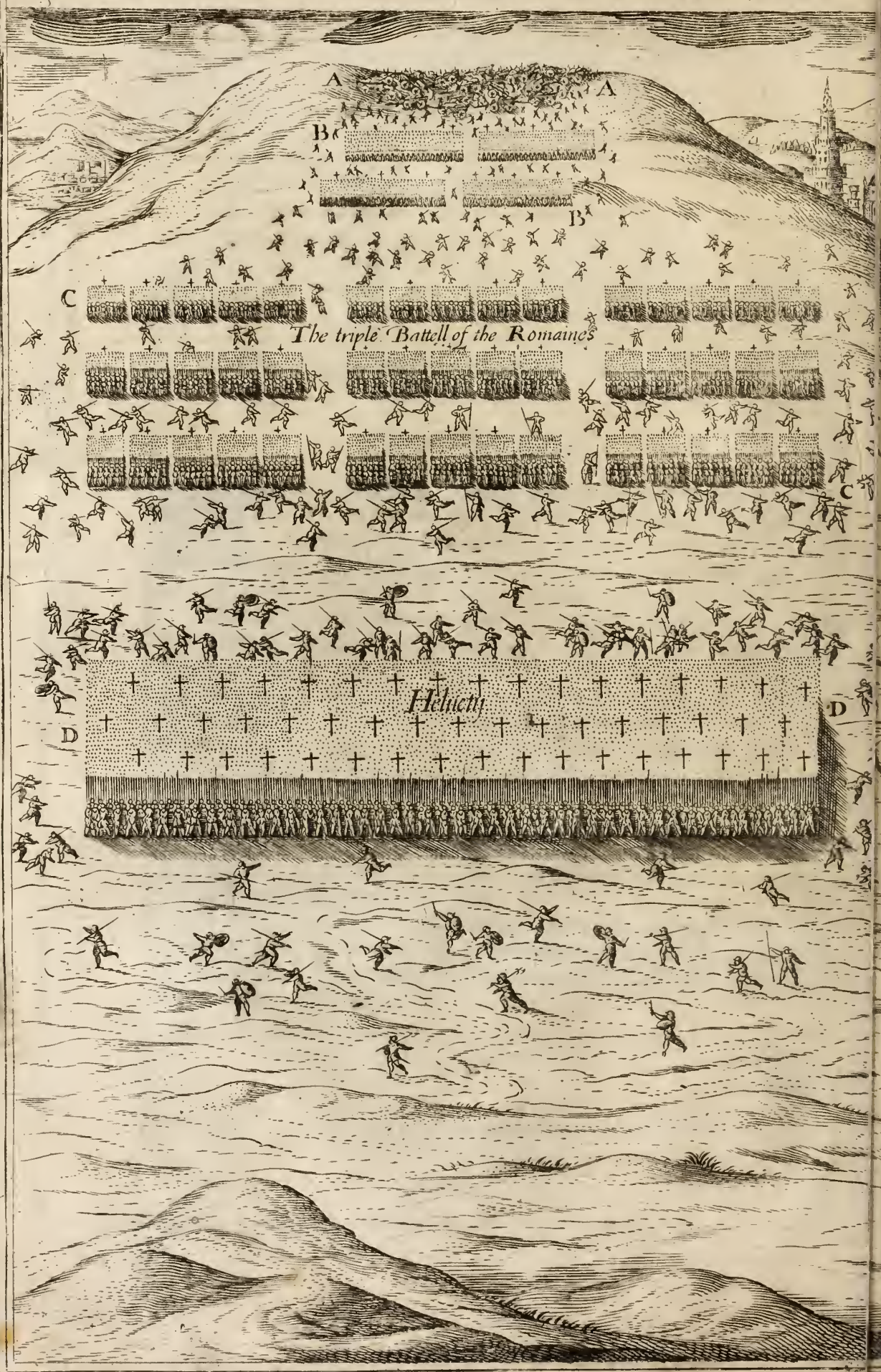
His example of the Heluetians, may lesson a Commaunder, not to wexe insolent vpon euery ouer-throwe which the enemie taketh, but duely to weigh the true causes of a victorie gotten, or an ouerthrowe taken; that apprehending the right current of the action, he may neither vaunt of a blind victorie, nor be dismaied at a casuall mishap.

And heerein, let a heedfull warinesse so moderate the sequells of victorie in a triumphing spirit, that the care and iealousie to keep still that sweet sounding fame on foote, may as farre surpasse the industrie which he first vsed to obtaine it, as the continuance of happinesse doth exceede the beginning of good fortunes. For, such is the nature of our soule, that although from her infancie, euen to the manhood of her age, she neuer found want of that which shee lusted after: yet when shee meeteth with a counterbusse to check her appetite, and restraine her affections from their satisfaction; shee is as much troubled in that want, as if shee had neuer receiued any contentment at all: for, our will to euerie obiect which it seeketh after, begetteth alwaies a new appetite: which is not satisfied with a former quittance; but either seeketh present paiment, or returneth discontentment vnto the mind.

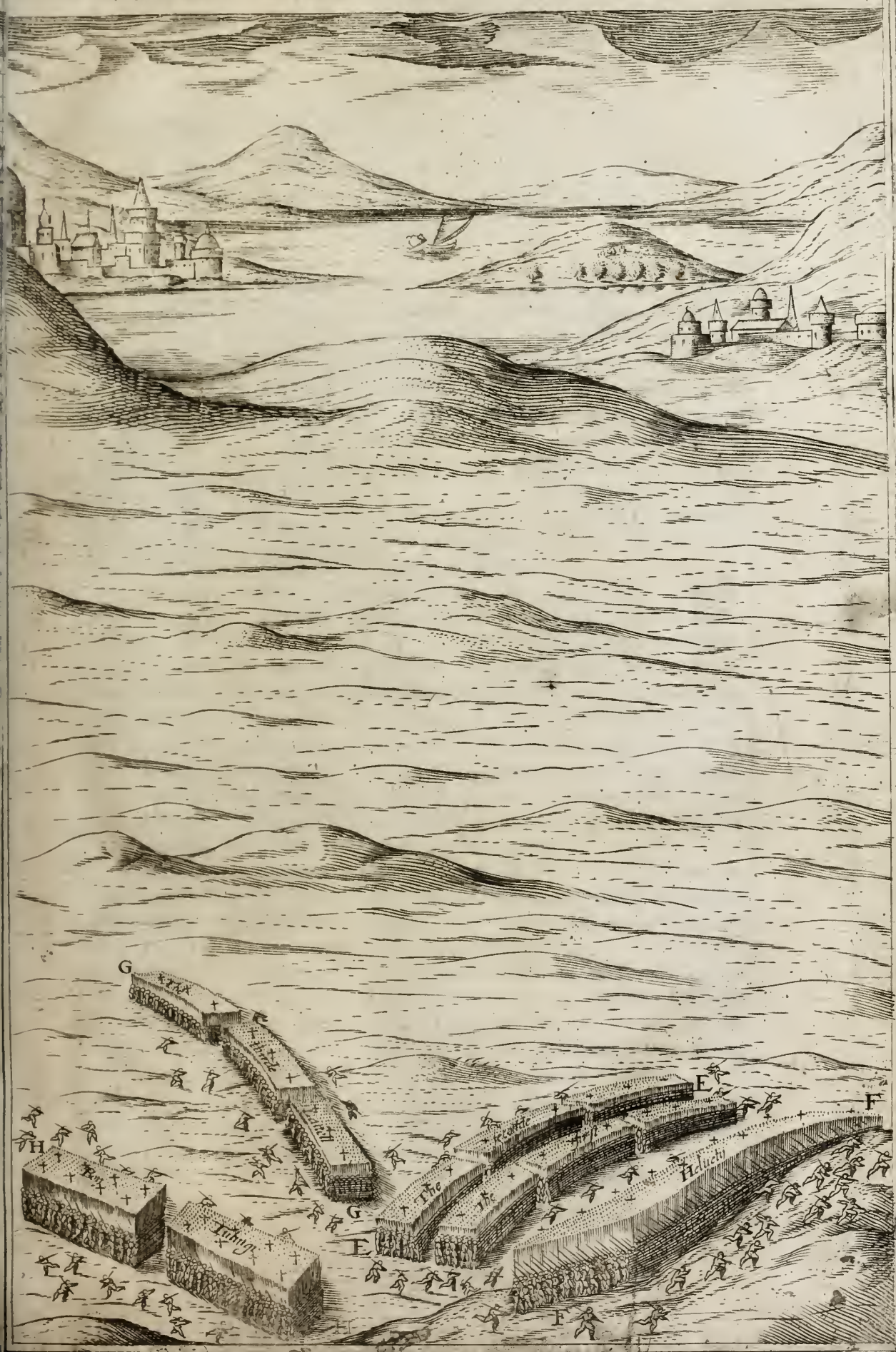
And, as our soule is of an euerlasting beeing, and cannot thinke of an end, to her beginning; so shee seeketh a perpetuall continuance of such things which shee lusteth after: which hee that meaneth to hold Fortune his friend, will endeuour to maintaine.

CHAP.

THE BATTEL WHICH CÆSAR HAD



WITH THE HELVETIANS.



CHAP. VI.

Cæsar sendeth to get the aduantage of a hill, and so *to giue the Heluetians battell: but was put off* by false intelligence. The opportunitie beeing *lost, hee intendeth prouision of* Corne.

IN the meane time, Cæsar pressed the Heduans from day to day to bring in Corne, according to their promise: for, by reason of the cold temperature of Gallia, which lieth to the Northward, it happened not onely that the Corne was farre frō beeing ripe; but also, that there was scarce forrage for the horses. And, the prouisions vvhich vvere brought along the riuer Arar, stood him in small steed at that time, forasmuch as the Heluetians had tooke their iourney cleane from the Riuer, and that he would by no meanes forsake them. Cæsar.

The Heduans, putting it off from one day to another, gaue out still it was vpon comming. But, when Cæsar found the matter so long delaied, & that the day of meting out Corne to the souldiers was at hand, calling before him the chiefest Princes of the Heduans, of whom he had great numbers in his Campe, and amongst them, Dinitiacus and Liscus, vvho for that time were the soueraigne Magistrates (vvhich they call Vergobret, *being yeerely created, & hauing power of life & death) he did greatly blame them, that he was not supplied with Corne from them, the Enemy beeing so neere, and in so needfull a time, that it could neither be bought for money, nor had out of the fields: especially, when for their sake, and at their request, he had vndertooke that vvarre. Whereat hee was the rather grieued, because he found himselfe forsaken of them.*

At length, Liscus, mooued vvith Cæsars speech, discouered (which before hee had kept secret) that there were some of great authority amongst the Commons, and could doe more being priuate persons, then they could do being Magistrates. These, by sedicious and bad speeches, did deter the people from bringing Corne: shewing it better for them, sith they could not attaine to the Empire of Gallia, to vndergoe the soueraigntie of the Galles, then the Romaines: for, they vvere not to doubt, but if the Romaines vanquished the Heluetians, they vvould bereaue the Heduans of their libertie, with the rest of all Gallia. By these men are our deliberations and counsells, or vvhatsoeuer else is done in the Campe, made knowne to the Enemy: neither vvere they able to keepe them in obedience; but knew well withall, what danger hee fell into, by acquainting Cæsar vvith these things; which was the cause he had kept them from him so long.

Cæsar, perceiued that Dumnorix, Dinitiacus brother, was shot at by this speech

of Liſcus: but, foraſmuch as hee would not haue thoſe things handled in the preſence of ſo manie, hee ſpeedilie brake off the Councell, and retaining Liſcus, asked priuatly after thoſe things which he had deliuered in the Aſſembly; wherunto he ſpake more freely and boldly then before. And inquiring ſecretlie of others, he found it to be true, that Dumnorix was of great courage, and ſingularly fauoured for his liberalitie of the Common people: Deſirous of nouelties and changes, and for many yeeres, had kept at a lowe rate, the Taxes and Impoſitions of the Heduans, foraſmuch as no man durſt cõtradict what he would haue done. By which courſes, he had increaſed his priuate eſtate, and got great meanes to be liberall: for, a great number of horſemen, did onely liue vpon his entertainement, and vvere continually about him, beeing not onely powerfull at home, but abroad alſo, amongst diuers of the neighbour States. And for this cauſe, had maried his Mother to a great Rich man, and of a Noble houſe, in the Country of the Bituriges; himſelfe had tooke a wife of the Heluetians, had matched his ſiſter by his Mother, and others of his kinne, into other States. For that affinity, hee fauoured and wiſhed well to the Heluetians: and on the other ſide, hated the Romaines, and ſpecially Cæſar, of all others; for-that by their comming into Gallia, his power was weakened, and Dinitiacus his brother reſtored to his auncient honour and dignitie. If any miſcaſualtie happened to the Romaines, his hope was to obtaine the Principalitie by the fauour of the Heluetians: where-as the ſoueraigntie of the Romaines, made him not onely deſpaire of the kingdome, but alſo of the fauour, or what other thing ſoeuer he now inioyed. And Cæſar had found out by inquirie, that the beginning of the flight, when the Caualrie was routed, came from Dumnorix, and his horſemen: for, hee commaunded thoſe troopes which the Heduans had ſent to aide Cæſar, and out of that diſorder, the reſt of the Caualrie tooke a fright.

Which things beeing diſcouered, foraſmuch as theſe ſuſpicions were ſeconded with matters of certaintie, in that hee had brought the Heluetians through the confines of the Sequans, had cauſed hoſtages to be giuen on either ſide, and done all thoſe things, not onely without vvarrant from the State, but vvithout acquainting them there-with. And laſtly, in that he was accuſed by the Magiſtrate of the Heduans, hee thought it cauſe ſufficient for him to puniſh him, or to commaund the State to doe iuſtice vpon him. One thing there was which might ſeem to oppugne all this; the ſingular affection of Dinitiacus, his brother, to the people of Rome; the great loue he bare particularly to Cæſar; his loyaltie, iuſtice & temperancie: and therefore he feared, leaſt his puniſhment might any way alienate or offend Dinitiacus ſincere affection. And therefore, before hee did anie thing, hee called Dinitiacus, and putting aſide the ordinarie Interpreters, hee ſpake to him by M. Valerius Procillus, one of the principall men of the Prouince of Gallia, his familiar friend, and whom hee ſpecially truſted in matters of importance, and tooke notice vvhat Dumnorix had vttered in his preſence, at a Councell of the Galles, ſhewing alſo vvhat informations hee had priuately receiued concerning him: and therefore, by way of aduice, deſired, that without any offence to him, either hee himſelfe might call him in queſtion, or the State take ſome courſe in the ſame.

Diniti-

Dinitiacus, imbracing Cæsar, with many teares besought him, not to take a-nie seuere course vvith his brother; hee knew vvell that all those things vvere true, neither was there any man more grieued thereat then himselfe. For, wher-as he had credit and reputation, both at home and amongst other States of Gallia, and his brother beeing of small power by reason of his youth, was by his aide and assistance, growne into fauour and authoritie, hee vsed those meanes as an aduantage, not onely to weaken his authoritie, but to bring him to ruine: And yet neuertheless, he found himselfe ouer-ruled through brotherly affection, and the opinion of the common people. And if Cæsar should take any strict account of these offences, there was no man but vvould thinke, it vvas done vvith his priuitie, considering the place he held in his fauour; vvherevpon, would consequently follow, on his behalfe, a generall alienation, and distaste of all Gallia.

As hee vttered these things, with many other vvords, accompanied vvith teares, Cæsar, taking his right hand, comforted him, and desired him to intreat no further: for, such vvas the respect he had vnto him, that for his sake, and at his request, he forgaue both the iniurie done to the Common-wealth, and the displeasure which he had iustly conceiued for the same. And therupon, called Dumnorix before him, and in the presence of his brother, shewed him wherein he had deserued much blame and reproofe; told him vvhat he had vnderstood, & what the State complained on; aduised him to auoide all occasions of mislike for the future; that which vvas past, hee had forgiuen him, at Dinitiacus his brothers intreatie. Howbeit, he set espialls vpon him, to obserue his courses, that he might be informed what he did, and with whom he conuersed.

The same day, vnderstanding by the Discouerers, that the Enemie was lodged vnder a Hill, about eight miles from his Campe, he sent some to take a viewe of the Hill, and of the ascent from about the same. Which was found, and accordingly reported vnto him to be very easie. In the third vvatch of the night, hee sent avvay T. Labienus the Legat, vvith two legions, and those Guides that knew the vvay; commaunding him to possesse himselfe of the toppe of that Hill. Himselfe, about the fourth vvatch, marched on after the Enemie, the same way they had gone, sending all his horsmen before.

P. Causidius, that was held for a great souldier, first, in the Army of L. Sylla, and afterwards vvith M. Crassus, was sent before, with the Discouerers. At the breaking of the day, when Labienus had gotte the toppe of the hill, and himselfe vvas come within a mile and a halfe of the Heluetian Campe, vvithout any notice to the Enemie, either of his or Labienus approach (as vvas afterwards found by the Captiues) Causidius came runnning as fast as his horse could driue, and told him, that the Hill vvhich Labienus should haue taken, vvas held by the Galles; vvhich hee perceiued plainelie by the Armes and Ensignes of the Heluetians. Whereupon, Cæsar drew his forces to the next Hill, and imbatteled the Armie.

Labienus (according to the directions hee had from Cæsar, not to fight, vnlesse hee saw his forces neere the Enemies Campe, that they might both at the same time assault them from diuers parts at once) vvhen he had tooke the Hill, kept his men from battell, expecting our Armie.

At length, when it was farre in the day, Cæsar vnderstood by the Discouerers, that the Hill was possessed by his Party; as also, that the enemy was dislodged, & that Causidius was so astonished with feare, that he reported to haue seene that which he saw not. The same day, he followed the Enemy, at the distance hee had formerly vsed, and incamped himselfe three miles from them. The day following, forasmuch as the Army was to be paid in Corne within two daies next after, & that he vvas but eighteene miles distant from Bibract, a great and opulent Citty of the Heduans, hee turned aside from the Heluetians, and made towards Bibract.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Places of aduantage in the Romaine warres.

THe getting of this hill, as a place of aduantage, was maruellous important to the happy successe of the battell: for, the aduantage of the place is not onely noted as an especiall cause of easie victorie, throughout this historie; but in all their warres, from the very cradle of their Empire, it cleared their Armies frõ all difficulties, to what extremities soeuer they were put. The first reason may bee in regard of of their Darts & Slings, and especally their Piles; which being a heauy deadly weapon, could not any way bee so auaileable, beeing cast countermont or in a plaine leuell, as when the declinitie and downefall of a swelling banke, did naturally second their violent impression. Neither can the shock at handy-blowes bee any thing so furious (which was a point of great respect in their battels) when the souldiers spent their strength in franchising the iniurie of a rising Mountaine, as when the place by a naturall inclination did further their course.

And to conclude, if the battell succeeded not according to their desire, the fauour of the place afforded them meanes of a strong retreit, in the highest part whereof, they had commonly their Camps well fenced, and fortified against all chaunces. If it be demaunded, whether the vpper ground be of like vse, in regard of our weapons: I answere, that in a skirmish of shotte, I take the aduantage to lie in the lower ground rather then on the hill; for, the pieces being hastily charged, as commonly they are after the first volley, if the bullet chance to lie loose, when the nose of the peece is lower then the breech, it must needes flie at randome, and be altogether vneffectuall: but when the nose shall be raised vpward to the side of a hill, the bullet beeing rammed in with his owne waight, shall flie with greater certaintie and furie; considering the nature of the powder to be such, that the more it is stopt and shut in, the more it seeketh to enlarge his roome, and breaketh forth with greater violence and fury.

Concerning other weapons, I take the vpper ground in the shocke and incounter, to be aduantageous, as well for the sword as the pike, and would deserue as great respect, if the controuersie were decided by these weapons, as sildome times it is.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

BY Cauſidius his demeanour, we ſee that verified which Phyſitions affirme, that Nothing will ſooner carrie our iudgement out of her proper ſeate, then the paſſion of feare: and that amongſt ſouldiers themſelues, whom cuſtome hath made familiarlie acquainted with horror and death, it is able to turne a flock of ſheepe into a ſquadron of Corſelets, & a few canes or Oſiers, into Pikes and Lanciers. Which may ſerue to aduiſe a diſcreet Generall, not eaſily to credit a relation of that nature, when a man of reputation, in ſo perfit a diſcipline, and ſo experienced in the ſeruice of three famous Chiefes, was ſo ſurpriſed with feare, that hee could not diſcerne his friends from his enemies: but I will ſpeake more of this paſſion, in the war with Ariouiſtus.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IN euery relation throughout the whole courſe of this hiſtorie, the firſt words are commonly theſe, *Re frumentaria comparata*; as the foundation & ſtrength of euery expedition, without which no man can manage a war, according to the true maximes and rules of the Art Military, but muſt be forced to relieue that inconuenience, with the loſſe of many other aduantages of great conſequence. Which gaue occaſion to Gaſpard de Coligni, that famous Admirall of France, amongſt other Oracles of truth, wherwith his mind was maruellouſly inriched, often to vſe this ſaying; that He that wil ſhape that beaſt (meaning war) muſt beginne with the belly. And this rule was diligently obſerued by Cæſar, who beſt knew how to expreſs the true portraiture of that beaſt, in due proportion & liuely reſemblance. *Their maner of victualling*

The order of the Romans was, at the day of meaſuring, to giue corne to euery particular ſouldier, for a certain time, which was cōmonly defined by circumſtances: and by the meaſure which was giuen thē, they knew the day of the next paiment; for, euery footman receiued after the rate of a buſhell a weeke, which was thought ſufficient for him and his ſeruant: for, if they had paied thē their whole ſtipend in money, it might haue beene waſted in vnneceſſarie expenſes: but by this meanes they were ſure of prouiſion for the time determined; & the ſequell of the war, was prouidently cared for by the Generall.

The Corne being deliuered out, was husbanded, ground with hand-milles, which they caried alwaies with them, & made into haſty cakes, dainty enough for a ſouldiers mouth, by no other but themſelues and their ſeruaunts. Neither could they ſell it or exchange it for bread; for, Saluſt reckoneth this vp amongſt other dishonours of the diſcipline corrupted, that the ſouldiers ſold away their corne, which was giuen thē by the Treaſurer, & bought their bread by the day. And this maner of prouiſion had many ſpeciall cōmodities, which are not incident to our cuſtome of victualing: for it is impoſsible, that victualers

ſhould follow an Armie vpon a ſeruice, in the Enemies Countrey, twentie or thirtie daies together, with ſufficient prouiſion for an Armie: And by that meanes, the Generall cannot attend aduantages & fitteſt opportunities, which in tract of time are often offered; but is forced either to hazard the whole, vpon vnequall tearmes, or to ſound an vnwilling retreit.

And whereas the Victualers are for the moſt part voluntarie, reſpecting nothing but their gaine; and the ſouldiers on the other ſide, careleſſe of the morrow, and prodigall of the preſent in that turbulent mar-market, where the ſeller hath an eye onely to his particular, & the buyer reſpecteth neither the publique good, nor his priuate commoditie, there is nothing to be looked for, but famine and confuſion: Where-as the Romains, by their manner of prouiſion, impoſed the generall care of the publique good vpon the chiefe Commaunder, whoſe dutie it was to prouide ſtore of Corne for his Armie; and the particular care vpon euery priuate ſouldier, whom it eſpecially concerned to ſee, that the allowance which the Common-weale had in plentifull manner giuen him, for his maintenance, might not bee waſted through negligence or prodigalitie: which excellent order, the nature of our victuals will no way admit. Their Prouinces, & the next confederate States, furniſhed their Armies continually with Corne; as it appeareth by this place, that for prouiſion of graine, he depended altogether vpon the Hedui: and, when they were in the Enemies Countrey, in the time of harueſt, the ſouldiers went out to reape and gather Corne, and deliuered it threſhed and cleanſed to the Treaſurer, that it might be kept vntill the day of paiment.

But, to leaue this frugall and prouident manner of prouiſion, as vnpoſsible to be imitated by this age, let vs returne to our hiſtorie, and ſee how the Heluetians were ledde, by a probable errour, to their laſt ouerthrowe.

CHAP. VII.

The Heluetians follow after Cæſar, and ouertake *the Rereward. He imbattaileth his legions vpon the* ſide of a hill: and giueth order for *the Battaile.*

Cæſar.

Hereof the Enemy beeing aduertiſed, by certaine fugitiues of the troope of horſe, commaunded by L. Emilius, preſently; whether it vvere that they thought the Romaines did turne away for feare (and the rather, for-that the day before, hauing the aduantage of the vpper ground, they refuſed to fight) or whether they thought to cut them off from prouiſion of Corne, they altered their purpoſe, and turning back againe, beganne to attack our men in the Reare. Which Cæſar perceiuing, hee drew his forces to the next hill, and ſent the Caualrie to ſuſtaine the

the charge of the Enemy: and in the meane time, in the midst of the hill, made a triple battell, of foure legions of old souldiers; and vpon the highest ridge thereof, he placed the two legions which he had lately inrolled in the hither Gallia, together with the associate forces; filling the whole front of the hill with men, and stowing the cariages in one place: which he commaunded to be fenced & guarded by those that were in the vppermost battalions.

The Heluetians, on the other side, conuaied their cariages and impediments into one place; and hauing beaten back Cæsars horsemen, with a thick-thronged Squadron, they put themselues into a Phalanx, & so pressed vnder the first battell of the Romaine legions.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Concerning the true sense of this triple battell, which Cæsar made vpon the side of the hill, I vnderstand it according to the ancient custome of the Romaines; who in the infancie of their Militarie discipline, diuided their Armie into three sorts of souldiers, *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*: for, I omit the *Velites*, as no part of their standing battels; and of these they made three seuerall battels, from front to back. In the first battell were the *Hastati*, and they possessed the whole front of the Armie, and were called *Acies prima*. Behind these, in a conuenient distance, stood the *Principes*, in like sort and order disposed, and were called *Acies secunda*: and lastly, in a like correspondent distance, were the *Triarij* imbattelled, and made *Aciem tertiam*.

The manner of their imbattelling.

By triplex Acies.

Their legion consisted of tenne Companies, which they called cohorts, and euerie cohort consisted of three small Companies, which they named *Manipuli*: a maniple of the *Hastati*, a maniple of the *Principes*, and another of the *Triarij*, as I will more particularly set downe in the second booke. And as these three kinds of souldiers were separated by distance of place from front to backe: so was euery battell diuided into his maniples; and these were diuided by little allies and waies, one from another, which were vsed to this purpose: The *Hastati*, beeing in front, did euer begin the battell: & if they found themselues too weake to repell the enemy, or were happely forced to a retreit, they drew themselues through these allies or distances, which were in the second battell, betweene the maniples of the *Principes*, into the space which was betweene the *Principes* and the *Triarij*; and there they rested themselues, whil'st the Princes tooke their place, and charged the Enemie. Or otherwise, if the Commaunders found it needfull, they fild vp those distances of the *Principes*: and so, vnited with them into one body, they charged the enemy all in grosse; and then, if they preuailed not, they retired into the spaces between the *Triarij*, and so they gaue the last assault, all the three bodies being ioyned all into one.

Now, if we examine by the current of the history, whether Cæsar obserued the same order and diuisions in his warres, we shal find little or no alteration at all: for, first, this *triplex Acies* heere mentioned, was no other thing but the diuisi-

diuision of the *Hastati*, *Principes* and *Triarij*, according to the manner of the first institution. And least any man should dreame of that ordinary diuision, which is likewise threefold, the two cornets and the battell, and in that sense he might say to haue made *triplicem Aciem*, let him vnderstand, that the circumstances of the diuision haue no coherence with that diuision: for, in that hee saith of the Heluetians, *successerunt Aciem primam*, pressed neere the first battell or Vangard, hee maketh it cleare that the Armie was diuided into a triple battell from front to backe: for, otherwise, hee would haue said, *successerint dextrum aut sinistrum cornu, aut mediam Aciem:* for so were the partes of that diuision tearmed. Againe, in the retrait which the Heluetians made to the hill, when he saith that the first and second battell followed close vpon the enemy, and the third opposed it selfe against the *Boij* and *Tulingi*, & stood readie at the foote of the hill, to charge the legions in the flanke and on the back; It is manifest, that no other diuision can so fitly be applied to this circūstance, as that from front to back.

But that place in the first of the Ciuill warres taketh away all scruple of controuersie, where he vseth the verie same tearmes of *prima*, *secunda*, and *tertia Acies:* for, beeing to incampe himselfe neere vnto Afranius, and fearing least his souldiers should be interrupted in their work, he caused the first and second battell to stand in Armes, & keepe their distance, to the end they might shroud & couer the third battell (which was imploied in making a ditch behind them) from the view of the enemy; and this kind of imbattelling, Cæsar obserued in most of his fights: by which it appeareth, that he vseth the very same order and discipline for imbattailing, as was instituted by the old Romaines.

Concerning the auncient names of *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, which Ramus in his Militia Iulij Cæsaris, vrgeth to be omitted throughout the whole historie, I grant they are sildome vsed in these Commentaries, in the sense of their first institution: for, the *Hastati*, when the discipline was first erected, were the youngest and poorest of the legionarie souldiers. The *Principes*, were the lustie and able bodied men: and the *Triarij* the eldest, and best experienced. But in Cæsars Campe, there was little or no difference either of valour or yeeres, betweene the *Hastati*, *Principes* or *Triarij*; which hee nameth, *Prima*, *Secunda*, and *Tertia Acies:* and therefore, were neuer tearmed by those names, in respect of that difference.

Notwithstanding, in regard of order and degrees of discipline, that vertue might be rewarded with honour, and that time might challenge the priuiledge of a more worthy place, the said distinctions and tearmes were religiously obserued: for, in the battell with Petreius at Ilerda in Spaine, hee mentioneth the death of Q. Fulginius, *ex primo Hastato legionis quartæ decimæ:* and in the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, he saith, that The Eagle-bearer being grieuously wounded, commended the safetie of his Ensigne to the horsemen, all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, *præter principem Priorem.* And for the *Triarij*, there is no tearme more frequent in Cæsar, then *Primipilus*; which name, by the rules of the ancient discipline, but to the chiefest Centurion of the first maniple of the *Triarij:* whereby it appeareth, that the maniples

Lib.1.de bello Ciuili.

Lib.3.de bello Ciuili.

ples kept the ſame names in regard of a neceſſary diſtinction, although peradventure the *Haſtati* were as good ſouldiers, as either the *Principes* or the *Triarij*.

As touching the ſpaces betweene the maniples, whereinto the firſt battaile did retire it ſelfe if occaſion vrged them, I neuer found any mention of them in Cæſar. Excepting once heere in England, where, in a skirmiſh the Brittaines ſo vrged the court of guard, which kept watch before the Romaine Camp, that Cæſar ſent out two other Cohorts to ſuccour them; who making diſtance betweene them as they ſtood, the court of guard retired it ſelfe in ſafetie, through that ſpace into the Campe: otherwiſe, we neuer find that the firſt battell made any retreit into the allies, between the maniples of the ſecond battell; but when it failed in any part, the ſecond and third went preſently to ſecond them: as appeareth in the battell following with Ariouiſtus and in diuers others.

Concerning the vſe of this triple battell, what can be ſaid more then Lipſius hath done? where he laieth open the particular commodities thereof, as farre forth as a ſpeculatiue iudgement can diſcerne of things ſo far remote from the vſe of this age, which neuer imitateth this triple battell, but onely in a march: for, then commonly they make three companies; a vangard, a battell, and a reereward: but in imbattelling, they draw theſe three Companies all in front, making two cornets and the battell, without any other troops to ſecond them. But let this ſuffice concerning Cæſar his manner of imbattelling, and his *triplex Acies*, vntill I come to the ſecond booke; where I will handle more particularly the parts of a legion, and the commoditie of their ſmall battalions.

Lib. 5. de militia Romana

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

A Phalanx deſcribed.

THe Macedonian Phalanx, is deſcribed by Polybius, to bee a ſquare battell of Pikemen, conſiſting of ſixteene in flanke, and fiue hundred in front; the ſouldiers ſtanding ſo cloſe together, that the pikes of the firſt ranke, were extended three foote beyond the front of the battell: the reſt, whoſe pikes were not ſeruiceable, by reaſon of their diſtance from the front, couched them vpon the ſhoulders of thoſe that ſtood before them; and ſo locking them in together in file, preſſed forward, to hold vp the ſway or giuing backe of the former ranks, and ſo to make the aſſault more violent and vnreſiſtable.

The Grecians were very skilfull in this part of the Art Militarie, which containeth order and diſpoſition in imbattelling: for they maintained publique profeſſors, whom they called *Tactici*, to teach & inſtruct their youth the practiſe and Art of all formes conuenient for that purpoſe. And theſe *Tactici*, found by experience, that ſixteene in flanke, ſo ordered as they were in a Phalanx, were able to beare any ſhock, how violent ſo-euer it charged vpon them: which number of ſixteene, they made to conſiſt of foure doubles: as firſt vnitie maketh no order, for order conſiſteth in number & pluralitie; but vnitie doubled, maketh two, the leaſt of all orders, and this is the double: which doubled

againe, maketh the ſecond order, of foure ſouldiers in a file, which doubled the third time, maketh eight, and this doubled, maketh 16, which is the fourth doubling from a vnite; and in it they ſtaied, as in an abſolute number and ſquare, whoſe roote is foure the Quadruple, in regard of both the extreames: for euery one of theſe places, the *Tactici* had ſeuerall names, by which they were diſtinctly knowne. But the particular deſcription requireth a larger diſcourſe, then can be comprehended in theſe ſhort obſeruations. Hee that deſireth further knowledge of them, may read Elianus, that liued in the time of Adrian the Emperour: and Arianus in his hiſtorie of Alexander the great: with Mauritius, and Leo, Imperator; where he ſhall haue the diuiſions of *Tetraphalangia diphalangia*, *Phalangia* vnto a vnite, with all the diſcipline of the Grecians. The chiefeſt thing to be obſerued, is, that the Grecians, hauing ſuch skil in imbattelling, preferd a Phalanx before all other formes whatſoeuer; either becauſe the figure in it ſelfe was very ſtrong: or otherwiſe, in regard that it fitted beſt their weapons, which were long pikes and targets. But, whether Cæſar tearmed the battell of the Heluetians a Phalanx, in regard of their thicke manner of imbattailing onely, or otherwiſe, foraſmuch as beſides the forme, they vſed the naturall weapon of a Phalanx, which was the pike, it remaineth doubtfull. Brancatio, in his diſcourſes vpon this place, maketh it no cõtrouerſie, but that euery ſouldier caried a pike and a target. The target is particularly named in this hiſtorie: but it cannot ſo eaſily be gathered by the ſame, that their offenſiue weapons were pikes. In the fight at the baggage it is ſaid, that manie of the legionarie ſouldiers were wounded through the cart-wheeles, with *tragulas* and *materas*, which are commonly interpreted Speares and Iauelins: and I take them to be weapons longer then common darts; but whether they were ſo long as the Sariſſas of the Macedonians, I cannot tell. Howſoeuer; this is certaine, that the Heluetians haue euer been reputed for the true *Phalangitæ*, next vnto the Macedonians; and that in their thicke and cloſe imbattailing, they failed not at this time of the forme of a Phalanx: for, they roofed it ſo thick with targets, that Cæſar ſaith they were ſore troubled, becauſe manie of their targets were faſtened and tied together, with piles darted through thẽ. Which argueth, that their Phalanx was very thicke thronged, whatſoeuer their vveapon was.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar ſendeth away al the horſes of eaſe; exhorteth *his men; and beginneth the battell.*

Cæſar, to take away all hope of ſafety by flight, firſt cauſed his own & then all the priuate horſes of eaſe to be caried out of ſight; and ſo vſing ſome motiues of courage, began the battell. The ſouldiers caſting their Piles, with the aduantage of the hill, did eaſily breake the Heluetians Phalanx, & then with their ſwords betook themſelues to a furious cloſe.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THe ancient Sages found it necessary, to a faithfull and serious execution of such an action, to prepare the minds of their men with words of encouragement, and to take away all scruple out of their conceits, either of the vnlawfulnesse of the cause, or disaduantage against the Enemie: for, if at any time that saying be true, that *Oratio plus potest quam pecunia*, it is here more powerfull and of greater effect. For, a donatiue or liberanca, can but procure a mercenarie indeauour, euer yielding to a better offer, and doe oftentimes breed a suspicion of wrong, euen amongst those that are willingly inriched with them; and so maketh them slack to discharge their seruice with loyaltie: yea, oftentimes of friends to become enemies. But inasmuch as speech discloseth the secrets of the soule, and discouereth the intent and drift of euery action, a few good words laying open the iniurie which is offered to innocencie, how equity is controlled with wrong, and iustice controlled by iniquitie (for, it is necessary that a Cõmander approue his Cause, and settle an opinion of right in the mind of his souldiers, as it is easie to make that seeme probable which so many offer to defend with their bloud; when indeed euery man relieth vpon anothers knowledge, and respecteth nothing lesse the right) a few good words I say, will so stirre vp their minds in the feruentnesse of the cause, that euery man will take himselfe particularly ingaged in the action by the title of Equitie; and the rather, for that it iumpeth with the necessity of their condition. For, men are willing to doe well, when well-dooing agreeth with that they would doe: otherwise, the Act may formerly be effected, but the mind neuer approueth it by assent.

Speeches of incouragement before they gaue battell.

And this manner of exhortation or speech of incouragement, was neuer omitted by Cæsar in any conflict mentioned in this historie: but hee still vsed it as a necessary instrument to set vertue on foote, and the onely meanes to stir vp alacritie. Or if it happened that his men were at any time discouraged by disaster or crosse accident, as they were at Gergobia, & at the two ouerthrowes he had at Dyrrachium; he neuer would aduenture to giue battell, vntill he had incouraged them againe, and confirmed their minds in valour and resolution. But this age hath put on so scornefull a humor, that it cannot heare a speech in this key, sound it neuer so grauely, without scoffing and derision: and on the other side discontinuance of so necessarie a part, hath bred at length such an *inutilem pudorem* in our chiefe Commanders, that they had rather lose the gaine of a great aduantage, then buy it with words to be deliuered in publique.

Lib. 7. de bello Gallico.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this Chapter we may further obserue the violence of the Romane pile, which being a heauie deadly weapon, could hardly be frustrated with any resistance, and in that respect was very proper and effectuall against a Phalanx, or any other thicke and close battell, or where-

The Romane Pile described.

wherefoeuer elſe, the ſtroke was certaine, or could hardly deceiue the aime of the caſter: for, in ſuch incounters, it ſo galled the enemy, that they were neither able to keep their order, nor anſwere the aſſault with a reſiſting counterbuffe. By which it appeareth, that the onely remedie againſt the Pile was, to make the ranks thinne; allowing to euery ſouldiour a large podiſme or place to ſtand in, that ſo the ſtroke might of it ſelfe fall without hurt, or by fore-ſight bee preuented; as it ſhall plainely appeare by the ſequell of this hiſtorie, which I will not omit to note, as the places ſhal offer themſelues to the examination of this diſcourſe.

But as touching the Pile, which is ſo often mentioned in the Romaine hiſtorie, Polybius deſcribeth it in this maner; A Pile, ſaith he, is a caſting weapon, the ſtaffe whereof is almoſt three cubites long, and it hath *palmarem diametrum*, a hand breadth in thickneſs. The ſtaues were armed with a head of iron, equall in length to the ſtaffe it ſelfe: But in that ſort, that halfe the head was faſtened vp to the middle of the ſtaffe, with plates of iron, like the head of a Halbert: and the other halfe ſtucke out at the end of the ſtaffe, like a pike, contayning a fingers breadth in thickneſſe, and ſo decreaſing leſſe and leſſe, vnto the point, which was barbed. This head was ſo ſlender toward the point, that the waight of the ſtaffe would bend it as it ſtucke, as appeareth in this battell of the Heluetians. This weapon was peculiar to the Romans, and was called *Pilum*, as Varro noteth of *Pilum* a Peſtell, *quod Hoſtes feriret vt pilum.* Lipſius, finding that *Palmarem diametrum*, was too great a thickneſſe to be managed by any mans hand, interpreteth it to be foure inches in circuit, if the ſtaffe were either round or ſquare, for they had of both ſorts, and ſo hee maketh it very manageable; but nothing anſwerable to the deſcription, giuen by Polybius, either in forme or waight.

Lib. 3. de militia Romana

Patricius, in his Paralleli, maketh the ſtaffe to haue *palmarem diametrum* in the butte end, but the reſt of the ſtaffe he maketh to decreaſe taper-wiſe, vnto the head of iron, where it hath the thickneſſe of a mans finger; and ſo it anſwereth both in forme and waight to a Peſtell, as may be ſeene by the figure, and I take it to bee the meaning of Polybius. Patricius in that place ſetteth downe foure diſcommodities of the Pile. Firſt, a furious and hot ſpirited enemie will eaſily preuent the darting of the Pile, with a nimble and ſpeedy cloſe: And ſo wee read, that in the battell which Cæſar had with Ariouiſtus, the Germaines came ſo violently vpon them, that the ſouldiers caſt away their piles, and betooke them to their ſwords. And likewiſe, in that woorthy battell betweene Cateline and Marcus Petreius, they caſt away their piles on either part. The ſecond diſcommoditie was, that the piles being ſo heauie, could not be caſt anie diſtance; but were onely ſeruiceable at hand. Thirdly, they could not bee caſt with any aime, or as they ſay, point blanke. And laſtly, the ſouldiers were to take aduantage of ground backward when they threw them: which might eaſily diſorder their troopes, if they were not very well experienced.

Lib. 5.

Saluſt.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe last thing which I obserue in this specialitie, is, that the legionarie souldiers had no other offensiue weapon, but one pile or two at the most, and their swords. By which it may bee gathered, that all their victories came by buckling at handy-blowes; for, they came alwaies so neere before they cast their pile, that they left themselues no more time then might conueniently serue them to draw their swords: neither would their Armes of defence, which was compleat, besides a large target which they caried on their left arme, suffer them to make any long pursuit, or continued chase, whensoeuer a light armed enemy did make any speedie retrait; as will more plainly appeare by that which followeth.

CHAP. IX.

The Heluetians, fainting in the battell, retire to a *Hill: the Romans follow after, and the* battell is continued.

(·.·)

IT vvas a great hinderance to the Galles in their fight, that manie of their Targets vvere strooke through, and tied together vvith one fall of a pile: for, so it happened, that it could neither be pulled out by reason of the bowing of the Iron, nor could they vse their left hand for the defence of themselues. Whereby it fell out, that many of them (after a vvearisome toile) did cast away their targets, and fought naked, and vnarmed. At length, fainting vvith wounds, they began to giue place, and retraited to a Hill a mile off. Cæsar.

The Hill beeing taken, and the Legions following on to driue them frõ thence, the Boij and Tulingi, to the number of fifteene thousand, beeing in the Reare of the Enemy, to guard the lagge of their Army, setting on our men, as they vvere in pursuit of the rest, did charge them vpon the open side, and beganne to inclose them about: which, the Heluetians, that had got the Hill, perceiuing, beganne againe to fal vpon our men, & renewed the battell. The Romaines diuiding themselues, turned their Ensignes two vvaies; the first and second Armie fought against the Heluetians that returned from the Hill, and the third battell tooke charge of them that stood ready to inclose them about. And heere the fight vvas doubtfull and furious for a long time; vntill at length they were no longer able to indure the violence of the legionarie souldiers: and so one part betooke themselues as at the first, to the Hill; and the other, to the place where their Carts and baggage were lodged.

And hitherto there vvas not one man ſeene to haue turned his backe in all this conflict; although the fight continued from the ſeauenth houre vntill the euening.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The Enſignes of the Romaines.

CONcerning the Enſignes of the Romaines; wee are to vnderſtand that the chiefeſt Enſigne of euery Legion, was an Eagle: which alwaies attended vpon the Primipile or chiefe Centurion of the ſaid Legion. The Enſigne of a Maniple was, either a Hand or a Dragon, a Woolfe or a Sphinx; as it appeareth (beſides the teſtimonie of hiſtorie) by the Columne of Traiane in Rome, wherein the Enſignes are figured, vvith ſuch purtraitures: ſo that theſe Enſignes, reſembling the proportions of liuing creatures, had their fore-parts alwaies caried that way which the legions were to march, or where they were to fight. And therefore in this hiſtory, by the aſpect and carying of the Enſignes, the front of the Armie was commonly noted: as in this place it is ſaid, that the Enſignes of the firſt and ſecond battell, were caried towards the hill, whither the Heluetians had made their retrait; & the Enſignes of the third battell looked another way, towards the *Boij* and *Tulingi*, which ſtood on the foote of the hill. By which is ſignified, how the legions were diuided to reſiſt the brunt of the double incounter.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The diuiſion of their day.

Concerning the time of the day; wee are to vnderſtand, that the Romaines vſed not the ſame diuiſion of the day as we commonlie doe: for, they diuided their artificiall (which is the ſpace betweene ſunne riſing and ſetting) into twelue equall parts, which the Aſtronomers called vnequall or planetarie houres. The firſt houre of the day beganne alwaies at ſunne riſing; the ſixt houre was alwaies high noone; and the twelfth houre was ſunne ſetting. And, as the day wexed longer or ſhorter, ſo theſe houres were either greater or leſſe: neither did they agree with equall or equinoctiall houres, ſuch as are now vſed, but onely at the *Aequinoctium*: ſo that by this manner of reckoning, *ab hora ſeptima ad veſperum*, is meant, the battell beganne about one of the clocke, according to our Computation, & continued vntill the euening. The like we muſt vnderſtand, throughout this whole hiſtorie, as often as there is mention made of the circumſtance of time.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Heluetians continue their fight at the cariages: *but at length they left the field, and marched towards Langiers.*

(·.·)

IN like manner, the fight was kept on foote at the cariages, vntill it was farre in the night; the place beeing fortified vvith Cartes in steed of a Rampier: and the Enemy casting their vveapons from the vpper ground, and vvith darts and Iauelins, vnder the vvaggons, and from between the wheeles, did vvound and gall many of our men. After a long conflict, our souldiers tooke their cariages and their Campe: vvherein Orgetorix daughter, and one of his sonnes vvere taken. There vvere saued out of that battell, about one hundred and thirtie thousand persons; vvho marching continually all that night, and making no stay in any place, came the fourth day into the confines of the Lingones: for, by reason of the souldiers hurts, and the buriall of the slaine, wherein there was spent three daies, there vvas no pursuit made after them.

Cæsar.

Langres.

OBSERVATION.

IF we consider the nature of the action, and looke into the true cause of their ouerthrow, as farre as the right sense of the historie shall direct our iudgement, wee shall find valour not to be wanting in the Heluetians, but rather superlatiuely abounding in the Romans. For, that vehement opinion of their valiancie and manhood, which caried them out of the streights of the Country, to seek larger fortunes in other kingdoms, was not so abated with the losse of the fourth part of their Host at the riuer Arar; nor with the terrible furie of those veteran legions: but it yielded this effect, which Cæsar in his estimate of valour thought memorable, that for fiue houres space or more, there was not one man seene to haue turned his backe. Their maner of imbattailing, had not the Romaines been the enemie, was vnresistable. For, beeing cast into a Phalanx, which in the Plaines of Asia had made Alexander the great and the Macedonians famous, they did as farre surpasse any other forme of imbattelling (supposing that the conueniencie of the place did fit that disposition) wherein the strength of the whole is diuided into many particulars, as the violence of a great body exceedeth the force & motion of his parts, when it is diuided into smaller cantons. For, as in a phalanx, many particular souldiers are by a close & cōpact order incorporated into one entire body: so their seuerall vertues are gathered into one head, & are as parts vnited into one general force; which easily swaloweth vp the ability of many other lesser quan-

quantities, into which a greater ſtrength is equally diuided.

The aduantage of the place which they got by retrait,& the double charge wherewith they ingaged the Romaines, both in front and flank, was able in an indifferent conflict,to haue made Fortune fugitiue, and beare armes on their ſide: or at the leaſt, ſo to haue ſteemed the ſwelling tide of victorie, which carried the Romaines ſo violently in the chaſe, that they might haue beene equall ſharers in the honor of the day; had it not followed from an Ocean of valour, whoſe courſe could not be hindered with any ſtops and oppoſitions, vntill it came to that height, which true valour and vnexampled reſolution affected. And yet the height of this courage, could not ſo allay the heat of the Heluetians furie; but it brake forth into dangerous flames, when it came to the place where their cariages were laid, and coſt much bloud and many mens liues before they quitted the place: for, they fought with that ſpirit and induſtrie, as though they meant to make triall,whether their fortune would proue no better in the night then it had done in the day.

The ouerthrowe of the Tigurine Canton at the riuer Arar, proceeded rather from want of good directions (which is the leſſe to be maruelled at, conſidering they had no chiefe Commaunder as wee read of) then from any defect of valour: for, the rules of Militarie gouernment, require eſpeciall care in paſſing ouer a water; for, then eſpecially, an Armie is in greateſt danger, when it is diſordered and diuided. And therefore the Romaines atchiued this victorie by the horrible vigilancy (as Tully calleth it) of their Cōmander: who alwaies watched *opportunitates rei bene gerendæ*, as neceſſary and ſpeedy meanes to ouercome in all his warres.

Periculū ſemper ab hoſtibus grauiſſimū ſuſtinet diuiſus & inordinatus exercitus.

CHAP. XI.

Cæſar, after three daies reſpite, followeth after the *Heluetians: he taketh them to mercy, and* ſendeth them backe againe to the Countrey.

Cæſar.

Aeſar ſent Letters and Meſſengers to the Lingones, forbidding to ſupply them, either vvith Corne, or any other thing; vvhich if they did, hee vvould eſteeme of them as of the Heluetians. Himſelfe, after three daies reſpite, followed after vvith all his forces. The Heluetians, preſſed with the want of all neceſſarie prouiſions, ſent Commiſsioners vnto him, to treat of their reddition. Who, meeting him on the vvay, caſt themſelues at his feete; and vvith humble vvords and teares, deſired Peace. Beeing commaunded to attend in the place they then were, they accordingly obaied. Cæſar, being come vp vnto them, required hoſtages, together vvith their Armes and ſeruants; as alſo the fugitiues that vvere fledde vnto them.

While

While those things vvere sought out, and brought, in the night time, six thousand men or there-abouts, of the Canton, called Verbigene, *vvhether mooued through feare of beeing executed, after their Armes were giuen vp, or induced with hope of escaping (as thinking that amongst such a multitude of people, that were there to be rendred, their flight (hould not be missed, or at least vvould be concealed) did in the beginning of the night, leaue the Heluetian Camp, & made towards the Rhene, and the confines of the Germaines.*

Cæsar, vnderstanding through whose territories they passed, commaunded them to seeke them out, and bring them back againe, if they would be blamelesse in that behalfe: And being brought back, dealt with them as enemies. All the rest, after Hostages, Armes and fugitiues were giuen in, hee receiued to mercie; and commaunded the Heluetians, Tulinges, and Latobrigs, to returne into their Country from whence they came. And forasmuch, as hauing lost all their prouision of Corne, there remained nothing at home to satisfie hunger, hee gaue order to the Allobroges to supply them with Corne; and willed the Heluetians to reedifie their Townes and Citties, that they had before destroied & forsaken. Which he did specially for this cause; that the Germaines inhabiting beyond the Rhene, might not be inuited vvith the richnesse of that soile, to seate themselues so neer neighbours to the Prouince of Gallia, and the Allobroges. The Boij, at the mediation of the Heduans, as knowing them to be men of great valour, were permitted to dwell in their Country; to whom they gaue lands and possessions, and receiued them into the same liberties and immunities, as they themselues inioyed.

In the Heluetian Campe was found a List, or Register, vvrit in Greeke, and brought to Cæsar, containing by pole, the vvhole number that left their Country, how many of them were able to beare Armes: & in like maner, the boies, old men and women, were inrolled apart by themselues. The summary wherof was, that the whole number of the Heluetians, amounted to 263 thousand, the Tulinges, to 36 thousand, the Latobriges to 14, the Rauracks to 23, the Boij to 32. Of these there were that bare Armes, 192 thousand. The totall of all, vvere 368 thousand. A view being taken by Cæsars appointment, of those that returned home, there were found 110 thousand.

OBSERVATION.

THe directions concerning their rendry & returne, were very sound, and of good consequence. For first, in that he cõmanded them to attend his comming, in the place where they were, hee tooke away all motions of new trouble, which often remoues might haue caused, by the opportunity of some accident which might haue happened: assuring himselfe, that their aboad in that place would increase their miseries, and consequently ripen that desire of peace which they made shew of; cõsidering that the Lingones, in whose territories they were, durst not for feare of Cæsars displeasure, furnish them with any necessaries in that extremitie. Touching the securitie, which the Romaines required, of the loyaltie of such people as they conquered; their maner was to take as hostages, a sufficient number of the men

children of the chiefest men of that Nation: whose liues depended vpon their Parents fidelitie, and ended with the first suspicion of their rebellion. Which custome, besides the present good, promised the like or better securitie to the next age; when as those children by conuersation and acquaintance should be so affected to the Romaine Empire, that returning to their own country, their actions might rather tend to the aduauncement thereof, then any way be preiudiciall to the same. And, least the loue of libertie and freedome, should preuaile more with them, then that affection which Nature had inioyned them to beare to their children; he did what hee could to take away the meanes and instruments of their rebellion, by causing them to deliuer vp such Armes & weapons as were there present: and so to become sutable to that petition of peace which they had made.

The summe of all is this; he corrected the insolencie of a furious people, and reduced them to a feeling of their owne madnesse. He kept them from sacking the possessions of many thousands, in the continent of Gallia; and sent them backe againe to continue their name and Nation, in the place where they first inhabited; which continueth vnto this day. And thus we see, that there is no humour so head-strong, nor so backt with strength of circumstances, but it may meete with a remedie to qualifie the insolencie thereof, and make it subiect to correction and controlement.

CHAP. XII.

The States of Gallia congratulate Cæsars victorie: *they call a councell, and discouer their inward* griefe, concerning Ariouistus and *his forces.*

Cæsar.

THe Heluetian warre beeing thus ended, the Princes and chiefe men of all the States of Gallia, came to Cæsar, to congratulate the happinesse of this victorie; insomuch as they vvell vnderstood, that albeit the people of Rome, had by the course of this warre reuenged the iniuries vvhich heere-to-fore they had done vnto them: yet neuertheless, the issue thereof did redound no lesse profitable to the peace of Gallia, then to the Romaine Empire; forasmuch as the Heluetians, left their houses and Country, abounding with all plenty and prosperitie, for no other purpose, but to inuade the vvhole Country of Gallia, & to bring it in subiection to themselues; and, chusing out of that large Continent, some fitte, and fruitefull place of habitation, to make the rest of the States their Tributaries: And required further, that with his good leaue they might call a generall assembly at a day prefixed, of all the States of Gallia, forasmuch as they had matters of great importance to be handled, which they desired (with a common consent)

to

to preferre to his consideration. Which beeing graunted, and the day of meeting appointed, they bound themselues by oath, not to reueale the causes of their assembly, but to such as should be designed by common Councell.

The Parlement beeing broken vp, the same Princes returned to Cæsar, and desired that they might in secret treat vvith him, of the safety of themselues, & all the rest: vvhich beeing granted, cast themselues in lamentable manner at his feete, contending vvith as great earnestnes, that those things vvhich they deliuered, might not be reuealed, as they did to haue their petition graunted: forasmuch as they saw, that the discouerie of such declarations as they propounded, would necessarily pull vpon them most grieuous afflictions.

Dinitiacus the Heduan, in the name of the rest, deliuered; that Gallia was diuided into two factions: the Hedui were the head of the one, and the Auerni of the other. These two States, contending many yeeres for the principalitie, the Auerni, with the Sequans their Clients, hired the Germaines to take their part; of whom, at first, there passed ouer the Rhene some fifteene thousand: but afterwards, these barbarous people, hauing tasted the plentie & ciuilitie of the Galles, drew-ouer many more, that now there were no lesse then one hundred & twentie thousand. With these, the Hedui & their Clients, had once or oftener fought; but the successe sorted to their owne calamitie, & the vtter ouerthrowe of their Nobilitie and Senate: vvith which losses, they were so broken and decaied, that whereas heeretofore, as well by their owne credit, as by the fauour of the people of Rome, they strooke a great stroake throughout all Gallia, they vvere now driuen to deliuer the chiefest of their State, as pledges to the Sequans, and to binde themselues by oath, neuer to seeke their release or freedome, nor to implore the aide of the people of Rome, nor to seeke meanes to free themselues from their soueraignty; onely himselfe, of all the Heduans, could not be brought to take that oath, or to giue his children as hostages: for which cause he fled to Rome, and besought helpe of the Senate, beeing no way obliged to the contrary, either by oath or hostages.

But it so fell out, that the victorie became more grieuous to the Sequans then to the Heduans; for-that Ariouistus, king of the Germaines, was planted in their territories: and beeing alreadie possest of a third part of their Country, vvhich vvas the best part of all Gallia, did now require the Sequans to forgoe another third part, for-that a few months before, there vvere come vnto him twentie-foure thousand Harudes, to whom lands and possessions vvere to bee allotted. Whereby it vvould come to passe within a few yeeres, that all the Galles vvould be driuen out of their dwellings, and all the Germaines vvould come ouer the Rhene; for, there was no comparison betweene Gallia and Germanie, either in richnesse of soile or fashion of life.

Concerning Ariouistus, after he had once defeated the Galles in a battell, neer Amagetobrig, he caried himselfe very cruelly, and insolently, requiring the children of all the Nobility for hostages, & shewing strange examples of torture vpon them. If any thing vvere done, not according to his commaund or desire, hee would easilie shew himselfe to be a barbarous, fierce and hasty man; whose tyrannie they could no longer indure: and vnlesse there were help to be found in Cæsar

and

and the people of Rome, all the Galles must as the Heluetians did, forsake their Countrey, and seeke new houses, and seates of habitation, farre remote from the Germaines, and try their fortunes, what-euer befell them. If these things should happely be discouered to Ariouistus, he would doubtlesse take a seuere reuenge of all the pledges in his custodie. Cæsar might by his owne authority, or the presence of his Armie, or by the renowne of his late victory, or by the countenaunce of the people of Rome, keepe the Germaines from transporting any more Colonies into Gallia, and defend it from the iniuries of Ariouistus. This speech beeing deliuered by Dinitiacus, all that were present, vvith much weeping besought Cæsar to giue them reliefe.

Cæsar obserued, that onely the Sequans of all the rest, did no such matter, or were so affected as the others vvere; but with their heads hanging downe, looked mournefully vpon the ground: and wondering at it, asked them the cause thereof. To vvhich they made no reply, but stood silent, with the same countenaunce of sorow. And hauing oftentimes iterated his demaund, without gaining any word of aunswere; Dinitiacus the Heduan, replied, that the state of the Sequans, was heerein more miserable and grieuous then the rest; that they of all others, durst not complaine, or implore aide, although it were in secret: as hauing before their eyes the crueltie of Ariouistus being absent, no lesse then if he were present. And the rather, for that other men had safe meanes of flying away: but the Sequans, hauing receiued Ariouistus into their Country, and made him Maister of their townes, were necessarily to vndergoe all miseries.

These things being knowne, Cæsar incouraged the Galles with good vvords, and promsed them to haue a care of that matter, as hauing great hope, that by his meanes and power, Ariouistus should bee forced to offer no further iniuries. And therevpon dismissed the Councell.

OBSERVATIONS.

IN this relation, there are diuers points woorthily recommended to the discretion of such, as are willing to bee directed by other mens misaduentures. As first, into what extremities ambition doth driue her thirsty fauourites, by suppressing the better faculties of the soule, and setting such vnbridled motions on foote, as cary men headlong into most desperate attempts. For, as it had deserued commendation in either faction, so to haue caried their emulation, that by their owne meanes & strength applied to the rule of good gouerment, their authoritie might wholly haue swaied the inclination of the weaker states: so was it most odious in the Sequani, to call in forraine forces, to satisfie the appetite of their vntempered humor; and in the end, were accordingly rewarded.

Secondly, it appeareth how dangerous a thing it is, to make a stranger a stickler in a quarrell which ciuill dissension hath broched, when the partie that called him in, shall not be as able to refuse his assistance vpon occasion, as he was willing to entertaine it for aduantage. Lastly, the often discontents of these

these States shew the force of a present euill, which possesseth so vehementlie the powers of the soule, that any other calamitie, either already past, or yet to come, how great soeuer, seemeth tolerable and easie, in regard of that smart which the present griefe inflicteth.

So the Sequani, chose rather to captiuate their libertie to the Barbarisme of a sauage Nation, then to indure the Hedui to take the hand of them. And againe, to make themselues vassalls to the Romans, rather then indure the vsurping crueltie of the Germaines. And finally (as the sequell of the historie will discouer) to hazard the losse of life and Country, then to suffer the taxes & impositions of the Romans: So predominant is the present euill in mens affections, and so it preuaileth at the seate of our iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

The reasons that mooued Cæsar to vndertake this warre.

Many vvere the inducements which mooued him to take that businesse to hart; As first, that the Heduans, who were oftentimes stiled by the Senate with the title of Bretheren, Cosins and Allies, vvere in the seruitude and thraldome of the Germaines, and that their hostages vvere with Ariouistus and the Sequans: vvhich in so great a soueraigntie of the people of Rome, he tooke to be very dishonourable, both to himselfe and the Common-weale; as also, for-that hee saw it very dangerous for the Romaine Empire, that the Germaines should accustome, by little and little, to flocke in such multitudes into Gallia. Neither did he thinke he could moderate or restraine such fierce & barbarous people; but, that hauing possessed all the Continent of Gallia, they would, as the Cimbri and Teutons had done before, breake out into the Prouince, and so into Italy: especially the Sequans; beeing diuided from the Prouince but with the riuer Rhone. Cæsar.

These things he thought fitte with all speede to preuent: and the rather, for-that Ariouistus vvas growne to that pride and arrogancie, as was not to be suffered. For vvhich respect, he thought it expedient to send Embassadours vnto him, to appoint some indifferent place for parlee; for-that he had to treat vvith him, concerning publique affaires, and some matters that did much import both of them.

OBSERVATIONS.

I May heere take an occasion, to speake somewhat concerning the authoritie of the Roman Generals, which we see to be very large; considering that Cæsar of himselfe, without any further leaue of the Senate & people of Rome (for what may be gathered by this historie) did *The authoritie of the Romã Generals.*

did vndertake a warre of that consequence, and put in ieopardie the Legions, the Prouince, or what other interest the Romans had in Gallia.

Wherein we are to vnderstand, that when the state of Rome did allotte the gouernment of any Prouince to a Proconsull, they did likewise recommend vnto him, the carefull managing of such accidents, as might any way concerne the good of that regiment. For, considering that such causes as may trouble a well ordered gouernment, are as well externall and forraine, as internall, and bred within the bounds of that Empire: it had been to small purpose, to haue giuen him onely authoritie, to maintaine a course of wholesome gouernment at home; and no meanes to take away such oppositions, which forraine accident might set vp against him. And so we see, that Cæsar vndertooke the Heluetian warre, in regard of the safetie of the Prouince: and this againe with Ariouistus, least the Germans should so multiply in Gallia, that the Prouince it selfe might at length bee indangered. Neither had their Generals authoritie onely to vndertake these warres: but the absolute disposition also of the whole course thereof, whether it were to treat, capitulate, compound, or what els they thought conuenient for the aduauncement of the Common-weale, did wholly rest vpon their direction; *repub. bene gesta*, beeing the stile of the warrant for all their actions.

Neither may we thinke, that any subordinate or depending authoritie, can be so powerfull in the course of businesses, as that which absolutely commaundeth without controlement, and proceedeth according to the opportunitie of time and occasion, further then either prescription or limitation can direct it. And therefore, whensoeuer the Romaine affaires were distressed, and driuen to an exigent, they created a Dictator, that had *regiam potestatem*, such an absolute commaund, that whatsoeuer power rested either in the Consuls, or in the Tribunes, in the Senate, or in the people, it gaue way to the greatnesse of that Magistrate; that there might bee no let or retracting power to weaken that course, which nothing but an absolute cōmaund could establish, for the good of the Common-weale. And yet notwithstanding this absolute gouernment, they attributed such power to the course of humane actions, that by the punishment which they inflicted vpon dissolute and vnfortunate Leaders, they seemed to acknowledge, that no man, how circumspect soeuer, could promise more then likelihoods or probabilities of good fortune, as farre foorth as his meanes and industry could atchieue it. For, old M. Fabius, pleading for the life of his gallant sonne, and opposing the rigour of Papyrius the Dictator, with examples of antiquitie, saith: *Populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem vnquam atrociorem fuisse in eos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amisissent, quàm vt pecunia eos multaret: capite anquisitum ob rem malè gestam de imperatore nullum ad eam diem esse.* The people, saith he, in whom the soueraigne power of things consisteth, neuer shewed greater displeasure against such, as had lost an Armie, either by rashnesse or vnskilfulnesse, then imposing a fine vpon them: but, to bring the life of a Generall in question for failing in his indeauours, was neuer heard of to that day.

Liuie lib. 8.

The condition of the inferiour Officers of their Campe, was farre otherwise in

in regard of Militarie discipline: for, prescription guided them in all their seruices, and the chiefest part of their duetie was obedience; although they saw euident reason to the contrarie, and found their directions vnperfect in that behalfe: and therefore Cæsar saith vpon that occasion: *Aliæ sunt legati partes atque imperatoris: alter omnia agere ad præscriptum, alter liberè ad summam rerum consulere debet.* The office of a Legate or Lieutenant, differeth from that of a Generall: the one doing all things by prescription; & the other freely deliberating of whatsoeuer may concerne the cause. And this course the Romans held, concerning the authoritie of their Generals.

Lib. 3. de bello Ciuili.

CHAP. XIIII.

Ariouistus his answere: a second Embassage, *with the successe thereof.*

(·.·)

O that Embassage, Ariouistus answered; That if his occasions had required Cæsars assistance, he vvould haue furthered them with his owne presence: and hee thought it as reasonable, that if it vvere in his meanes to pleasure the Romans, Cæsar ought not to thinke much of the like labour. For his owne part, hee durst not come into those parts of Gallia vvhich Cæsar possessed, vvithout an Armie; nor could draw an Armie to a head without great trouble & expence. The thing that he most wondered at, was, that the Romaines, or Cæsar, had to doe in that part of Gallia, vvhich the law of Armes had made his inheritance.

Caesar.

Vpon the returne of this aunswere, Cæsar framed a second Embassage; the purport vvhereof was: Forasmuch as he thus requited the honour vvherewith the people of Rome had beautified his best dignity (for, in Cæsars Consulship, the authoritie of their Empire had vouchsafed to esteeme of him, as a King in his dominions, & as a friend vnto their State) & that he disdained to admit of a Parlee, concerning the cõmon good; let him knowe, that these vvere the things that he required to be performed by him: First, that hee should not suffer any more troopes of Germaines to be transported ouer the Rhene into Gallia. Secondlie, that he should deliuer vp those Hostages which hee had of the Heduans and Sequans; & should cease to molest them further vvith war or other iniuries. These things if he did performe, Cæsar vvould assure him of a gratefull acceptance on the behalfe of the people of Rome: otherwise, forasmuch as in the Consulships of M. Messala, and L. Piso, the Senate had decreed, That he that should obtaine the gouernment of the Prouince, should as neere as it would stand vvith the good of the Common-vveale, indeauour the defence of their Associates and Friends: therefore he would not neglect the iniuries done vnto the Heduans.

To these Mandates, Ariouistus replied: The law of Armes kept this tenure amongst

mongst all Nations; That a Conquerour might gouerne a subdued people, according as he thought best for his owne safetie. The people of Rome, did not direct the course of their gouernment, by another mans prescript, but by their own arbitrement: and, as he had not directed the Romans, so ought not they to meddle with his proceedings.

The Heduans, hauing tried the fortune of vvarre, vvere by right become his Stipendaries; wherin Cæsar offered great wrong, for-that his comming thither, had made their tribute much lesse vnto him then before. Touching their Hostages; his purpose was still to retaine them. Neither vvould hee make any vniust warre vpon any of their Associates, if they obserued the Articles of agreement, and paid their yeerely tribute: but if they failed in that, the fraternity of the Romaines would come too late to their succour. If Cæsar vvould needs vndertake their quarrell; Hee was to let him knowe, that no man euer contended with Ariouistus, but to his owne destruction. Try vvhen he would, he should find what valour consisted in the Germaines, that for foureteene yeeres space, were neuer couered with other roofe then the Heauens.

OBSERVATION.

Nd thus farre proceeded Cæsar with Ariouistus, in debating the wrongs and agrieuances of the Hedui. Wherein appeareth the difference betweene a matter handled according to morall ciuilitie, in tearmes of mildnesse and pleasing accent, and that which is rudely deliuered, & dependeth rather vpon the plainnesse of the project, then suted with words fitte for perswasion. For, that which Ariouistus alleadged, to make good his interest in Gallia, was as consonant to reason, as any thing to the contrary vrged by Cæsar.

But as the Lacedemonian said of one, That hee spake the truth otherwise then it should be spoken: so it may be said of Ariouistus aunswere, that it wanted that sweeting humanitie which giueth credit to veritie it selfe; forasmuch as it proceedeth from a well tempered spirit, wherin no turbulent passion seemeth to cōtroll the force of reason, nor hinder the sentence of true iudgement; but rather, seasoning her conceptions with humilitie, doth couertly complaine of open wrong, and strengthen her assertions with a pleasing deliuerie. And therefore, how great soeuer the controuersie be, that partie which exceedeth not the boundes of modestie, but maketh mildnesse his chiefest aduocate, will so preuaile in any auditorie, that albeit equitie doth disallow her title; yet the manner of his cariage will cleare him from offering wrong, in that he vseth the sequels of innocencie, to proue his interest in that which he demaundeth. But to leaue this circumstance, as onely to be noted, let vs proceed to the vvarre it selfe, which I made the second part of this historie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

The *Treuiri* bring newes of one hundred townes-*ships of the Sweui, that were come to the Rhene. Cæsar* taketh in Besanson: his souldiers are surprised *vvith an extreame feare of the* Germaines.

AT the same time, as this answere vvas returned to Cæsar, there came likewise Embassadours from the Heduans and Treuires. The Heduans complained, that the Harudes, lately transported into Gallia, did depopulate and waste their borders, and that they could not buy their peace of Ariouistus, vvith giuing of Hostages for their alleageance. The Treuires brought newes of one hundred townes-ships of the Sweui, that vvere come to the riuer Rhene, to seeke a passage into Gallia, conducted by Nasua and Cimberius, two bretheren. Whereat, Cæsar beeing exceedingly mooued, thought his best meanes of preuention to consist in celeritie, least the difficulty of resisting should growe greater, when those new forces of the Sweui, vvere ioyned with the power vvhich was already with Ariouistus. And therefore, hauing prouided Corne, hee made haste to seeke the Germaines. And hauing gone three daies iourney on his way, he had intelligence, that Ariouistus with all his forces, was gone to take in Besanson, the greatest towne of the Sequans; and that hee vvas three daies iourney on his way already. Cæsar.

Cæsar, knowing how much it imported him to preuent that disaduantage (forasmuch as the Towne abounded vvith all necessarie prouisions for vvarre, and vvas so sited, that hee that commaunded it, might prolong the warre at his owne pleasure: beeing incircled vvith the riuer Alduabis; excepting a small space of sixe hundred foote, vvhich was fortified vvith an exceeding high Hill, the foote whereof did at each end ioyne vnto the Riuer, and the Hill strengthened with a wall, and so ioyned to the towne) made all the haste hee could to take the towne, and there left a guarizon. And as hee rested there a few daies, to make prouision of Corne, and other necessaries, the Romaines inquiring of the Galles and Marchants, concerning the qualitie of the Germaines; vnderstood that they were men of a huge stature, of courage inuincible, and of great practice and experience in feates of Armes; vvhereof the Galles had oftentimes made triall: For, when they incountered them, they vvere not able to indure so much as the sternenesse of their countenaunce, or the fiercenesse of their lookes. The vvhole Armie conceiued such a feare thereat, that all mens minds were wonderfullie appalled. This feare beganne first amongst the Tribunes and Commaunders of horse, and such others as for friendship sake followed Cæsar from Rome, & had small or no skill in matter of vvar. These men, faining some one excuse, & some another, of very earnest business, which called thē home, desired leaue to depart. Some others, whō shame would not suffer to forsake the Campe, bewraied the like le doux.

passion in their countenances & hauiour: for, hiding themselues in their Tents, they either bewailed their destanie secretly to thē selues, or otherwise, with their acquaintance and familiar friends. They lamented the danger they were all like to fall into; so that throughout the vvhole Campe, there was nothing but making and signing of Testaments. And through the talke and fearefulnes of these men, the old souldiers and Centurions, and such as had great experience in the Campe, beganne by little and little to apprehend the terrour wher-with the rest were amazed: and those that would seeme to be lesse fearefull, said, they feared not the enemy, but the narrownesse of the waies, & the greatnesse of the woods, that were betweene them and Ariouistus; or otherwise they cast doubts vvhere they might haue prouision of Corne. And many stuck not to tell Cæsar, that vvhensoeuer he should giue commaundement to march forward, or aduaunce the Standarts, the souldiers would refuse to doe it.

OBSERVATION.

WHerein, for that we find a strange alteration, no way answerable to that courage, which a late gotten victorie doth vsually breed in noble spirits; it shall not bee amisse, a little to insist vpon the qualitie of the accident, and to gather such breefe instructions from their weakenesse, as may best serue to qualifie the amasement of horrour, and mittigate the frensie of so violent a passion. And albeit my ignorance in the works of Nature, cannot promise any such learning, as may discouer the true meanes and secret motions, whereby a sore conceiued feare doth trouble the senses, and astonish the mind; yet sith the history offereth it to our scanning, giue me leaue onely to note the strangenesse of the circumstance, and rudely to delineat the purtraiture of a beast oftener seene then wel knowne, vsing the vnwieldie pile for my pensile, and suting my speech to a warlike auditorie. I knowe not how it happeneth, but thus it may happen, that when the senses receiue intelligence of an eminent euill, which may either dispossesse the soule of this earthly mansion, or trouble the quiet wherein shee resteth; the spirits (as it seemeth) by the direction of their soueraigne Mistresse, retire themselues into the inner cabinets and secreter pauillions of the body, where the chiefest part of the soule is most resident: & so they leaue the frontier quarters of her kingdome, naked and vnguarizoned, the better to strengthen that capitall Cittie of the heart, out of which the life cannot flie, but to the vtter ruine and destruction of the whole bodie. For, feare is not onelie a perturbation of the soule, proceeding from the opinion it hath of some euill to come: but it is also a contraction, and closing vp of the hart, when the blood and the spirits are recalled from the outvvard partes, to assist that place which giueth life and motion to all the rest. In this Chaos and confusion of humours and spirits, when the multiplicitie of faculties (which otherwise require an ordinate distinction in their seruice, and by the order of nature, should bee disposed into seuerall instruments, and be dilated throughout the bodie)

body) are thus blended confusedly together, the conceptions of the mind, which presently rise from these aduertisements, are suddenly choaked vvith the disordered mixture of so many seuerall properties, and are stifled as it were in the throng, before they can be transported to our iudgement, or examined by reason, for want of that ordinate vniformitie of place which nature requireth in the powers of the mind. And hence proceedeth that amazednesse and astonishment, which so daunteth the harts of men, when they are taken with this passion, that because the soule giueth no counsell, the body can afford no motion, but standeth frozen through the extremitie of the perturbation, benummed in sense, and forsaken of the spirits. So we read, that Theophilus the Emperour, in an ouerthrowe which he had giuen him by the Hagerans, was strooken with such an excessiue feare, that hee could not betake himselfe to flight (*Adeo pauor etiam auxilia formidat*) vntill one of his chiefe Commanders shaking him by the shoulder, as though he were to awake him out of a deep sleep, threatned him with present death, if he would not preuent the ruine of the Empire, by vsing that meanes which was onely left for his safetie.

Againe, if in that turbulent consistory, the spirits chance distinctly to receiue any apprehension proceeding from the forging facultie of the soule, they carie it presently to execution, before it be examined by reason, and follow the action with such vehemencie, that they leaue no place for better aduice and reknowledgement. And this is the cause, that oftentimes through extreamitie of feare, to auoid one euill, we run headlong into a worse, and find a greater danger in the meanes wee vse to auoid a lesse; because reason did not first trie the apprehension, before it was deliuered to externall Agents. And so we find in the battell betweene Germanicus and the Almaines, that two grosse troopes of souldiers were driuen into such an extasie of feare, that taking contrarie courses to auoid one and the same danger, they either of them fledde to that place, which the other had quitted: neither could they bee aduised by each others flight, that the places which they sought after, afforded them no remedie.

And, albeit reason be called to counsell, whē a parlee is summoned of composition, yet it beareth so small a sway in the consultation, that the will of it selfe concludeth to betray vertue to dishonour; and so to purchase peace, with the losse of the soules chiefest treasure: which ought euer to bee estimated at a higher rate, then any other happinesse which can betide the mind. For among all the sensible things of this world, there is no creature that hath such a confused feare, or is more amazed therewith, then man is: neither is there any miserie greater, or any bondage more shamefull, seruile, or vile, then this, which maketh men very abiects of all other creatures, to redeeme the euill which the danger threatneth: and then doth shame follow after so base a part, and aggrauate the burthen of the sinne with lothsome disgrace, and penitent discontentment; adding oftentimes Aloes to Wormewood, and making the end grieuouser then the beginning. And thus doth danger breed feare, and feare yieldeth to dishonour, and dishonour bringeth shame, and shame beeing alwaies mingled with wrath & anger, reuengeth it selfe vpon it selfe, & bringeth more perrill then the first danger could threaten.

Whereby it appeareth, that as the affections of the mind are bred one of another: so, on the contrarie part, some are bridled and restrained by others; for, as enuie, hatred, & anger, rise oftentimes of loue, so is ioy lessened with griefe, enuie with mercie, and feare with shame.

But, forasmuch as all such perturbations, proceede of ignorance and inconsiderateneſſe, whereby we thinke that the euill is greater then indeede it is; let vs consider what disposition of our iudgement, best moderateth the violent heat of these affections. And first, touching the passages, whereby the soule receiueth her aduertisments, as they are of diuers natures, the chiefest whereof are the eye and the eare: so are their auisos different in qualitie, and require a seuerall consideration to be rightlie discerned. The intelligence by the eye, is more certaine then that which commeth by the way of hearing; forasmuch as the eie is a witnesse it selfe of euery action, whereof it taketh notice; neither is it deceiued in her proper obiect: and therefore, the iudgement is not much troubled, to determine definitiuely how great or how small the danger is, when the relations carie alwaies that certaintie. And, albeit the eare in like manner bee not deceiued in her proper obiect; for it faithfully giueth vp that sense, which sound hath deliuered vnto it: yet, forasmuch as the fantasie hath greater scope to coine her vaine conceptions, in regard of the absence of the action, it is necessarie, that the discoursing facultie, bee called for an assistant, before the iudgement can truly determine: and then it will appeare, that the truth doth not alwaies aunswere the report which is made thereof; inasmuch as diseased spirits, will not stick to dilate or qualifie relations, according to the key wherein they themselues are tuned. And therefore, this first commeth to be considered of in all such violent commotions, by which of these two senses the first intelligence was receiued. But concerning the iudgement it selfe, this is most certaine, that the more it is infected with the corruptions of the flesh, the more violent are the affections of the soule. And againe, the purer the iudgement is, & the higher it is lifted vp from earthly natures, being no further interessed therein, then to hold a resolution of well dooing; the fewer and lighter are the affections, which trouble and molest it: for, then it better discerneth the truth and falsehood, good or euill that is in things.

To redresse this inconuenience, Cæsar betooke himselfe to the fittest & most proper remedie: which was by the authoritie of his speech, to restore reason to her former dignitie, and by discourse, which feare had interrupted in them, to put downe a vsurping passion, which had so troubled the gouernment of the soule; recalling it to the meane of true resolution, which was to moderate audacitie with warinesse, but not to choake valour with beastly cowardice: for, these Oratorie inducing perswasions, were not the least point of their discipline; considering how they framed the inward habite of the mind (beeing the fountaine and beginning of all motion) to giue life and force to those actions, which the seueritie of outward discipline commanded. For, as lawes and constitutions of men, inforce obedience of the bodie: so reason, and perswasions, must winne the soules consent: according to that saying; *Homines duci volunt, non cogi.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar his speech to the Armie, concerning *this feare.*

Cæsar being informed of these things, he called a Councell of vvarre, admitting all the Centurions, of what degrees or orders soeuer, vnto the same: And, beeing thus assembled, he greatly blamed them; First, that any man should be so inquisitiue, as to imagine to himselfe, whither, and vpon what seruice they vvere caried. Concerning Ariouistus, he had in the time of Cæsars Consulshippe, most earnestly sued for the friendship of the people of Rome: and why then should any man misdeeme, that he should so vnaduisedly goe back from his duetie? For his owne part, he was verily perswaded, that if Ariouistus once knew his demaunds, & vnderstood the reasonable offers that he would make him, he would not easily reiect his friendship, or the fauour of the people of Rome. But if he were so madde, as to make warre vpon them, why should they feare him? or why should they despaire, either of their own prowess, or of Cæsars diligence? For, if it came to that point, the enemie that they vvere to incounter, had beene tried what he could doe twice before; first, in the memorie of their fathers, when the Cimbri and Teutoni were vanquished by Marius, at vvhat time the Army merited no lesse honour then the Generall: and now of late againe, in Italie, at the insurrection of the bondmen; who were not a little furthered through the practice and discipline they had learned of the Romaines. Whereby it might be discerned, how good a thing it is to be constant & resolute; inasmuch, as whom for a time they feared without cause, beeing naked and vnarmed, the same men afterwards (although well armed, and Conquerers withall) they nobly ouercame. And to be short, these vvere no other Germaines, then those whom the Heluetians had vanquished in diuers conflicts; and not onely in their owne Country, where the Heluetians dwelt themselues, but also euen at home at their own doores: and yet the same Heluetians were not able to make their party good against our Armies.

If any man vvere mooued at the flight and ouerthrowe of the Galles, vpon inquirie he should find, that being wearied with continuall warres (after that Ariouistus had for many monthes together kept himselfe within his Campe, in a boggie and fenny Country) and despairing of any occasion of battell, he suddenly set vpon them as they were dispersed, and so ouercame them, rather by policie then by force. Which, although it tooke place against sauage and vnskilfull people, yet was not Ariouistus so simple, as to thinke that hee could insnare our Armies with the like subtilties. As for those that fained the cause of their feare, to bee the difficultie of prouision of Corne, and the dangerousnesse of the way, they seemed very arrogant in their conceits, in presuming to direct their Generall, as if he had not knowne what pertained to his dutie. The Sequans and Lingons, had vndertooke that charge; besides that, Corne was almost ripe euery where in the fields: and what the waies were, should shortly be seene.

Where-as it vvas giuen out, that the souldiers would not obey his Mandates, nor aduaunce their Standarts, he little valued it; for, he was well assured, that if an Army refused to be obedient to their Generall, it was either because he was thought to be vnfortunate in his enterprises; or else, for-that he was notoriously conuicted of Auarice: but the vvhole course of his life, should witnesse his innocencie; and the ouerthrowe of the Heluetians, his happinesse. And therefore, that which he was minded to haue put off for a longer time, he would now put in execution out of hand; for, the night following, at the fourth watch, hee would dislodge frō thence: that without further delay, he might vnderstand, whether shame, and respect of their dutie, vvould preuaile more vvith them, then feare or cowardise. And though he wist that no man else would follow him; yet notwithstanding, he would goe with the tenth legion alone, of whom he had no doubt or suspicion, and would take them as a guard to his person. Cæsar had chiefely fauoured this legion, and put much trust in them for their valour.

Vpon the making of this speech, the minds of all men were wonderfully changed; for, it bredde in euery one a great alacritie and desire to fight: neither did the tenth legion forget to giue him thanks by their Tribunes, for the good opinion he had of them; assuring him of their readinesse to set forward to the warre. And then likewise, the rest of the legions made meanes, by the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions of the first Orders, to giue Cæsar satisfaction; protesting, they neither doubted nor feared, nor gaue any censure of the issue of that vvarre, but alwaies left it to the wisedome of the Generall.

Their satisfaction beeing taken, and a view beeing made of the waies by Dinitiacus (whom, of all the Galles, he best trusted) and report being by him made, that in fetching a compasse of fiftie miles, hee might carie his Armie in open and champaine Countries; in the fourth watch of the night, according to his former saying, he set forward.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the speech it selfe, are presented many specialities, both concerning their discipline and Militarie instructions, which deserue examination; amongst which I note, first, the extraordinarie number admitted to the Councell; *Omnium ordinum ad id concilium adhibitis Centurionibus:* Where-as there were vsually no more admitted to their councell of warre, but the Legates, Questor, Tribunes, and the Centurions of the first Orders; which I vnderstand to be the first *Hastate*, the first *Princeps*, and the first *Pilum* of euery legion. And this is manifestly prooued out of the fift Commentarie, where Cicero was besieged by Ambiorix: in which, amongst other, there were two valiant Centurions, Pulfio, and Varenus; betweene whom, there was euery yeere great emulation for place of preferment: *& iam primis ordinibus appropinquabant*, saith Cæsar, that is, they had passed by degrees, through the lower orders of the legion, and were very neere the dignitie of the first cohort; wherein, as in all the rest, there were three maniples, and in euery maniple, two orders.

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THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe first motiue which he vseth to recall their exiled iudgement, discouered their breach of discipline: for, contrarie to the course of Militarie gouernment, they had presumed not onely to make inquirie, but to giue out, whether, and vpon what seruice they were caried; which in the rigour of Camp-policie, could not passe without due punishment: for, what can more contradict the fortunate successe of an expedition, then to suffer to bee measured with the vulgar conceit? or weighed in the ballance of such false iudgments? especially, when those weake Censors are to be Actors, and Executioners of the dessigne: for, then, euery man will sute the nature of the action according to his owne humour; although his humour be led with blindnesse, & haue no other direction, then an vncertaine apprehension of profit, or disaduantage.

And in this case, there cannot be a better president then Nature hath prescribed: for, as naturall Agents, whilst they concur to produce a worke of absolute perfection, neither know what they do, nor can discerne the things they look vpon; but yield themselues to be guided by a Moderator of infinite knowledge: so ought a multitude to submit their ability to the direction of some wise and prudent Captaine, that beholdeth the action in true honour; and balanceth the losse of many particulars, with the health and safetie of the publique good. For, if euery man should prescribe; who should obay? *Tam nescire quædam milites, quàm scire oportet*, saith Otho in Tacitus, vpon the like disorder: and againe, *Parendo potiùs quam imperia ducum sciscitando, res militares continentur.* Which proueth, that the greatest vertue which is required in a souldier, is obedience; as a thing wherein the force of all discipline consisteth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Whether men haue greater courage in their owne or in a strangers Country.

IN the reason which he vseth to proue their disparitie of valour, in regard of the Romans, being superiour to the Heluetians, that had oftentimes ouerthrowne the Germans; hee strengtheneth the argument with the aduantage of the place: and saith, that the Heluetians had put them to the worst; not onely where the Heluetians dwelt themselues, but euen in their owne Country, and at home at their owne doores: as though an enemie were charged with greater furie in the presence of a mans owne Country and dearest friends, then in a strange & vnknowne land.

This question was handled in the Romaine Senate, by Fabius Maximus, & Scipio, surnamed Africanus, when they sate in councell how to ridde their Country of that subtile Carthaginian, that for sixteene yeeres space, had fretted like a canker the beautie of Italie, wasted the land, and brought it to desolation, sacked their confederates, or alienated them from their dutie, ouerthrowne their Armies, slaine their Consuls, and threatned their imperiall Cittie with ruine and destruction. Fabius, vpon the motion to make warre in Africk,

frick, thought it agreeable to nature, first to defend that which was their owne, before they atte mpted other mens possessions: when peace was established in Italy, then let war be set on foote in Africk; and first let them be without feare themselues, before they went about to terrifie others: for, those forces afforded little hope of victorie in another kingdom, that were not able to free their owne Country from so dangerous an enemie. Alcibiades ouerthrew the Athenian Common-weale with the like counsell: and concerning Hanniball, let them be sure of this, that they should find him a sorer enemy in his own Country, then in another kingdome.

Scipio, on the other side, caried on with the honour of so glorious an enterprise, wanted neither reasons nor examples to impugne Fabius his authoritie: for, he shewed that Agathocles, the Syracusian king, beeing a long time afflicted with the Punick warre, auerted the Carthaginean from Cicily, by transporting his forces into Africk: but how powerfull it was to take away feare, by retorting danger vpon the Oppressor, could there bee a presenter example then Hanniball? There was great difference in the nature of the action, betweene the spoile and waste of a strangers Country, and to see their owne natiue Country wasted with sword and destruction: *Plus animi est inferenti periculum, quàm propulsanti.* For, he that inuadeth anothers kingdome, easily discouereth both the aduantage which may be taken against the enemy, and the strength wher-vpon he resteth. And amongst the variable euents of war, many vnexpected occasions arise, which present victorie to him that is ready to take it; and many strange chances so alter the course of things, that no foresight can discerne what may happen.

With these, and the like remonstrances, this question of no lesse doubt then importance, was handled by two famous & woorthy Captaines, whose minds (as it seemed) were intangled with such particular affections for the present, as might rather draw them to wrest reason to their owne humour, then to determine in sinceritie of iudgement, vpon what specialities the truth was grounded, in the contrarietie of their positions. But, to leaue other commodities or disaduantages, which are annexed vnto either part, I will onely set down some reasons, to proue how valour and courage may either grow or be abated, by the accidents which rise in a warre of that nature. And first, this cannot be denied, the testimonie of an vnfallible truth beeing grounded vpon the propertie of mans nature; that as aduantage bringeth hope of victory, and hope conceiueth such spirits as vsually follow, when the thing which is hoped for, is effected; and thereby the courage becommeth hardie and resolute in victorie: so on the other side, disaduantage and danger breed feare, and feare so checketh valour, and controlleth the spirits, that vertue and honour giue place to distrust, and yield vp their interest to such directors, as can afford nothing but diffidencie and irresolution.

Neither can it be denied, but he that setteth vpō an enemy in a strange countrey, and so preuenteth such attempts as might be made vpon his owne territories, hath that aduantage which giueth life vnto action, and steeleth his enterprise with resolution. For, besides the commoditie of leauing when he list, and procee-

proceeding as farre foorth as hee ſhall find his meanes able to fortunate his attempts; he knoweth that the ſtrife & controuerſie is not for his natiue Country, which he quietly enioyeth, & is reſerued at all times to entertaine him, howſoeuer Fortune ſhall fauour his deſſignes: but, for a Strangers kingdom, which his ambition thirſteth after; wherein, foraſmuch as the riches and vvealth of that State, are laid before them, as the recompence of their labour, beſides the honour which is atchieued thereby, euery mans valour ſoareth at a high pitch, and their courage is increaſed, without any trouble or diſturbance of the other faculties of the mind. But, when a Prince ſhall be aſſaulted in his owne kingdome, and in the ſight of his ſubiects haue his land conſumed with ruine and deſtruction; the danger will ſo diſturbe the powers of the ſoule, that through the turbulent diſorder of the weaker parts, the better faculties will loſe their prerogatiue of aduiſing how the enemy may bee beſt reſiſted; when as euerie man ſhall apprehend the terrour of the danger, and few or none conceiue the true meanes to auoide it.

And albeit the preſence of ſuch things as are deareſt to his ſoule, as the pietie and reſpect of aged parents, the tender affection towards wife and children, are ſufficient to raiſe valour to the higheſt point of reſolution; yet the motiues are of ſuch weight, as will rather make them diffident of their owne worth, as vnſufficient to maintaine ſo great a cauſe, then hold them in that key which true honour affecteth: foraſmuch as the terrour and feare of ſo great a danger, will preſent a greater meaſure of woes to their mind, then the hope of victorie can afford them ioy.

Hence therefore groweth the difference, between him that ſeeketh to maintaine that eſtate which he hath in poſſeſsion by force of Armes; and an other, that ſeeketh to increaſe his meanes by valour. For, the former is preſented with the danger of loſing all his eſtate; which affrighteth and troubleth, hauing no other reward propounded vnto him: and the other looketh vpon the aduantage which hee gaineth by ouercomming; which much increaſeth his valour, without any loſſe or diſaduantage, if hee chance to bee put to the worſt. And therefore, there is alwaies great odds betweene him that hath already loſt his goods, and is by that meanes become deſperate, hauing nothing further to loſe; and another, that yet keepeth his ſubſtance, but is in danger to loſe it: for, feare will ſo diſmay his mind, that he will rather diſtruſt his owne abilitie, then entertaine a reſolution of valour.

To prooue this, wee neede not ſeeke other examples, then thoſe imperiall Citties, in whoſe cauſe this controuerſie was firſt mooued. For, when Hanniball was come into Italie, and had defeated Sempronius the Conſull at Trebeas, the Romaines were driuen into ſuch an extaſie of terrour, that they believed verily, that the enemie was then comming to aſſault the Citty; neither had they any hope or aide in themſelues, to keep or defend the ſame. On the other ſide, Scipio was no ſooner landed in Africk, but there was ſuch a tumult in Carthage, as though the Cittie had beene alreadie taken: neither could the opinion of victorie, which Hanniball by a conquering Armie in Italie had confirmed for ſixteene yeeres together, preuaile in the apprehenſion of ſo immi-

nent

nent a danger. And then that which Fabius borrowed of Nature to teach the Romans (that first men ought to defend their owne, before they seeke other mens possessions) was carefully followed by the Carthaginians: for, with all speed they sent for Hanniball out of Italy, to be their Champion against young Scipio. If therefore other things bee correspondent (as there are many other particularities concerning the power and strength of either Nation to be considered) I take it much better for a Prince to inuade an enemy in his own country, then to attend him at home in his owne kingdome.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

THe last circumstance which I note in this speech, was the trust which he reposed in the tenth legion, being in it selfe peraduenture as faultie as any other: wherin he shewed great Art and singular Wisdom. For, he that hath once offended, & is both burdened with the guilt of conscience, and vpbraided with the reproache of men, can hardly be perswaded that his fault can be purged with any satisfaction. And although the punishment be remitted, yet the memorie of the fact will neuer be blotted out with any vertuous action; but still remaineth, to cast dishonour vpon the offender, and to accuse him of disloialtie.

And therefore, it oftentimes happeneth, that an errour beeing once rashlie committed, through despaire of remission, admitteth no true penitencie, but either draweth on more grieuous crimes, confirming that of the Poet, *Scelere scelus luendum est*; or maintaineth his errour by wilfull obstinacie: as it is said of the Lion, that beeing found by Hunters in a Caue, will rather die in the place then quit it, for shame that he was found in so base a place of refuge; and therefore his propertie is thus expressed, *ingrediendo cæcus, exeundo protervus.* This did Cæsar wisely preuent, by cleering the tenth legion of that, which he accused the rest of the Armie; which made them the more earnest to answer his expectation, inasmuch as they were witness to themselues of a common errour: and the other legions, enuying at their fortune, resolued to shew as great alacritie in the sequell of the warre, and to deserue more then the iudgement of the Emperour had imputed to their fellowes.

CHAP. XVII.

The treatie betweene Cæsar and *Ariouistus.*

Cæsar.

THe seauenth day, as hee continued on his march, his Espialls brought him word, that Ariouistus with all his forces, vvas within twentie foure miles of that place: who as soone as he vnderstood of Cæsars comming, sent Embassadours vnto him; Declaring that forasmuch as hee was come some-vvhat neerer, and that he might doe it without danger, he was content

tent to admit of a parlee. Cæsar refused not the offer; thinking now to find him reasonable, in that he offered of his owne accord, vvhat he had formerly denied at Cæsars request: and thereby was in good hope, that vnderstanding vvhat was required, he would in the end, consider of the many fauours he had receiued frō the people of Rome, and desist from such wilful courses.

The fift day following was appointed for the Treaty. In the meane time, there passed often Messages reciprocally betweene them. Ariouistus required, that Cæsar would not bring any footmen to the parlee, for-that hee feared to be circumuented by treacherie; and therefore thought fitte, that either partie should come onely with their Caualrie: otherwise he vvould not giue meeting.

Cæsar, not vvilling to put off the Treatie for any such cause, nor yet daring to put himselfe in trust to the French horse, thought it most conuenient to leaue the French Riders behind him; and to set the souldiers of the tenth legion (whom he best trusted) vpon their horses: that if he stood in need, he might haue a faithfull guard of his friends about him. Wherevpon, one of the souldiers said prettily, that Cæsar had doone more for them then he had promised; for, hee had said before, he would make the tenth legion as a guard to his person, and now he had inrolled them all for horsemen.

There vvas a great and open Plaine, and in the midst thereof a rising Mount, vvhich was almost in the mid-way, betweene both the Campes: and thither, according to the agreement, they came to parlee. The legion vvhich Cæsar had brought vvith him on horsebacke, hee placed two hundred pases from the said Mount: and likewise the horsemen of Ariouistus, stood in the same distance. Ariouistus requested, they might talke on horseback, and bring each of them tenne persons to the conference. At their meeting, Cæsar beganne his speech vvith a commemoration of the fauours and benefites the Senate had done vnto him; in that hee vvas by their authoritie, intituled by the name of a King and a Friend: & thervpon, had receiued great gifts. Which fauour fell but vnto a few; and was by the Romaines giuen onely to men of great desert: Whereas hee, vvithout anie occasion of accesse vnto them, or other iust cause on his behalfe, had obtained those honours, through his curtesie, and the bountie of the Senate.

Hee shewed him further, vvhat ancient and reasonable causes of amitie, tied them so firme to the Heduans: What Decrees & orders of Senate, had oftentimes been made in their fauour and behoofe: That from all antiquity, the Heduans had held the principalitie of Gallia; and that, long before they vvere in amitie vvith the Romaines. The people of Rome had alwaies this custome, not onelie to indeauour that their Allies and Confederates should not lose any thing of their proper; but also, that they might increase in dignitie and reputation: and therfore, vvho could indure to see that forced from them, which they quietly possessed, when they entered league with the Romaines?

In like manner, he required the performance of such things, which he had formerly giuen in charge to his Embassadours; that hee should not make vvarre, either vpon the Heduans, or their Associates. That he should restore their hostages: and if hee could not returne any part of the Germaines backe againe ouer the Rhene, yet he should forbeare to bring any more into that Country.

Ariouistus

Ariouistus made little aunswere to Cæsars demaunds, but spake much of his owne vertues and valour; That he was come ouer the Rhene, not out of his owne desire, but at the mediation and intreatie of the Galles; that hee had not left his house and kindred but with great hope of high rewards; the possessions hee had in Gallia, were giuen him by themselues; their hostages vvere voluntarily deliuered vnto him; he tooke tribute by the law of Armes, which was such, as Conquerours might lay vpon the vanquished; he made no war vpon the Galles, but the Galles made warre vpon him: All the States of Gallia came to fight against him, and had put themselues into the field; whose forces vvere in one battell all dispersed and ouerthrowne. If they were desirous to make another triall, he was ready to vndertake them: but if they would haue peace, it vvere an iniury to retract that tribute, which of their owne accord they had paid vntill that time. He expected that the Amitie of the people of Rome, should be rather an honor and a safety, then a losse vnto him, and that he had sought it to that end: but if by their meanes, the tribute due vnto him should be retracted, hee would as willingly refuse their friendship as he had desired it. In that hee had brought so many Germans into Gallia, it was rather for his own defence, thē of any purpose to subdue the Country; as might appeare, by that he had not come thither but vpon intreatie, & set no war on foot but for his own defence. He was seated in Gallia before the Romaines came thither; neither had the people of Rome before that time, caried their Army beyond the bounds of their Prouince: and therefore he knew not what he meant to intrude himselfe into his possessions. This was his Prouince of Gallia, as that was ours: and as it was not lawfull for him to commaund in our quarters; so it was not fitting, that they should disturb his gouernment.

In that hee alleadged, the Heduans were by decree of Senate adopted into the amitie of the people of Rome; he was not so barbarous, or vnacquainted with the course of things, as to be ignorant, that in the last warre of the Allobroges, they were ayding and assisting to the Romaines: and in the quarrell the Heduans had with the Sequans, the Romans were in like manner assisting vnto them. Wherevpon he had good occasion to suspect, that Cæsar, vnder pretence of league & amity, kept his Army in Gallia for his ruine and destruction: and that if hee did not depart and withdraw his Army out of those Countries, hee would no longer take him for a friend, but for an enemy. And if his fortune were to slay him, hee should performe a very acceptable seruice to many noble & cheefe men of Rome: as he had well vnderstood by Letters and Messengers he had receiued from them, whose fauour and amity hee should purchace, by taking away his life. But if hee would depart, and leaue him the free possession of Gallia, hee would gratifie him with great rewards: and what war soeuer hee desired to be vndertaken, should be gone through withall, without his perill or charge.

Many things were spoken by Cæsar, to shew why he could not desist from that course; for, neither was it his vse, nor the custome of the people of Rome, to forsake their wel-deseruing Associates: neither could he think, that Gallia did rather belong to Ariouistus then the Romans. The Aruerns and Rutenes, were in due course of war subdued by Q. Fabius Maximus: whō the people of Rome had pardoned, and not reduced to a Prouince, or made them stipendaries. And if antiquitie

tiquitie were looked into, the people of Rome had good claime to that Countrey: but, forasmuch as the intention and will of the Senate was, they should remaine a free people, they were suffered to be gouerned by their owne lawes, and left vnto themselues, notwithstanding any former conquest by force of Armes.

Whilst these things were treated of in parlee, it was told Cæsar, that Ariouistus horsmen did approach neerer to the Mount, and that accosting our men, they assaulted them with stones and other vveapons: whereupon he brake off, and betooke himselfe to his Party, commaunding them not to cast a weapon at the enemie. For, albeit hee well perceiued, hee might without perill of that elect legion, giue battell to his Caualry; yet he thought fit to refraine, least it should be said, he had intrapped them with a parlee, contrary to faith made, and agreement. After it was reported amongst the vulgar souldiours, how arrogantly Ariouistus had caried himselfe in the treaty; forbidding the Romaines to frequent any part of Gallia, and that their Caualry had assaulted our men, and that thereupon the parlee brake off: the Army was possessed vvith a greater alacrity and desire to fight, then before. Two daies after, Ariouistus sent Messengers to Cæsar, signifying, that he desired to treat with him, cõcerning those things which were left vnperfit, & thervpõ willed him to appoint another day of meeting; or if he liked not that, to send some vnto him with authority, to cõclude of such things as should be foũd expedient. Cæsar was vnwilling to giue any further meeting; & the rather, for-that the day before, the Germaines could not be restrained from violence, & force of Armes: Neither did hee think hee might safely expose the person of any of his followers, to the inhumanity of such barbarous people; and therefore thought it fittest, to send vnto him M. Valerius Procillus, the sonne of C. Valerius Caburius, a vertuous yong mã, & wel bred, whose father was made free of Rome by C. Valer. Flaccus: which he did, the rather in regard of his singular integrity, & his perfectnes in the French tongue, which Ariouistus through long continuance had learned; & that the Germans had no cause of offence against him. And with him he sent M. Titius, that was familiarly acquainted with Ariouistus; with instruction to heare what was said, and to make report thereof to Cæsar. Whom, as soone as Ariouistus saw come into his Campe, hee cried out in the presence of his Army; demaunding wherfore they came thither? and whether they were not sent as Spies? And as they were about to make answere, hee cutte them off, and commaunded them to be put in Irons.

The same day he remooued his Campe, and lodged himselfe vnder a hill, sixe miles from Cæsar. The next day, he brought his forces along by Cæsars Campe, and incamped himselfe two miles beyond him; of purpose to cut off all such corne and convoies, as should be sent to the Romaines by the Heduans and Sequans. From that day forward, by the space of fiue daies together, Cæsar imbattelled his men before his Campe; to the intent, that if Ariouistus had a mind to giue battell, hee might doe it vvhen he would. But Ariouistus all this while, kept his Armie vvithin his Campe, and dailie sent out his horsemen to skirmish vvith the Romaines.

This was the maner of fighting which the Germans had practiced: there were 6000 horsmen, & as many strong and nimble footmen, whom the horsemen had

selected out of the vvhole host, euery man one for his safeguard: these they had alwaies at hand vvith them in battell, and vnto these they resorted for succour. If the horsemen vvere ouer-charged, these euer stept in to helpe them. If any one vvere wounded or vnhorsed, they came about him, & succoured him. If the matter required either to aduenture forward, or to retire speedily back againe, their swiftnesse vvas such (through continuall exercise) that hanging on the horsemane by the one hand, they would runne as fast as the horses.

OBSERVATION.

Footmen intermingled amongst horsemen.

IT may seeme strange vnto the souldiours of our time, that the footmen should be mingled pell mell amongst the horsemen, without hurt and disaduantage to themselues; so vnlikely it is, that they should either succour the horsmen in any danger, or annoy the enemie: and therefore some haue imagined, that these footmen in the incounter, cast themselues into one bodie, and so charging the enemy, assisted the horsemen. But the circumstances of this place, and of others which I will alleage to this purpose, plainly euince that these footmen were mingled indifferentlie amongst the horsemen, to assist euery particular man, as his fortune and occasion required: and therefore, the choise of these footemen, was permitted to the horsemen, in whose seruice they were to be imploied; that euery man might take his friend, in whom he reposed greatest confidence. When they were ouercharged, these stept in to helpe them; if any man were wounded, or vnhorsed, he had his footman ready to assist him: and when they were to goe vpon any speedy seruice, or suddainly to retire vpon aduantage, they staied themselues vpon the mane of the horses, with one hand, & so ran as fast as the horsmen could go. Which seruices, they could not possibly haue performed, without confusion & disorder, if the footemen had not seuerally attended vpon thē, according to the affection specified in their particular election.

The principall vse of these footmen of the Germaines, consisted in the aide of their owne horsemen vpon any necessitie, not so much regarding their seruice vpon the enemie, as the assistance of their horsemen. But the Romans had long before practiced the same Arte, to a more effectuall purpose; namely, as a principall remedy not onely to resist, but to defeat far greater troopes of horse, then the enemy was able to oppose against them. Whereof the most ancient memorie which historie mentioneth, is recorded by Liuie, in the second Punick warre, at the siege of Capua, vnder the regiment of Quintus Fuluius the Consull: where it is said, that in all their conflicts, as the Romaine legions returned with the better; so their caualrie was alwaies put to the worst: & therefore they inuented this meanes, to make that good by Arte, which was wanting in force.

Out of the whole army were taken the choiest young men, both for strength and agilitie, and to them were giuen little round bucklers, and 7 darts apeece in stead of their other weapons; these souldiers practiced to ride behind the horsemen,

men, and speedilie to light from the horses at a watch-word giuen, and so to charge the Enemie on foote. And when by exercise they were made so expert, that the nouelty of the inuention no whit affrighted them, the Romaine horsemen went forth to incounter with the enemy, euery man carying his foot souldiour behind him; who at the encounter suddainly alighting, charged vpon the enemy with such a furie, that they followed them in slaughter to the gates of Capua. And hence, saith Liuie, grew the first institution of the Velites: which euer after that time were inrolled with the legions. The author of this stratagem, is said to be one Q. Nauius, a Centurion, and was honourablie rewarded by Fuluius the Consull, for the same.

Salust, in the historie of Iugurth, saith, that Marius mingled the Velites with the Caualrie of the associates, *vt quacunque inuaderent equitatus hostium propulsarent.* The like practice was vsed by Cæsar, as appeareth in the 3 book of the Ciuil war; sauing that in stead of the Velites, he mingled with his horsmen, 400 of the lustiest of his legionarie souldiers, to resist the caualrie of Pompey, while the rest of his Armie passed ouer the riuer Genusum, after the ouerthrow he had at Dyrrachium: *qui tantum profecere*, saith the text; *Vt equestri prælio commisso, pellerent omnes, complures interficerent, ipsique incolumes ad agmen se reciperent.* Many other places might bee recited: but these are sufficient to proue, that the greatest Captaines of auncient times, strengthened their caualrie with footmen dispersed amongst them. The Romane horsemen, saith Polibius, at the first, caried but a weake limber pole, or staffe, & a little round buckler; but afterwards, they vsed the furniture of the Grecians: which Iosephus affirmeth to be a strong launce or staffe, and three or foure darts in a quiuer, with a buckler, and a long sword by their right side. The vse of their launce was most effectuall when they charged in troope, pouldron to pouldron; and that manner of fight afforded no meanes to intermingle foot-men: but when they vsed their dartes, euery man got what aduantage of ground hee could, as our Carbines for the most part do, & so the foot-men might haue place among them: or otherwise, for so good an aduantage, they would easily make place for the foot-men to serue among them. But, howsoeuer it was, it appeareth by this circumstance, how little the Romaines feared troopes of horse, considering that the best meanes to defeate their horse, was by their foote companies. But to make it more plaine, of many examples I will onely alleage two; the one out of Liuie, to proue that the Romaine horsemen were not comparable for seruice to foot-men: the other out of Hirtius, to shew the same effect against strangers, and Numidian horsemen.

Lib.6.

Lib.3. de excid.

Lib.3.

De bello Africano.

In the Consulships of L. Valerius, and Marcus Horatius, Valerius, hauing fortunately ouerthrowne the Equi and the Volsci, Horatius proceeded with as great courage in the warre against the Sabines; wherein it happened, that in the day of battell, the Sabines reserued two thousand of their men to giue a fresh assault vpon the left Cornet of the Romaines, as they were in conflict: vvhich tooke such effect, that the legionarie foote-men of that Cornet were forced to retreit. VVhich the Romaine horsemen (beeing in number six hundred) perceiuing, and not being able with their horse to make head against the

enemy; they presently forsooke their horses, and made haste to make good the place on foote; wherein they caried themselues so valiantly, that in a moment of time they gaue the like aduantage to their footemen, against the Sabines; and then betooke thēselues againe to their horses, to pursue the enemy in chase as they fled. For the second point; the Numidians, as Cæsar witnesseth, were the best horsemen that euer he met with, and vsed the same Arte as the Germaines did, mingling among them light-armed footemen. An Ambuscado of these Numidians charging the legions vpon a suddaine, the historie saith, that *primo impetu legionis Equitatus & leuis armatura hostium, nullo negotio, loco pulsa & deiecta est de colle.* And, as they sometimes retired, and sometimes charged vpon the rereward of the Armie, according to the maner of the Numidian fight; the historie saith, *Cæsariani interim, non amplius tres aut quatuor milites veterani si se conuertissent & pila viribus contorta in Numidas infestos coniecissent, amplius duorum millium ad vnum terga vertebant.* So that to free himselfe of this inconuenience, he tooke his horsemen out of the rereward, and placed his legions there, *ita vim hostium per legionarium militem cōmodius sustinebat.* And euer as he marched, he caused 300 souldiers of euery legion to be free and without burthen, that they might bee ready vpon all occasions, *Quos in Equitatum Labieni immisit. Tum Labienus, conuersis equis, signorum conspectu perterritus turpissimè contendit fugere, multis eius occisis, compluribus vulneratis, milites legionarij ad sua se recipiunt signa, atque iter inceptum ire cœperunt.* I alleage the very words of the history, to take away all suspicion of falsifying, or wresting any thing to an affected opinion. If any man will looke into the reason of this disparitie, he shall find it to be chiefely the worke of the Romaine pile (an vnresistable weapon) and the terrour of horsemen; especially, when they were cast with the aduantage of the place, & fell so thick, that there was no meanes to auoide them.

But to make it plaine, that any light armed footmen could better make head against a troope of horse, then the Caualtie of their owne partie, although they beare but the same weapons: Let vs consider how nimble and ready they were that fought on foote, either to take an aduantage, or to shunne and auoide anie danger; casting their darts with far greater strength and more certaintie, then the horsemen could doe. For, as the force of all the engines of old time, as the *Balistæ, Catapultæ* and *Tolenones*, proceedeth from that stabilitie and resting Center, which nature affordeth, as the onely strength and life of the engine: so what force soeuer a man maketh, must principally proceede from that firmenesse and stay, which Nature, by the earth, or some other vnmoueable rest, giueth to the body, from whence it taketh more or lesse strength, according to the violence which it performeth; as hee that lifteth vp a waight from the ground, by so much treadeth heauier vpon the earth, by how much the thing is heauier then his body. The footmen therefore, hauing a surer stay to counterpoise their forced motion, then the horsemen had, cast their darts with greater violence, and consequently with more certaintie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Cæsar preuenteth Ariouistus of his purpose, by *making two Campes.*

When Cæsar perceiued that Ariouistus meant nothing lesse then to fight, but kept himselfe within his Camp: least peraduenture he should intercept the Sequans, & others of his Associates, as they came with conuoies of Corne to the Romaines, beyond that place wherein the Germaines aboad; about six hundred pases from their Camp, he chose a ground meet to incamp in: and marching thither in three battells, commaunded two of them to stand ready in Armes, and the third to fortifie the Campe. Ariouistus sent sixteene thousand foote, and all his horse, to interrupt the souldiers, and hinder the intrenchment. Notwithstanding, Cæsar, as he had before determined, caused two battells to withstand the enemy, and the third to goe through with the worke: vvhich beeing ended, he left there two legions, & part of the associate forces, and led the other foure legions backe againe into the greater Campe. Cæsar.

The next day, Cæsar, according to his custome, brought his whole power out of both his Campes; and marching a little from the greater Campe, hee put his men in array, and profered battell to the enemie: but perceiuing that Ariouistus vvould not stirre out of his trenches; about noone, hee conuaied his Armie into their seuerall Campes. Then at length, Ariouistus sent part of his forces to assault the lesser Campe. The incounter continued very sharp on both parts, vntill the euening; and at sunne-setting, after many wounds giuen and taken, Ariouistus conuaied his Army againe into their Campe. And as Cæsar made inquirie of the Captiues, what the reason vvas that Ariouistus refused battell, hee found this to be the cause. The Germaines had a custome, that the women should by casting of Lots, and Southsaying, declare whether it were for their behoofe to fight or no: and that they found by their Arte, the Germaines could not get the victorie, if they fought before the new Moone.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

First, we may obserue what especiall importance, this manner of incamping carried in that absolute discipline which the Romans obserued, and by which they conquered so many Nations: for, besides the safetie which it affoorded their owne troops, it serued for a hold well fenced and manned, or as it were a strong fortified towne in any part of the field, where they saw aduantage: and as oft as they thought it expedient, either to fortifie themselues, or impeach the enemy, by cutting off his passages, hindering his attempts, blocking vp his Campe, besides many other aduantages, all auerring the saying of Domitius Corbulo: *dolabra vincendũ esse hostẽ:*

a thing long time neglected, but of late happily renewed, by the Commaunders of such forces as serue the States, in the vnited Prouinces of Belgia: whom time and practice of the warres hath taught to entertaine the vse of the spade, & to hold it in as great reputation as any weapons whatsoeuer, which may bee thought worthy executioners of the deeds of Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the second place wee may obserue, that there was no Nation so barbarous (for, I vnderstand the Germaines to bee as barbarous, in regard of the motions of religion, as any knowne Nation of that time, beeing in a Climate so neere the North, that it afforded no contemplation at all) that could not make vse in their greatest affaires, of that superstition to which their mind was naturally inthralled; and forge prophesies and diuinations, as well to stir vp, as to moderate the irregular motions of a multitude, according as they might best serue to aduantage their proceedings. Neither did Cæsar let slippe the occasion of making vse of this their religion: for, vnderstanding by their prisoners, that their diuinations forbadde them to fight before the new Moone, he vsed all the meanes he could to prouoke them to battell; that their religious opinion of mischieuing, might preiudice their resolution to returne Conquerers. Which may serue to prooue, that a superstitious people are subiect to many inconueniences, which industry or Fortune may discouer to their ouerthrowe.

It is recorded, that Columbus, beeing Generall of some forces, which Ferdinando king of Castile sent to discouer the West Indies, and suffering great penurie for want of victuals in the Ile of Iamaica: after that hee had obserued how the Ilanders worshipped the Moone, and hauing knowledge of an Eclipse that was shortly after to happen; hee told the inhabitants, that vnlesse they would furnish him with such necessaries as he wanted for the time, the vvrath of their God should quickly appeare towards them, by changing his bright shining face into obscuritie and darknesse: which was no sooner happened, but the poore Indians, strooken with a superstitious feare of that which the course of nature required, kept nothing backe that might assist their enemies, to depopulate and ouer-runne their owne Country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

Cæsar seeketh meanes to giue them battell, *and the Germans dispose themselues* thereunto.

THe next day, Cæsar left a sufficient Guarizon in each of his Campes; and, forasmuch as the number of his legionarie souldiers vvas small, in respect of the multitude of the Germaines, hee placed all the Auxiliarie troopes for a shew, before the lesser Camp: and putting his legions in a triple battell, he marched towards the Camp of Ariouistus. And then at length, vvere the Germaines constrained to bring out their power, setting euerie Tribe and people by themselues, in like distance and order of battell (as, the Harudes, Marcomans, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, Sedusians and Sweuians) and inuironing their vvhole Army with Cartes and cariage, that there might be no hope at all left to saue any man by flight. And in these they placed their vvomen, that they by their out-stretched hands and teares, moouing pittie, might implore the souldiers, as they descended by course to the battell, not to deliuer them into the bondage and thraldome of the Romaines. Cæsar.

Cæsar, assigned to euery legion a Legat and a Questor, that euery man might haue an eye-witnesse of his valour: and he himselfe, began the battell vvith the right Cornet, forasmuch as he perceiued that part of Ariouistus Armie to be the vveakest.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HE Romaines, euen from the infancie of their state, were euer zealous admirers of true honour, and alwaies desired to behold with the eye, to what measure of vertue euery man had attained; that the tongue with greater feruencie of spirit, might sound out the celebration of *Macte virtute*; which imported more honour then any wealth that could be heaped vpon them. Neither was this the least part of their wisedome; considering that the most pretious things that are, lose much much of their worth, if they be not suted with other correspondent natures, whose sympathy addeth much more excellencie then is discerned, when they appeare by themselues without such assistance. For, how small is the beautie which Nature hath giuen to the eye-pleasing Diamond, when it is not adorned with an artificiall forme? or what perfection can the forme giue, without a foile to strengthen it? or what good is in either of them, if the light doe not illuminate it? or what auaile all these, where there wanteth an eye to admire it, a iudgement to value it, and an hart to imbrace it? Such a vnion hath Nature imprtnted in the diuersitie

ſitie of creatures concurring to perfection, and eſpecially in morall actions, in whoſe cariage there is a far greater exactneſſe of correſpondencie required to approue them honorable, then was requiſite to make the iewel beautifull. And this did Cæſar in all his battels; amongſt the reſt, that at Aleſia is particularlie noted in this manner, *Quod in conſpectu imperatoris res gerebatur, neque rectè aut turpiter factum celari poterat, vtroſque & laudis cupiditas & timor ignominiæ ad virtutem excitabat.* And when Liuie would expreſſe how valiantly an action was caried, hee ſaith no more but *in conſpect imperatoris res gerebatur:* which is as much to ſay, that foraſmuch as the Romaines were diligent obſeruers of euery mans worth, rewarding vertue with honour, and cowardice with reproch; euery man bent his whole indeauour to deſerue the good opinion of his Generall, by diſcharging that dutie which he owed to the Commonwealth, with all loyaltie and faithfulneſſe of ſpirit.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines had foure formes of the front of their battell: the firſt was called *Acies recta*, when neither the cornets nor the battell was aduaunced one before another, but were all caried in a right line, and made a ſtraight front; and this was their moſt vſuall manner of imbattailing.

The ſecond forme of the front was called *obliqua*, when as one of the cornets was aduanced neerer vnto the enemy then the reſt, to beginne the battell: and this was commonly as Vegetius noteth, the right cornet: for the right cornet of an Army had great aduantage againſt the left of the enemies, in regard of their vveapons and furniture. But Cæſar did it in this place, becauſe he perceiued that the enemy was weakeſt in that part; following a maxime of great authoritie, that the weakeſt part of an enemie, is in the beginning to be charged with the ſtrength of an Armie: for, ſo fauourable are mens iudgements to that which is already happened, that the ſequell of euery action, dependeth for the moſt part vpon the beginning. *Dimidiũ facti qui bene cœpit habet*, ſaith a Poet: and not without great reaſon, ſo forcible continually is the beginning, and ſo connexed to the ſequell by the nature of a precedent cauſe, that the end muſt needs erre from the common courſe, when it doth not participate of that qualitie which was in the beginning. Neither can there be any good end without a good beginning: for, although the beginning be oftentimes diſaſtrous & vnluckie, and the end fortunate and happy, yet before it came to that end, there was a fortunate beginning: for, the bad beginning, was not the beginning of a good, but of an euill end. And therefore, that his men might foreſee a happy end in a good beginning, it behooued him with the beſt of his Army to aſſault the weakeſt part of the enemie.

The third forme of the front, is called *Sinuata*, when both the cornets are aduanced forward, and the battell ſtandeth backward off from the enemy, after the faſhion of a halfe moone. Scipio vſed it in Spaine, hauing obſerued ſome daies

daies before, that the enemy continually so disposed of the battell, that his best souldiers were alwaies in the midst; and therefore Scipio put all his old souldiours in the cornets, and brought them out first to charge vpon the weakest part of the enemy, that those might decide the controuersie, before the other that were in the midst could come to fight.

The last forme is called *gibbosa*, or *gibbera Acies*; when the battell is aduanced, and the two cornets lag behind. This forme did Haniball vse in the battell of Cannas; but with this Art, that hee strengthened his two cornets with the best of his souldiers, and placed his weakest in the middest, that the Romaines following the retreit of the battell, which was easily repeld, might bee inclosed on each side with the two cornets.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell betweene Cæsar and Ariouistus.

Cæsar.

He signe of the battell being therevpon giuen, our men charged vpon the enemy very fiercely; and they on the other side, returned so speedy a counterbuffe, that the legions had no time to cast their piles, and in that regard, made haste to betake themselues to their swords: But the Germaines, according to their manner, putting themselues into a Phalanx, receiued the force of their swords. In the battell, there were many legionary souldiours seene to leape vpon the Phalanx, and to pull vp with their hands, the targets that couered it, and so to wound and kill those that were vnderneath: and so the left Cornet of the enemy was ouerthrowne and put to flight.

Now, while the right Cornet was thus busied, the left Cornet was ouercharged vvith an vnequall multitude of the Germaines: vvhich young Crassus the Generall of the horse no sooner perceiued (hauing more scope and libertie then any of the Commaunders that vvere in the battell) hee sent tertiam Aciem, *the third battell, to reskew and aide their fellowes that were in danger; by meanes whereof, the fight vvas renewed, and all the enemy was put to flight, and neuer looked backe, vntill they came to the Rhene, which was about fiue miles from the place where they fought. Where, some few of them saued themselues by swimming: others found some boate, and so escaped. Ariouistus, lighting vpon a little Barke tied to the shore, recouered the other side, & so saued himselfe: the rest, were all slaine by the horsemen. Ariouistus had two vviues: one a Sweuian, whom he brought with him from home; and the other, of Noronberge, the sister of King Voccion, sent vnto him by her brother into Gallia, and maried there: both these perished in that fight. His two daughters likewise being there, one was slaine, and the other taken.*

As Cæsar pursued the Germaine horsemen, it was his chaunce to light vpon Valerius Procillus, as he was drawne vp and downe by his Keepers, bound in three chaines: which accident, was as gratefull to him as the victorie it selfe; beeing so

so fortunate to recouer his familiar friend, and a man of sort in the Prouince, vvhom the barbarous enemy (contrary to the law of Nations) had cast in prison. Neither vvould Fortune by the losse of him, abate any thing of so great pleasure and contentment: for, he reported, that in his owne presence, they had three seuerall times cast lots, whether he should be burned aliue; and still escaped by the fortune of the lots: And M. Titius was found in like manner, and brought vnto him. The fame of this battell being caried beyond the Rhene, the Sweuians that vvere come to the banks of Rhene, returned home againe: vvhom the inhabitants neere vpon that riuer pursued, finding them terrified and distracted, and slew a great number of them.

Cæsar, hauing thus ended two great vvarres in one Sommer, hee brought his Armie into their vvintering Campes, some-what sooner then the time of the yeere required: and leauing Labienus to commaund them, himselfe returned into the hither Gallia, to keepe Courts and publique Diets.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis Phalanx, here mentioned, can hardly be proued to be the right Macedonian Phalanx; but wee are rather to vnderstand it to bee so tearmed, by reason of the close and compact imbattailing, rather then in any other respect: and it resembled much a *testudo*, as I said of the Heluetian Phalanx. Secondly, I obserue, that Cæsar kept the old rule concerning their discipline in fight: for, although the name of *Triaries* be not mentioned in his historie; yet he omitted not the substance: which was, to haue *primam, secundam, & tertiam Aciem*; and that *prima Acies* should beginne the battell, and the second should come fresh and assist them: or peraduenture if the enemy were many and strong, the first and second battell vvere ioyned together, and so charged vpon the enemie with greater furie and violence; but at all aduentures, the third battell was euer in *subsidio*, as they tearmed it, to succour any part that should be ouercharged: which was a thing of much consequence, and of great wisedome. For, if wee either respect the incouragement of the souldiours, or the casualtie of Fortune, what could bee more added to their discipline in this behalfe, then to haue a second and a third succour, to giue strength to the fainting weakenesse of their men, and to repaire the disaduantage which any accident should cast vpon them? or if their valour were equally ballanced, and victorie stood doubtfull which of the two parties she should honour, these alwaies stept in, beeing fresh, against wearie & ouerlaboured spirits, and so drew victorie in despight of casualtie, vnto themselues.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The vse of lots.

COncerning vse of lottes, it shall not be amisse to looke into the nature of them; beeing in former times so generall, that there was no Nation, ciuill or barbarous, but were directed in their greatest affaires, by the sentence of lots. As wee may not refuse for an vndoubted

doubted truth, that which Salomon ſaith in the 16 of Prouerbs; The lottes are caſt into the lap, but the direction thereof belongeth to the Lord: through the knowledge whereof, Ioſua was directed to take Achan, the Mariners Ionas, & the Apoſtles to conſecrate Matthias; So, whether the heathen and barbarous people, whoſe blindneſs in the way of truth, could direct them no further then to ſenſeleſſe ſuperſtition, & put them in mind of a dutie which they owed; but could not tell them what it was, nor how to be performed: whether theſe, I ſay, were perſwaded that there was any ſupernaturall power in their lotteries, which directed the action to the decree of deſtinie, & as the Gods would haue it, it remaineth doubtfull.

Ariſtotle, the wiſeſt of the heathen, concerning things naturall, nameth that euent caſuall, or proceeding from Fortune, of which the reaſon of man could aſsigne no cauſe, or (as he ſaith) which hath no cauſe. So that whatſoeuer happened in any action, beſides the intent of the agent and workman, was tearmed an effect of Fortune, or chance of hab-nab: For, all other effects, which depended vpon a certaintie and definite cauſe, were neceſſarily produced; and therfore could not be caſuall, or ſubiect to the inconſtancie of chance. And becauſe many and ſundry ſuch chances daily happened, which like *terræ filij* had no Father, and could not be warranted as lawfull children, either to nature, or to reaſon, by the appearance of an efficient cauſe, they reduced them all to the power of Fortune; as the principall efficient and ſoueraigne Motor, of all ſuch vnexpected euents: that is, they made nothing elſe the Gouerneſſe, and directreſſe of many things. Which afterward grew to ſuch credit amongſt men, that it ſurpaſſed in dignity all naturall cauſes, and was deified with celeſtial honour, as the Poet ſaith; *Nos te facimus Fortuna deam cœloque locamus.* By the prouidence of this blind Goddeſſe, which held her Deitie by the tenure of mens ignorance, were all caſuall actions directed, and eſpecially lots; the euent whereof, depended onely vpon her pleaſure and decree: neither could their direction be aſsigned to any other power; for, then their nature had been altered from chance to certaintie, and the euent could not haue beene called *Sors*, but muſt haue been reputed in the order of neceſſarie effects, whereof diſcourſe of reaſon acknowledgeth a certaine foregoing cauſe. Whereby we ſee vpon how weake an axletree, the greateſt motions of the godleſſe world were turned, hauing irregularitie and vncertaintie, for the *intelligentiæ*, that gouerned their reuolutions. All heerein all ſorts of men (altheugh in diuers reſpects) reſted as well contented, as if an Oracle had ſpoken vnto them, and reuealed the myſteries of fatall deſtinie.

Rome directed the maine courſe of her gouernment, by the fortune of this mocke deſtinie: For, although their Conſuls & Tribunes were elected by the people, who pleaſed their owne fancie with the free choice of their Commanders, and ſuted their obedience with a well liking authoritie: yet the publique affaires, which each Conſull was ſeuerally to manage, was ſhared out by lots. For, if an enemy were entered into their confines, to depopulate and waſte their territories, the lots aſsigned this Conſull for the gouernment of the Citty; and the other to commaund the legions, and to manage the war.

If

If forces were to be ſent into diuers Prouinces, & againſt ſeuerall enemies, neither the Senate nor the people could giue to either Conſull his taske: but their peculiar charges were authoriſed by lottes. If any extraordinary action were to be done in the Cittie, as the dedication of a Temple, the ſanctifying of the Capitoll after a pollution, *Sors omnia verſat*, did all in all. And yet (notwithſtanding the weake foundation of this practiſe in their Theologie and deepeſt diuinity) we may not thinke but theſe skilfull Architectors of that abſolute gouernment, wherein vertue ioyned with true wiſedome, to make an vnexampled patterne: we may not thinke, I ſay, but they foreſaw the manifold danger, which in the courſe of common actions could no otherway be preuented, but by the vſe of lots. For, when things are equally leueled between diuers obiects, and runne with indifferencie to equall ſtations, there muſt be ſome controlling power, to draw the current towardes one Coaſt, and to appropriate it vnto one chanell, that the order of Nature bee not inuerſed, nor a well eſtabliſhed gouernment diſturbed: So the ſtate of Rome, caſting many things with equall charge vpon her two ſoueraigne Magiſtrates, which could not be performed but by one of them; what better meanes could there be inuented, to intereſſe the one in that office, and to diſcharge the other, then to appoint an Arbiter, whoſe decree exceeded humane reaſon? Of which, it could not bee ſaid why it was ſo, but that it was ſo: for, if the wiſedome of the Senate had been called to counſell, or the voices of the people calculated to determine of the matter; it might eaſily haue burſt out into ciuill diſcord, conſidering the often contentions betweene the Senate and the people, the factions of Clients, and the conſtant mutabilitie of euerie mans priuate affections neceſſarily inclining vnto one, although their worth were equall, & by true reaſon indiſcernable; which might haue made the one proud of that which peraduenture he had not, and caſt the other lower then would haue well beſeemed his vertues: and therefore to cut off theſe, with many other inconueniences, they inuented lots; vvhich without either reaſon or will, might decide ſuch controuerſies.

By this it appeareth, how little the ancient Law-makers reſpected the ground and reaſon of an ordinance, ſo the commoditie were great, and the vſe important to the good of the State: for, as they ſaw the thing it ſelfe to be caſuall, ſo they ſaw that caſuall things are ſometimes more neceſſarie, then demonſtratiue concluſions: neither ought the nature, and ſpeculatiue conſideration of Lawes and Statutes, belong to the common people: but the execution and obedience thereof, maketh the Common-weale flouriſh. And thus endeth the firſt Commentarie of Cæſar his warre in Gallia.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTARIE OF THE WARS IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

LIke as when a heauy body lieth vpon the skirt of a larger continued quantitie, although it couer but a ſmal parcell of the whole ſurface; yet the other quarters are burthened & kept vnder with a proportionable meaſure of that waight; and through the vnion and continuation which bindeth all the parts into one Totality, feele the ſame ſuppreſſion which hath really ſeiſed but vpon their fellow part: In like maner the Belgæ, inhabiting the furtheſt skirt of that triple Continent, ſeemed to repine at that heauy burthen, which the Romane Empire had laid vpō the Prouince, the Hedui, & other States of that kingdome. And leaſt it might in time be further remoued, and laide directly vpon their ſhoulders, they thought it expedient whil'ſt they felt it but by participiation, to gather their ſeuerall forces into one head, and try whether they could free their neighbour Nations from ſo greeuous a yoake; or at the leaſt keep it from comming any neerer vnto themſelues. And this is the Argument of this ſecond booke; which diuideth it ſelfe into two parts: the firſt containing the warres betweene Cæſar and all the States of Belgia vnited togither; the ſecond recording the battailes which he made with ſome of the States thereof in particular, as time and occaſion gaue him meanes to effect it.

CHAP. I.

Cæſar haſteth to his Armie, marcheth towards the *Confines of the Belgæ, and taketh in the men of Rheimes.*

THE report of this confederacie beeing brought vnto Cæſar, whileſt he wintered beyond the Alpes, as well by Letters from Labienus, as by the common heareſay of the world: he leuied two new legions in Lumbardie, and ſent them by Q. Pedius into Gallia: and aſſoone as there was any forrage in the fieldes, he himſelfe came to the Army. At his arriuall, vnderſtanding the Sebones and the reſt of *Cæſar.*

the Galles that bordered vpon the Belgæ (to whome hee gaue in charge to learne what was done amongst them) that there was nothing in Belgia but mustering of soldiers, and gathering their forces into one head: he thought it not safe to make any further delay; but hauing made prouision of corne, hee drew out his Armie from their wintering campes, and within fifteene daies he came to the borders of the Belgæ. Assoone as he was come thither, which was much sooner then was looked for; the men of Rheimes being the vttermost of the Belgæ, next adioyning to the Celtæ, thought it best to entertaine a peaceable resolution, and sent Iccius & Antebrogius, two of the chiefe mẽ of their State, vnto Cæsar, to submit thẽselues and all that they had, to the mercy of the Romane Empire; affirming that they were innocent both of the counsell of the Belgæ, and of their conspiracie against the Romanes. For proofe whereof they were ready to giue hostages, to receiue them into their townes, & to furnish them with corne or what other thing they stood in need of. That the rest of the Belgæ were all in Armes, and the Germains on the other side of the Rhene had promised to send them succor: yea their madness was so great, that they themselues were not able to hold backe the Suessones from that attempt, being their brethren & kinsmen in blood, and vsing the same lawes and customes as they did, hauing both one magistrate and one forme of gouernment; but they would needs support the same quarrell which the rest of the Belgæ had vndertaken.

OBSERVATION.

Might heere take occasion to speak somwhat of a particular reuolte in a generall cause; and howe a confederate State may in regard of their owne safetie forsake a common quarrell, or whatsoeuer the vniuersall societie hath enacted preiudiciall to their common weale; but that I onely intend to discouer warlike practises, leauing these questions of lawe and policie to men of greater iudgement and better experience. Onely I obserue in the behalfe of the Romaine gouernment, that such cities as yeelded to the Empire, and became tributarie to their treasurie (howsoeuer they were otherwise combined by confederacie) seldome or neuer repented them of their facte, in regard of the noble patronage which they found in that State, and of the due respect obserued towards them.

CHAP. II.

The power of the Belgæ, and their preparation for this warre.

Cæsar.

Cæsar inquiring of the Embassadors which came from Rheimes what the States were that had taken Armes, and what they were able to doe in matter of Warre: found the Belgæ to be descended frõ the Germaines; who passing ouer the Rhene, time of out mind, droue away the Galles and seated themselues in their possessions: and that these only of all the Galles kept the Cimbri & Teutoni frõ entering into their

their country: and in that regard they chalenged to themselues great authoritie, and vaunted much in their feats of Armes. Concerning their number, they had these aduertisemēts; the [a] Bellouaci exceeded al the Belgæ in prowesse, authority, and number of men, and promised 60000. men: and in that regard they demanded the administration of the whole warre. The [b] Suessones inhabiting a large and fertile countrey, and hauing 12 walled townes, promised to set out 50000. The [c] Neruij as many; the [d] Attrebatij 15000. the [e] Ambiani 10000. the Velloca ssij and [f] Veromandui as many; the [g] Morini 25000. the Menapij 7000. the Caletani 10000. the Catuaci 19000. the [h] Eburones, Condrusones, and others 40000. Cæsar incouraging the mē of Rheimes to persist in their faithfulnes to the Romane Empire, propounded vnto them great offers and liberall promises of recompence, and commaunded all their senate to come before him, and bring with them their Noble mens Sonnes to be giuen vp for hostages: which they diligently performed by a day appointed. And hauing receiued two especiall aduertisemēts from the men of Rheimes, the one concerning the multitude of the enemie; and the other touching the singular opinion which was generally held of their manhood: he prouided for the first by perswading Diuitiacus the Heduan, that it much imported the whole course of those businesses, to keepe asunder the powre of the enemie; and to withhold their forces from making a head, that so he might auoid the danger of encountering so great a power at one instant. Which might easily be brought to passe, if the Hedui would enter with a strong power into the Marches of the Bellouaci, and sacke their Territories with sword and confusion: which Diuitiacus promised to performe, and to that purpose he speedily returned into his country. Vpon the second aduertisement, which presented vnto him the great valour and manhood of his enemies, hee resolued not to bee too hastie in giuing them battell, but first to proue by skirmishing with his horsemen what his enemies by their prowesse could doe, and what his owne men durst doe.

[a] *The country about Beauuois.*
[b] *The country about Soissons*
[c] *The people about Turnai*
[d] *Arras*
[e] *Amyens.*
[f] *Vermandois.*
[g] *Terwene*
[h] *Liege.*
296000. in all.

OBSERVATION.

THis rule of making trial of the worth of an enemy, hath alwaies been obserued by prudent & graue commanders, as the surest principle wheron the true iudgement of the euent may be groūded. For, if the doctrine of the old Philosophers, which teacheth that the worde *non putabā* was neuer heard out of a wise mans mouth, haue any place in the course of humane actions; it ought especially to be regarded in managing these maine points, wheron the State of Kingdomes and Empires dependeth. For, vnlesse we be persuaded that blind Chance directeth the course of this world with an vncertaine confusion, and that no foresight can sway the ballance of our hap into either part of our fortune; I see no reason why we should not by al meanes indeuor to ground our knowledge vpon true causes, and leuel our procedings to that certainty whith riseth from the things themselues. And this is the rather to be vrged, inasmuch as our leaders are oftentimes deceiued whē they look no further then to match an enemie with equalitie of number, referring their valour to bee tried in the battell; not considering that the eye of it selfe cannot

discerne the difference betweene two champions of like presence and outward cariage, vnles it see their strength compared together and weighed as it were in the scale of triall: which Cæsar omitted not diligently to obserue, before he would aduenture the hazard of battell. For, besides his owne satisfaction, it gaue great encouragement to his men, when they saw themselues able to countermatch an enemie, & knew their task to be subiect to their strength: Neither did hee obserue it onely at this instant, but throughout the whole course of his actions; for, we finde that he neuer incountered any enemie, but with sufficient power, either in number or in valour, to make head against them: which equalitie of strength, being first laid as a sure foundation, he vsed his owne industrie and skill, and the discipline wherein his men were trained, as aduantages to ouersway his aduersarie: and so drew victorie maugre fortune vnto himselfe, and seldome failed in any of his battels.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar passeth his Armie ouer the riuer * Axona, *leauing Titurius Sabinus incamped on the* other side with sixe cohorts.

**La disne.*

Cæsar.

ASSOONE as Cæsar vnderstood, as well by his discouerers, as from the men of Rheimes, that all the power of Belgæ was assembled together into one place, and was now making towards him no great distance off; he made all the haste he could to passe his Armie ouer the Riuer Axona, which diuided the men of Rheimes from the other Belgæ. Whereby he brought to passe, that no enemy could come on the backe of him to work any disaduantage: and that corne might be brought vnto him from Rheimes, and other citties without danger. And further, that hee might command the passage backe againe, as occasion should serue to his best aduantage, hee fortified a bridge which he found on the riuer, with a strong guarrison of men, and caused Titurius Sabinus a Legate, to incampe himselfe on the other side of the riuer with sixe cohorts, cõmanding him to fortifie his campe with a rampier of 12 foote in altitude, and a trench of 18 foote in breadth.

OBSERVATION.

IF it be demaunded, why Cæsar did passe his Armie ouer the riuer, leauing it on his backe, and did not rather attend the enemy on the other side, and so take the aduantage of hindring him, if hee should attempt to passe ouer: I will set downe the reasons in the sequell of this warre, as the occurrences shal fall out to make them more euident. In the meane time, let vs enter into the particularitie of these sixe cohortes, that we may the better iudge of such troupes which were imploied in the seruices of this warre: but that wee may the better coniecture what number of souldiers these

these fixe cohortes did containe; it seemeth expedient, a little to discourse of the companies and regiments, which the Romans vsed in their Armies.

And first we are to vnderstand, that the greatest and chiefest regiment in a Roman Armie, was tearmed by the name of Legio: as Varro saith, *quòd leguntur milites in delectu:* or as Plutarch speaketh, *quòd lecti ex omnibus essent militares;* so that it taketh the name Legio, of the choise & selecting of the soldiers. Romulus is said to be the first author & founder of these legions, making euery legion to containe 3000. soldiers: but shortly after they were augmented, as Festus recordeth, vnto 4000: and afterward againe from 4000, to 4200. And that number was the common rate of a legion vntill Hannibal came into Italy, and then it was augmented to 5000: but that proportion continued onely for that time. And againe, whē Scipio went into Africke, the legions were increased to 6200 footmen, and 300 horse. And shortly after the Macedonian warre, the legions that continued in Macedonie to keepe the Prouince from rebellion, consisted of 6000 footmen and 300. horse. Out of Cæsar it cannot be gathered, that a legion in his time did exceede the number of 5000 men, but oftentimes is was short of that number: for he himselfe saith that in this warre in Gallia his soldiers were so wasted, that he had scarce 7000 men in two legions. And if we examine that place out of the 3. of the ciuill warre, where he saith, that in Pompei his Armie were 110 cohorts, which amoūted to the number of 55000 men: and being manifest as well by these number of cohorts, as by the testimony of diuers authors that Pompei his Armie consisted of 11 legions; if wee deuide 55000 into 11. parts, we shall find a legion to cōsist of 5000 men. Which number or thereabout, being generally knowne to be the vsual rate of a legion, the Romans alwaies expressed the strength of their Armie by the number of legions that were therein: as in this warre it is said, that Cæsar had eight legions: which by this account might arise to 40000 men, besides associates, & such as necessarily attended the Armie. Further, we are to vnderstand, that euery legion had his peculiar name, by which it was knowne and distinguished from the rest: & that it tooke either from their order of muster, or inrolement; as that legion, which was first inrolled, was called the first legion; and that which was second in the choice, the second legion; and so consequently of the rest; and so we reade in this historie, the seuenth, the eighth, the ninth, the tenth, the eleuenth and twelfth legion: or otherwise from the place of their warfare, and so we read of *legiones Germanicæ, Panonicæ, Britannicæ*, and such others: and some time of their Generall, as *Augusta, Claudia, Vitellianæ legiones*, and so forth. Or to conclude, from some accident of qualitie, as *Rapax, Victrix, Fulminifera* & such like. And thus much of the name and number of a legion: which I must necessarily distinguish into diuers kindes of soldiers, according to the first institution of the old Romans, and the continuall obseruation thereof vnto the decay of the Empire, before I come to the description of these smaller parts whereof a legion was compounded.

A legion what it was. Lib. 4. De vita Romuli.

Liv. lib. 22.

Tacitus 3. hist.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that after the Consuls had made a generall choise and sworne the souldiers, the Tribunes chose out the youngest and poorest of all the rest, and called them by the name of Velites. Their place in

Velites.

in regard of the other soldiers was both base & dishonorable: not only because thy fought a far off, and were lightly armed; but also in regard they were commonly exposed to the enemy, as our forlorne hopes are. Hauing chosen out a competent number for this kinde, they proceeded to the choise of them which they called Hastati, a degree aboue the Velites, both in age and wealth; and tearmed them by the name of Hastati; forasmuch as at their first institution they fought with a kind of Iauelin, which the Romanes called Hasta: but before Polybius his time they vsed Piles; notwithstãding their ancient name continued vnto the later time of the Empire. The third choise which they made, was of the strongest and lustiest bodied men, who for the prime of their age were called Principes: the rest that remain'd were named Triarii, as Varro saith; *Quòd tertiò ordine extremis subsidio deponũtur:* These were alwaies the eldest and best experienced men, and were placed in the third diuision of the battell, as the last help and refuge in all extreamitie. Polybius saith, that in his time the Velites, Hastati, and Principes, did consist of 1200 men a peece; and the Triarii neuer exceeded the number of 600. although the generall number of a legiõ were augmented: wherof Lypsius alledgeth these reasons; First bicause these Triarii consisted of the best of the soldiors, and so might counteruaile a greater number in good worth and valour. Secondly, it seldome came to buckle with the enemie, but when the controuersie grew very doubtfull. Lastly, wee may well coniecture that the voluntaries and extraordinary followers, ranged themselues amongst these Triaries, & so made the third battel equal to either of the former: but howsoeuer, they neuer exceeded the number of 600. And by this it appeareth, that in Polybius his time the common rate of a legion was 4200.

Hastati.

Principes.

Lib. 6.

Lib. 1. de mil. Rom.

In this diuision of their men, consisted the ground of that well ordered discipline; for, in that they distinguished them according to their yeeres and ability, they reduced their whole strength into seuerall classes; and so disposed of these different parts, that in the generall composition of their whole body, euerie part might be fitted with place & office, according as his worth was answerable to the same: and so they made not only a number in grosse, but a number distinct by parts and properties; that from euery accident which met with any part of the Army, the iudgment might determine how much or how little it imported the whole bodie: besides the great vse which they made of this distinction in their degrees of honour and preferment; a matter of no small consequence, in the excellencie of their gouernment.

The vse of this diuision.

The souldiers, at their inrolement beeing thus diuided according to their yeeres and abilitie, they then reduced them into smaller companies, to make them fitter for command and fight: and so they diuided the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, each of them into 10 companies, making of those three sorts of soldiours 30 small regiments, which they called Manipuli: And againe, they subdiuided euery maniple into two equal parts, and called them Ordo, which was the least company in a legion; and according to the rate set down by Polybius, contained 60 soldiours. In euery Ordo there was a Centurion, or Captaine, and a Lieutenant, whom they named Optio or Tergiductor. The maniples of the Triarii were much lesser thẽ the maniples of either the Hastati or the Principes;

The distinction of their companies.

Manipuli.

Ordo.

cipes; for as much as their whole band consisted but of 600. men. The Velites were put into no such companies, but were equally distributed amongst the other Maniples; and therefore the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii were called *subsignani milites*, to make a difference betweene them & the Velites, which were not diuided into bands; and so consequently had no ensigne of their own, but were distributed amongst the other companies: so that euery Maniple had 40. Velites attending vpon it. And now I come to the description of a cohort; which the history heere mentioneth.

The worde *Cohors* in latine doth signifie that part of ground which is commonly inclosed before the gate of a house; which from the same word wee call a court and Varro giueth this reason of the metaphor. As in a farme house, saith he, many out-buildings ioyned together make one inclosure; so a cohort consisteth of seuerall maniples ioined together in one body. This cohort consisted of three maniples; for euerie legion had ten cohorts, which must necessarilie comprehend those thirty maniples: but these three maniples were not al of one and the same kind of soldiers, as three maniples of the Hastati, 3 of the Principes, and 3. of the Triarii, as Patricius in his Paralleli seemeth to affirme; for so there would haue remained an odde maniple in euery kind, that could not haue beene brought into any cohort: But a cohort contained a maniple of the Hastati, a maniple of the Principes, and a maniple of the Triarii; and so all the 30. maniples were included into 10. cohorts; and euery cohort was as a little legion; forasmuch as it consisted of all those sorts of souldiours that were in a legion. So that making a legion to containe 5000. men; a cohort had 500. and so these 6. cohorts, which he incamped on the other side of the riuer, vnder the command of Titurius Sabinus, contained 3000 soldiers: but if you make a legion to consist but of 4200 which was the more vsuall rate, there were 2520 soldiers in these sixe cohorts.

Cohors. Lib. 3. de re rust.

By this therefore it may appeare, that a legion consisted of foure sorts of soldiours, which were reduced into ten cohorts; and euery cohort contained 3. maniples; and euery maniple 2 orders; and euery order had his Centurion marching in the head of the troupe; and euery Centurion had his optionem, or Lieutanant, that stood in the taile of the troupe.

When a legion stood ranged in battell ready to confront the enemie, the least body or squadron that it contained was a maniple; wherein the two orders were ioined together, making iointly ten in front, and twelue in file: and so euerie fiue files had their Centurion in front, & Lieutenant in the rereward, to direct them in all aduentures. In the time of the Emperours, their battailions consisted of a cohort, and neuer exceeded that number how great soeuer the Armie were.

A legion ranged in battell.

Polybius distinguishing a maniple into two centuries or orders, saith, that the Centurion first chosen by the Tribunes, commanded the right order, which was that order which stood on the right hand, knowne by the name of *Primus ordo*: and the Centurion elected in the second course, commanded the left order; and in the absence of either of them, hee that was present of them two, commanded the whole maniple. And so we finde that the Centurion of the first

The first order.

3 *De bello ciuili.*

first place was called *Prior Centurio*: in which sense Cæsar is to be vnderstood, where he saith that all the Centurions of the first cohorte were slaine, *Præter principem priorem*. From whence we gather two specialities: first, the priority betweene the Centurions of the same Maniple: for, a cohorte consisting of 3. Maniples, whereof the first Maniple were Triarii, the second Principes, and the third Hastati; and euery Maniple containing two orders; and euery order a Centurion: he saith, that al the Centurious of this cohort were slaine; sauing the first or vpper Centurion of the Principes. The second thing which I obserue, is the title of the first cohort: for these 10. cohortes, whereof a Legion consisted, were distinguished by degrees of worthinesse; and that which was held the worthiest in the censure of the Electors, tooke the prioritie both of place and name, and was called the first cohort: the next, the second cohort; and so consequently vnto the tenth and last.

Prima cohors.

Neither did the Legions want their degrees of preheminence, both in imbattailing and in incamping, according either to the senioritie of their inrolement, or the fauor of their Generall, or their owne vertue: And so we reade that in these wars in Gallia, the tenth Legion had the first place in Cæsars Armie. And thus much concerning the diuisions, and seuerall companies of a Legion, and the degrees of honour which they held in the same.

The benefit of this discipline.

Vpon this description it shal not be amisse, briefely to lay open the most apparant commodities depending vpon this discipline; the excellencie whereof more plainely appeareth, being compared to that order, which Nature hath obserued in the frame of her worthiest creatures: for it is euident, that such workes of Nature come neerest to perfect excellēcy, whose materiall substāce is most particularly distinguished into parts, and hath euery part indued with that propertie, which best agreeth to his peculiar seruice. For, being thus furnished with diuersitie of instruments, and these directed with fitting abilities; the creature must needs expresse many admirable effectes, and discouer the worth of an excellent nature: whereas those other bodies, that are but slenderly laboured, and find lesse fauour in Natures forge, being as abortiues, or barbarously composed, wanting the diuersitie both of parts and faculties; are no way capable of such excellent vses, nor fit for such distinct seruices, as the former that are directed with so many properties, & inabled with the power of so wel distinguisht faculties. Which better workes of Nature the Romans imitated in the Architecture of their Army, diuiding it into such necessary & seruiceable parts, as were best fitting al vses & imploiments: as first Legions, and legions into cohorts, and cohorts into maniples, and maniples into centuries or orders, and these into files; wherein euery man knew his place, and kept the same without exchange or confusion: and thus the vniuersal multitude was by order disposed into parts, vntill it came vnto a vnitie. For it cannot be denied, but that these centuries were in themselues so sensiblie distinguished, that euery souldiour carried in his minde the particular Mappe of his whole centurie: for in imbattailing, euery centurie was disposed into 5. files, containing twelue in a file; whereof the leaders were alwaies certaine, and neuer changed but by death or some other speciall occasion: and euerie

leader

leader knew his follower, and euery second knew the third man, and so consequently vnto the last.

Vpon these particularities it plainely appeareth, how easie a matter it was, to reduce their troupes into any order of a march or a battell, to make the front the flanke, or flanke front, when they were broken and distrankt to rallie them into any forme, when euery man knew both his owne and his fellowes station. If any companies were to be imploied vpon sudden seruice, the general Idea of the Armie being so deeply imprinted in the mind of the commanders, would not suffer them to erre in taking out such cõuenient troupes, both for number and qualitie, as might best agree with the safety of the Armie, or nature of the action. At all occasions and opportunities, these principles of aduantage offered thẽselues, as ready meanes, to put in execution any dessigne, or stratagem whatsoeuer: the proiect was no sooner resolued of, but euerie man could readily point out the companies that were fit to execute the intention. And which is more important, in regard of the life and spirit of euery such part, their sodalitie was sweetned, or rather strengthned with the mutuall acquaintance, and friendship one of another; the captaine marching alwaies in the head of the troupe, the ensigne in the middest, and the lieutenant in the rereward, and euery man accompanied with his neighbour and his friend: which bred a true and vnfained courage, both in regard of themselues, and of their followers. Besides these specialities, the places of title and dignity depending vpon this order, were no smal meanes to cut off all matter of ciuill discorde, and intestine dissension: for, here euery man knew his place in the File, and euerie File knew his place in the Centurie, and euery Centurie in the Maniple, and euery Maniple in the Cohort, and euery Cohort in the Legion, and euery Legion in the Armie; and so euery souldier had his place, according to his vertue; and euery place gaue honour to the man, according as their discipline had determined thereof.

The want of this discipline hath dishonoured the martiall gouernment of this age, with bloudshed and mutthers; whereof France is too true a witness, as well in regard of the French themselues, as of our English forces that haue beene sent thither to appease their tumults: for, through defect of this order, which allotteth to euery man his due place, the controuersie grew betweene Sir William Drurie & Sir Iohn Bowrowes; the issue wherof is too well known to the world: wherein as our commanders in France haue beene negligent, so I may not forget to giue due commendation to the care which is had of this point amõgst the English troupes, in the seruice of the States in the vnited prouinces; where they are very curious in appointing euerie man his place in the File, and euery File in the troupe, and find much benefit thereby, besides the honour of reuiuing the Roman discipline.

To conclude this point, I will onely touch in a word the benefite, which the Romans found in their small battailions, & the disaduantage, which we haue in making great squadrons. And first it cannot be denied, but that such troups stand best appointed for disposition & array of battell, which standing strong to receiue a shocke, bring most men to fight with the enemy: for, the principal things

The benefit of small battailions: and the disaduantage of great squadrons.

things which are required in setting of a battel, are so to order the troupes, that the depth in flanke may serue conueniently to withstād the assault, taking vp no more men then may well serue for that purpose; and giuing meanes to the rest to fight with the enemie: and in these two points, were both their defensiue and offensiue considerations comprehended. But smaller troupes and battailions afforde this conueniencie better then great squadrons: which drowne vp manie able men in the depth of their flankes, and neuer suffer them to appeare, but when the breaking of the squadron doth present them to the butchery of the enemie. The Macedonian Phalanx, as I haue noted in the first booke, neuer caried aboue 16. in flanke, & brought 500 to fight in front. And these little battailions (considering them as they stood in battel ray) made as great a front or greater, then that of the Phalanx, keeping a depth answerable to the same; besides the 2 and 3 battell, which alwaies were to succour thē, which the Phalanx wanted: neither would their thicke and close imbattailing admit any such succour behind them. Now if we compare the aduantages and discommodities, which by place and accident were incident to either of these, we shall find great odds betweene them. These great squadrons are not faisable, but in plaine and open places, where they may either stand immoueable, or make easy & slow motions without shaking or disordering their body: but the lesser are a scantling for all places, champion or wooddie, leuell or vneuen, or of what site or qualitie soeuer. And to conclude, if two or three ranks of these great battailions chance to be broken and disordered, the whole body is as much interessed in the disorder, as the said rankes are; and hath lesse meanes to rally it selfe, then any other lesser company: but if any violence chance to rout a Maniple, it proceedeth no further in the Army, then that part which it taketh: Neither can the disranking of any one part, betray the safety of the Armie to disorder & confusion; for as much as their distinction serued to cut off such inconueniences, & yet no waie hindered the generall vniting of their strength into one body. More maie bee said concerning this matter: but I onely point at it, and leaue the due consideration thereof, to the iudgement of our commanders, & returne to our history.

CHAP. IIII.

The Belgæ attempt the surprise of * Bibrax:

Cæsar sendeth succour vnto it.

* *Bray in the county of Retell.*

THERE was a towne called Bibrax, belonging to the state of Rheimes, about eight miles from Cæsars Campe; which the Belgæ thought to haue surprised, as they came along to meete with Cæsar; and suddenly assaulted it with such furie, that the townesmen could hardly holde out the first day. The Celtæ and Belgæ vse one and the same manner, in assaulting a towne: for, hauing beset the whole compasse of the wall with rankes

rankes of souldiers, they neuer cease slinging of stones vntill they finde the wall naked of defendants; and then casting themselues into a Testudo, they approche to the gate & vndermine the walls. Assoone as the night had made an end of the assault, Iccius of Rheimes, a man of great birth and authoritie in his countrey, who at that time was gouernour of the towne, and had beene before with Cæsar, to treat and conclude a Peace: sent him worde by messengers, that if there came not preset succour, he was not able to hold out any lōger. The same day about midnight (vsing the same messengers for guides) he sent both Numidian and Cretian Archers, & Slingers of the Iles of Baleares, to relieue the towne; by meanes whereof, the townesmen were put in good hope to make their partie strong, and the enemie made hopeless of winning the towne: and therefore after a smal stay, hauing populated their fields, and burned their villages and out-buildings, they marched with all their power towards Cæsars Campe; and within lesse then two miles of the Armie, they incamped their whole hoast: which, as was gathered by the smoke and fire, occupied more ground then eight miles in breadth.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the description of their assault, we are to obserue two circumstances: The first is, the manner they vsed in a sudden surprise: The second is, the forme and qualitie of a Testudo. Although Cæsar seemeth to attribute this manner of assaulting a towne, as peculiar, to the Galles; yet wee may not thinke but that the Romans vsed it, as often as they had occasion to surprise any cittie: but because the Galles knew no other meanes to take a towne but this, therefore he setteth it downe as peculiar vnto them. The Romans called this manner of assault *Corona*; and so we read oftentimes this phrase, *Cingere vrbem corona*: forasmuch as the soldiers inclosed the towne with a circle, and so resembled a crowne or garland. Ammianus speaketh of a triple crowne of souldiers, which incompassed a towne: And Iosephus telleth of Iotapatam, which the Romans besieged *duplici peditum corona*: and besides these, there was a third circle of horsemen vtmost of al. There is no further matter to be obserued but this; that in surprising a towne, they incircled it round about with thicke continued rankes of men, and where they found the wall weakest, there they entered as they could.

To take a towne by surprise.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Testudo requireth a larger discourse, and is liuely described in Liuie, after this manner. In the Amphitheater, where the people did often assemble to see strange sightes and publike shewes, were brought in (saith he) 60 lusty young men, who after some motion, & seemely march, cast themselues into a square troupe, and roofing their heades close with their targets, the first ranke which made the front of the Testudo, stood vpright on their feete; the second ranke bowed it selfe somewhat lower; the

A Testudo described. Lib. 44.

the third and fourth rankes did more incline themselues, and so consequentlie vnto the last ranke, which kneeled on the ground: and so they made a bodie resembling halfe the side of an house, which they called Testudo. Vnto this squadron so strongly combined togither, came two souldiers running some fiftie foot off; and threatning each other with their weapons, ran nimbly vp the side of the roofe; & sometimes making as though they would defend it against an enemie, that would haue entred vpon it; somtimes againe incountering each other in the midst of it, leaped vp and downe as steadily as if they had been vpon firme ground. And which is more strange, the front of a Testudo being applied to the side of a wal, there ascended many armed men vpon the said Testudo, and fought in an equall height with other souldiers, that stood vpon the said wall to defend it. The dissimilitude in the composition was this, that the soldiers that were in front, and in the sides of the square, caried not their Targets ouer their heads, as the other did; and couered their bodies with them: & so no weapons either cast from the wall, or otherwise throwne against it, could any waie hurt them; and whatsoeuer waight fell vpon the Testudo, it quickly glyded downe by the decliuitie of the roofe, without any hurt or annoyaunce at all.

Thus far Liuie goeth; neither doe I know what to say further of it: the chiefest vse thereof was in a surprise or suddaine attempt against a towne, before the townes men were throughly prepared to defend the same. This inuention serued them to approach the wall with safetie, and so either to vndermine it, or to clime vp: and to that end they oftentimes erected one Testudo vpon another. Tacitus saith, that the souldiers climed vpon the wall, *super iteratam testudinem*, by one Testudo made vpon another; and this was the ancient forme and vse of a Testudo in a suddaine assault or surprise.

Lib. 49 Dio Cassius, in the actes of Antonie, saieth, that beeing galled with the Parthian Archers, he commanded his whole Armie to put it selfe into a Testudo: which was so strange a sight to the Parthians, that they thought the Romaines hadde sunke downe for wearinesse and faintnesse; and so forsaking their horse, drewe their swordes to haue made execution: and then the Romanes, at a watch-worde giuen, rose againe with such a furie, that they put them all to sworde and flight. Dio describeth the saide Testudo after this manner: They placed, saith hee, their baggage, their light armed men and their horsemen, in the middest; and those heauie armed footemen that caried long gutter-tiled Targettes, were in the vtmost circles next vnto the Enemie: The reste (which bare large Ouall Targettes) were thronged togither throughout the whole troupe; and so couered with their Targets both themselues and their fellowes, that there was nothing discerned by the Enemy but a roofe of Targets: which were so tiled togither, that men might safely goe vpon them.

Further, wee oftentimes reade, that the Romaines cast themselues into a Testudo, to breake through an Enemy, or to route and disranke a troupe. And this vse the Romaines had of a Testudo in field seruices, and only by the benefit of their Target. It was called a Testudo, in regard of the strength, for that it

couered

couered and sheltred, as a shell couereth a fish. And let this suffice concerning a Testudo.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, we may obserue, how carefully Cæsar prouided for the safetie of such succours as he sent vnto Bibrax: for, hee commanded the same messengers to direct them that came from the towne, as the best & surest guides in that iourney; least peraduenture through ignorance of the way, they might fall into inconueniences or dangers. A matter of no small consequence in managing a war; but deseruetb an extraordinary importunitie, to perswade the necessitie of this diligence: for, a Generall, that hath perfectlie discouered the nature of the country, through which he is to march, & knoweth the true distances of places, the qualitie of the waies, the compendiousnes of turnings, the nature of the hils, & the course of the riuers, hath all these particularities, as maine aduantages, to giue meanes of so many seuerall attempts vpon an enemy. And in this point, Haniball had a singular dexteritie, and excelled all the Commaunders of his time, in making vse of the way, by which he was to passe. But, he that leadeth an Army, by an vnknowne and vndiscouered way, and marcheth blindfold vpon vncertaine aduentures, is subiect to as many casualties and disaduantages, as the other hath opportunitie of good fortune. Let euery man therefore perswade himselfe, that good Discouerers are as the eyes of an Armie, and serue for lights in the darknesse of ignorance, to direct the resolutions of good prouidence, and make the path of safety so manifest, that we need not stumble vpon casualties. Cæsar, in his iourney to Ariouistus, vsed the help of Diuitiacus the Heduan, in whō amongst all the Galles, he reposed greatest confidence, to discouer the way, and acquaint him with the passages: and before he would vndertake his voyage vnto * Britanie, hee vvell enformed himselfe by Marchants and trauailers, of the quantitie of the Iland, the qualitie of the people, their vse of war, and the opportunitie of their hauens. Neither was he satisfied with their relations, but he sent Caius Volusenus in a ship of war, to see what he could further discouer, concerning these points. Suetonius addeth moreouer, that he neuer caried his Army, *per insidiosa itinera*, vnlesse he had first well discouered the places.

The necessity of good discouerie.

** Now England.*

Concerning the order, which skilfull Leaders haue obserued in discoueries, we are to knowe that this point consisteth of two partes: the one, in vnderstanding the perfect description of the country; and the second, in obseruing the motions of the enemy. Touching the first, wee find as well by this as other histories, that the Romans vsed the inhabitants of the country for Guides, as best acquainted with their natiue places, that they might not erre in so important a matter; prouided alwaies, that their owne scoutes were euer abroad to vnderstand what they could of themselues, that they might not altogether relie vpon a strangers direction. The motions of the Enemy were obserued by the horsemen: and these for the most part were Veterani, well experienced in the matter

The order which is to be obserued in discouery.

of warre, and so the Generall receiued sound aduertisements: & yet they were not too forward vpon any new motion, vnlesse they found it confirmed by diuers waies: for, some Espials may erre, either through passion or affection, as it happened in the Heluetian war. If therefore the vse and benefit, which prudent and wise Commaunders made of this diligence, or the misfortune which the want of this knowledge brought vpon the ignorant, haue any authoritie to perswade a circumspect care heerein, this little that hath been spoken, may be sufficient for this point.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

Slingers with their arte & vse.

THe souldiers vvhich Cæsar sent to relieue Bibrax, were Archers of Creta and Numidia, & Slingers of the Iles Baleares, which are now called Maiorica, and Minorica: which kinde of weapon, because it seemeth ridiculous to the souldiers of these times, whose conceites are held vp with the furie of these fierie engines; I will in briefe discouer the nature and vse of this weapon.

The Latines, saith Isodore, called this weapon *funda: quòd ex ea fundantur lapides.* Plinie attributeth the inuention therof to the Insulairs, called Baleares. Florus, in his 3 booke and 8 chap. saith, that these Baleares vsed 3 sorts of slings and no other weapon besides: for, a boy had neuer any meate giuen him, before hee had first strooke it with a sling. Strabo distinguisheth these three sorts of slings, which the Baleares vsed; and saith, that they had one sling with long raines, which they vsed when they would cast a far off: and another with short raines, which they vsed neere at hand: & the third, with raines of a meane sise, to cast a reasonable distance. Lipsius saith, that in *Columna Antonina* at Rome, he obserued that the Balearean was made with one sling about his head, another about his belly, and the third in his hand; which might bee their ordinarie manner of carying them. The matter whereof they were made, was threefold: the first was hempe or cotton, the second haire, and the third sinewes: for, of either of these stuffes, they commonly made them: the forme and fashion of a sling, resembled a platted rope, somewhat broad in the middest, with an Ouall compasse; and so by little & little, decreasing into two thongs or raines. Their manner of slinging, was to whirle it twice or thrice about their head, and so to cast out the bullet. Virgill speaking of Mezentius, saith;

Ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena.

But Vegetius preferreth that skill, which cast the bullet with once turning it about the head. In Suidas wee find, that these Baleares did cõmonly cast a stone of a pound waight: which agreeth to these names in Cæsar, *fũdas, librales.* The leaden bullets are mentioned by Salust, in the war with Iugurth; and by Liuie, where he saith, that the Consull prouided great store of arrowes, of bullets, and of small stones to be cast with slings. This weapon was in request amongst diuers nations, as well in regard of the readinesse, & easy reiterating of the blowe, as also for that the bullet fledde very farre, with great violence: the distance which

which they could easily reach with their sling, is expressed in this verse,

Fundum Varro vocat, quem possis mittere funda. *Lib. 2.*

Which Vegetius interpreteth to be 600 foote: their violence was such, as the same author affirmeth in his first booke & 16 chap. that neither helmet, gaberdine, nor corselet could beare out the blowe; but hee that was hit with a sling, was slaine *sine inuidia sanguinis*, as he saith in the same place. Lucrece, Ouid, and Lucan, 3 of the Latine Poets, say, that a bullet skilfully cast out of a sling, went with such violence, that it melted as it flew: whereof Seneca giueth this reason: Motion, saith he, doth extenuate the ayre, and that extenuation or subtiltie doth inflame: and so a bullet cast out of a sling, melteth as it flieth. But howsoeuer; Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, that these Baleatean slingers, brake both target, head-piece, or any other armour whatsoeuer. *Lib. 2. natur. questions.*

There are also two other sorts of slings, the one mentioned by Liuie, and the other by Vegetius. That in Liuie is called *Cestrophendo*, which cast a short arrow with a long thick head: the other in Vegetius, is called *fustibalus*: which was a sling made of a corde and a staffe. But let this suffice for slings & slingers, which were reckoned amongst their light-armed souldiers, and vsed chiefelie in assaulting, and defending townes & fortresses, where the heauie armed souldiers could not come to buckle: and present the place of our Hargebusiers, which in their proper nature, are *leuis armaturæ milites*, although more terrible then those of ancient times.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar confronted the Belgæ in forme of battell, *but without any blowe giuen: the Belgæ attempt the passing of the riuer Axona; but in vaine, and to their* losse: they consult of breaking vp the vvarre.

CAESAR at the first resolued not to giue thē battell, as well in regard of their multitude, as the generall fame & opinion conceiued of their valour: notwithstanding hee daily made triall by light skirmishes with his horsemen, what the enemie could do, & what his owne men durst do. And whē he found that his owne men were nothing inferiour to the Belgæ, hee chose a conuenient place before his camp, and put his Army in battell: the banke where he was incamped rising somwhat from a plaine leuell, vvas no larger then would suffice the front of the battell; the two sides were steep, and the front rose aslope by litle & litle, vntil it came again to a plain, where the legions were imbattailed. And least the enemy abounding in multitude, shold circumuēt his men & charge thē in the flank as they were fighting, he drew an ouerthwart dich behind, his Army frō one side of the hil to the other, 600 pases in length; the ends wherof *Cæsar.*

hee fortified with bulwarkes, and placed therein store of engines: and leauing in his Campe the two legions which he had last inrolled in Lombardie, that they might be ready to be drawne forth when there should need any succour, he imbattailed his other sixe legions in the front of the hill, before his Campe. The Belgæ also bringing forth their power, confronted the Romans in order of battell. There lay, betweene both the Armies a small Marish: ouer which the enemie expected that Cæsar should haue passed; and Cæsar on the other side, attended to see if the Belgæ woulde come ouer, that his men might haue charged them in that troublesome passage. In the mean time the Caualry on both sides incountered between the two battels, and after long expectation on either side, neither party aduenturing to passe ouer; Cæsar hauing got the better in the skirmish betweene the horsmen, thought it sufficient for that time, both for the encouraging of his owne mē, & the contesting of so great an Army; and therefore hee conuaied all his men againe into their Campe. From that place the enemy immediatly tooke his way to the Riuer Axona, which lay behind the Romans Campe: and there finding foords, they attempted to passe ouer part of their forces, to the end they might either take the fortresse which Q. Titurius kept, or to breake downe the bridge, or to spoile the territories of the State of Rheimes, & cut off the Romans from prouision of corne. Cæsar, hauing aduertisement thereof from Titurius, transported ouer the riuer by the bridge all his horsemen and light armed Numidians, with his Slingers and Archers, and marched with them himselfe. The conflict was hot in that place: the Romans charging their enemies as they were troubled in the water, slew a great number of them; the rest like desperate persons, aduenturing to pass ouer vpon the dead carkases of their fellowes, were beaten backe by force of weapons: and the horsemen incompassed such as had first got ouer the water, and slew euemen of them.

When the Belgæ perceiued themselues frustrated of their hopes, of winning Bibrax, of passing the Riuer, and of drawing the Romans into places of disaduantage, and that their owne prouisions began to faile them: they called a counsell of warre, wherein they resolued, that it was best for the State in generall, and for euery man in particular, to breake vp their Camp, & to returne home vnto their own houses: and in whose confines or territories socuer, the Romans shoulde first enter, to depopulate & waste them in hostile maner, that thither they should hastē from all parts, and there to giue them battell; to the ende they might rather try the matter in their own country, then abroad in a strange & vnknowne place; & haue their own houshold prouision alwaies at hand to maintaine them. And this the rather was concluded, for as much as they had intelligence, that Diuitiacus with a great power of the Hedui, approached neere to the borders of the Bellouaci; who, in that regard, made haste homeward to defend their country.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIRST we may obserue the Art, which he vsed to counteruaile the strength of so great a multitude, by choosing out so conuenient a place, which was no broader in front thē would suffice the front of his battell; and hauing both the sides of the hill so steepe, that the enemie

enemie could not ascend nor clime vp, but to their owne ouerthrow; he made the back part of the hill strong by Art, & so placed his souldiers as it were in the gate of a fortresse, where they might either issue out, or retire at their pleasure. Whereby it appeareth, how much he preferred securitie and saletie before the vaine opinion of foole-hardy resolution; which sauoureth of Barbarisme rather then of true wisedome: for he euer thought it great gaine, to loose nothing: and the day brought alwaies good fortune, that deliuered vp the Army safe vnto the euening; attending, vntill aduantage had laid sure principles of victory: and yet Cæsar was neuer thought a coward.

And now it appeareth, what vse hee made by passing his Armie ouer the riuer, and attending the enemie on the further side, rather then on the side of the state of Rheimes: for, by that meanes he brought to passe, that whatsoeuer the enemie should attempt in any part or quarter of the land, his forces were readie to trouble their proceedings; as it happened in their attempt of Bibrax: and yet notwithstanding, hee lost not the opportunitie of making slaughter of them, as they passed ouer the riuer. For, by the benefit of the bridge which he had fortified, he transported what forces hee would, to make head against them, as they passed ouer; and so hee tooke what aduantage either side of the riuer could affoord him.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

And heere the Reader may not maruel, if when the hils are in labor, they bring forth but a mouse; for how soon is the cõrage of this huge Army abated? or what did it attempt worthy such a multitude? or answerable to the report which was bruted of their valour? but being hastily caried together by the violence of passion, were as quickly dispersed vppon the sight of an enemie: which is no strange effect of a suddaine humour. For, as in Nature all violent motions are of short continuance, & the durabilitie, or lasting qualitie of all actions, proceedeth from a slow and temperate progression; so the resolutions of the minds that are caried with an vntemperate violence, and sauour so much of heat and passion, do vanish away euen with the smoake therof, & bring forth nothing but leasurable repentance: and therefore it were no ill counsell for men of such natures, to qualifie their hastie resolutions, with a mistrustfull lingering; that when their iudgement is well informed of the cause, they may proceed to a speedie execution.

But that which most bewraieth their indiscreet intemperãce, in the hote pursuit of this enterprise, is, that before they had scarce seene the enemie, or hadde opportunity to contest him in open field, their victual began to faile them: for, their minds were so caried away with the conceit of warre, that they had no leisure to prouide such necessaries, as are the strength and sinewe of the warre. It was sufficient for euery particular man, to be knowne for a souldier in so honorable an action, referring other matters to the care of the State. The States

in like manner thought it enough to furnish out fortie or fiftie thousand men apeece, to discharge their oath, and to saue their hostages, committing other requisites to the generall care of the confederacie: which, being directed by as vnskilfull gouernors, neuer looked further then the present multitude; which seemed sufficient to ouerthrow the Romaine Empire. And thus each man relied vpon an others care, and satisfied himselfe with the present garbe; So many men of all sorts and qualities, so many helmets and plumed crests, such strife and emulation, what state should seeme in greatest forwardness; were motiues sufficient to induce euery man to go, without further inquiry, how they should goe. And herein the care of a Generall ought especially to bee seene, considering the weakenesse of particular iudgements, that hauing the liues of so many men depending altogither vpon his prouidence, and engaged in the defence of their state & country, he do not faile in these maine points of discipline, which are the pillars of all warlike designes. To conclude this point, let vs learne by their errour, so to carrie a matter (especially of that consequence) that we make it not much worse by ill handling it, then it was before we first tooke it to our charge; as it heere happened to the Belgæ. For their tumultuous armes sorted to no other end, then to giue Cæsar iust occasion to make warre vpon them, with such assurance of victorie, that he made small account of that which was to follow, in regard of that which had already happened: considering that he should not in all likelihood, meete with the like strength againe, in the continuance of that warre. And this was not onely *grauius bellum successori tradere*, as it often falleth out in the course of a long continued warre; but to draw a dangerous warre vpon their heads, that otherwise might haue liued in peace.

CHAP. VI.

The Belgæ brake vp their Campe; and as they *returne home, are chased and slaughtered* by the Romaines.

Cæsar.

THIS generall resolution beeing entertained by the consent of the whole Councell of warre; they departed out of their Campe with a great noise and tumult, without any order (as it seemed) or gouernment, euerie man pressing to bee formost on his iourney: in such a turbulent manner, that they seemed all to run away. Whereof Cæsar hauing notice by his spies, and mistrusting some practise, not as yet perceiuing the reason of their departure, he kept his Army within his Campe. In the dawning of the day, vpon certaine intelligence of their departure, he sent first his horsemen to stay the rereward, commaunding Labienus to follow after with three legions: these ouertaking the Belgæ, and chasing them many miles, slew a great number of them. And while the rereward staied, and valiantly receiued the charge of the Romaines, the vantguard beeing out of danger, and vnder no gouernment,

assoone

assoone as they heard the alarum behind them, brake out of their ranks & betook themselues to flight; & so the Romaines slew them as long as the sunne gaue them light to pursue them: and then sounding a retrait, they returned to their Campe.

OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene an old rule amongst souldiers, that A great and negligent errour cõmitted by an enemy, is to be suspected as a pretence to trecherie. Wee reade of Fuluius a Legate in the Romaine Armie, lying in Tuscanie, the Consul being gon to Rome to performe some publike dutie; the Tuscanes tooke occasion by his absence to trie whether they could draw the Romaines into any inconuenience; and placing an ambuscado neere vnto their campe, sent certaine souldiers, attired like shepheards, with droues of cattell to passe in view of the Romaine Army: who handled the matter so, that they came euen to the rampier of the campe. Whereat the Legate wondering as at a thing void of reason, kept himselfe quiet vntill he had discouered their treacherie, and so made frustrate their intent: In like manner, Cæsar not perswaded that men should bee so heedless, to carry a retrait in that disorderly and tumultuous manner, would not discampe his men to take the opportunity of that aduantage, vntill hee had found that to be true, which in all reason was vnlikely. And thus 296000. Belgæ were chased and slaughtered by three legions of the Romaines, for want of gouernment and order in their departure.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar followeth after the Belgæ into the Countrey of the Suessones; and there besiegeth * Nouiodunum.

** Noyon.*

*THE next day after their departure, before they could recouer themselues of their feare and flight; or had time to put themselves againe in breath: Cæsar, as it were continuing still the chase and victorie, ledde his Armie into the country of the *Suessones, the next borderers vnto the men of Rheimes: and after a long iourney came vnto Nouiodunum a towne of good importance, which hee attempted to take by surprise, as hee passed along by it. For, hee vnderstoode, that it was altogether vnfurnished of defensiue prouision, hauing no forces within to defende it: but in regard of the breadth of the ditch and height of the wall, hee was for that time disappointed of his purpose: and therefore hauing fortified his campe, hee began to make preparatiõ for a siege. The night following, the whole multitude of the Suessones, that had escaped by flight, were receiued into the towne: howbeit when the Vineæ were with great expedition brought vnto the wall, the mount raised, & the turrets built; the Galles being amazed at the highnes of the workes, such as they had neuer*

Cæsar.

** Soyssons.*

neuer seene nor heard of before, and the speede which was made in the dispatch thereof, sent ambassadours to Cæsar, to treate of giuing vp the towne; and by the mediation of the men of Rheimes obtained their suite.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this relation, we may obserue the industrious art, which the Romans vsed in assaulting, and taking holdes and townes; wherein we find three sorts of engines described, Vinea, Agger, and Turres.

*Lib. 4. A vinea or vine described.

Vinea is thus described by Vigetius: a little strong-built house or houell, made of light wood, that it might be remoued with greatest ease; the roofe was supported with diuers pillars of a foote square, whereof the formost were 8. foot high, and the hindmost 6. and betweene euerie one of these pillars, there was 5 foot distance: it was alwaies made with a double roofe; the first or lower roofe was of thick plankes, and the vpper roofe of hurdles, to breake the force of a waight without further shaking or disioyning the building: the sides were likewise walled with hurdles, the better to defend the souldiers that were vnder it: the whole length was about 16 foote, and the breadth 7: the vpper roofe was commonly couered with greene or raw hides, to keepe it from burning. Many of these houels were ioyned together in ranke, when they went about to vndermine a wal: the higher end was put next vnto the wal, that all the waights which were throwen vpon it might easily tumble down, without any great hurt to the engine: the foure sides and groundsils, had in euery corner a wheele, & by them they were driuen to any place as occasion serued. the chiefest vse of them was to couer and defend the souldiers, as they vndermined or ouerthrew a wall. This engine was called Vinea, which signifieth a Vine, for it sheltered such as were vnder the roofe thereof, as a Vine couereth the place where it groweth.

Agger or mount.

Agger, which we call a mount, is described in diuers histories to be a hill or eleuation made of earth & other substance, which by little and little was raised forward, vntil it approched neere vnto the place, against which it was built; that vpon this mount they might erect fortresses and turrets, and so fight with an aduantage of height. The matter of this mount, was earth and stones, fagots, and timber. Iosephus saith, that at the siege of Ierusalem, the Romans cut downe all the trees within 11 mile compasse, for matter and stuffe to make a mount. The sides of this Agger were of Timber, to keepe in the loose matter; the forepart which was towards the place of seruice, was open without any timber work: for on that part they stil raised it & brought it neerer the wals. That which was built at Massilia was 80 foot high, and that at Auaricum 80. foote high and 30. foot broad. Iosephus and Egesippus writ, that there was a fortresse in Iudea, 300. cubites high: which Sulla purposing to win by assault, raised a mount 200. cubites high; and vpon it he built a castle of stone 50. cubites high, and 50. cubites broad; and vpon the said castell hee erected a turret of 60 cubites in height, & so took the fortresse. The Romans oftentimes raised these mounts in the mouth of a hauen, commonly to ouer-toppe a towne, that so they might fight and with much aduantage.

Amongst

CÆSARS march where in euery Legion had his Cariadges in

CÆSARS *march where the Enemy was neerer at hand.*

Amongst other engines, in vse amongst the Romans, their moueable Turrets were verie famous: for, they were built in some safe place out of danger; & with wheels put vnder them, were driuen to the walles of the towne. These turrets were of two sorts, either great or little: the lesser sort are described, by Vitruuius, to be sixtie cubits high, and the square side seauenteene cubites: the breadth at the top, was a fift part of the breadth at the base; and so they stood sure without any danger of falling. The corner pillars, were at the base nine inches square, and 6 inches at the top: there were commonly 10 stories in these little turrets, and windowes in euerie storie. The greater sort of towers were 120 cubits high, and the square side was 24 cubites: the breadth at the top was a fift part of the base; and in euery one of these, were commonly 200 stories. There was not one & the same distance kept between the stories; for the lowest commonlie was 7 cubites, and 12 inches high: the highest storie 5 cubites, and the rest 4 cubites, and a third. In euerie one of these stories, were souldiers and engines, ladders and casting bridges, by which they got vpon the wall and entered the towne. The forepart of these turrets were couered with yron, and wet couerings, to saue them from fire. The souldiours that remooued the tower to and fro, were alwaies within the square thereof, and so they stood out of danger. The new water-worke by Broken-wharfe in London, much resembleth one of these towers.

Towers or Turrets described.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Pon the building of these mightie engines, it was no maruell if the Suessones submitted themselues to such powerfull industrie. For, whatsoeuer is strange and vnusuall, doth much affright the spirits of an enemie, and breed a motion of distrust and diffidencie, when as they find themselues ignorant of such warlike practices: for, noueltie alwaies breedeth wonder; in as much as the true reasons and causes beeing vnknowne, we apprehend it, as diuers from the vsuall course of things, and so stand gazing at the strangenesse thereof: and wonder, as it addeth worth to the noueltie; so it inferreth diffidencie, and so consequently feare, the vtter enemie of martiall valour.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar carieth his Armie to the Territories of the Bellouaci, Ambiani and the Neruij.

AESAR, taking for pledges the chiefest of their Cittie, vpon the deliuerie of all their Armes, receiued the Suessones to mercy: and from thence led his Army against the Bellouaci; who, hauing conuaied both themselues and their goods into the towne, called Bratispantium, and vnderstanding that Cæsar was come within fiue mile of the place, all the elder sort came foorth to meete him, signifying their submission,

Cæsar.

The Bellouaci taken to mercie.

missions, by their lamentable demeanour. For these, Diuitiacus became a mediator: who, after the Belgæ had broken vp their campe, had dismissed his Heduan forces and was returned to Cæsar. The Hedui, saith he, haue alwaies found in the Bellouaci, a faithfull and friendly disposition to their State: and if they had not beene betraied by their nobilitie (who made them beleiue, that the Hedui vvere brought in bondage by the Romaines, & suffered all villanie & despight at their hands) they had neuer withdrawne themselues from the Hedui, nor consented to conspire against the Romaines. The authors of this counsell, perceiuing into what great misery they had brought their country, were fled into Britanie: wherfore, not only the Bellouaci, but the Hedui also in their behalfe, besought him to vse his clemencie towards them. Cæsar, in regard of the Hedui and Diuitiacus, promised to receiue them to mercy; but forasmuch as the State was very great and populous, he demaunded six hundred hostages: which, beeing deliuered and their armour brought out of the towne, he marched frō thence into the coast of the Ambiani: who, without further lingering, gaue both themselues & all that they had into his power. Vpon these bordered the Neruij; of whom Cæsar found this much by inquirie, that there was no recourse of Marchants vnto them, neither did they suffer any wine, or what thing else might tend to riot, to bee brought into their country: for, they were perswaded, that by such things their courage was much abated, and their vertue weakened. Further, he learned, that these Neruij were a sauage people, and of great valour; often accusing the rest of the Belgæ, for yielding their necks to the Romaine yoake, openly affirming, that they would neither send Embassadors, nor take peace vpon any condition.

The Ambiani yeeld vp themselues.

*Cæsar, hauing marched 2 daies iourney in their country, hee vnderstood that the riuer * Sabis was not past ten miles from his campe; and that on the further side of this riuer, all the Neruij were assembled together, and there attended the comming of the Romaines. With them were ioyned the Attrebatij, and Veromandui, whom they had perswaded to abide the same fortune of war with them. Besides, they expected a power from the Aduatici: the women, and such as were vnmeet for the field, they bestowed in a place vnaccessible for any Armie, by reason of fens and bogs, and marishes. Vpon this intelligence, Cæsar sent his discouerers and Centurions before, to chuse out a fit place to incampe in.*

The Neruij.
** Sābre neer Namours.*

Now, whereas many of the surrendred Belgæ, and other Galles, were continually in the Romaine Army, certaine of these (as it was afterward known by the captiues) obseruing the order which the Romaines vsed in marching, came by night to the Neruij, and told them, that between euery legion went a great sort of cariages; and that it was no matter of difficulty, as soone as the first legion was come into the camp, & the other legions yet a great way off, to set vpon them vpon a suddaine, before they were disburdened of their cariages, and so to ouerthrow them: vvhich legion beeing cut off, and their stuffe taken, the rest vvould haue small courage to stand against them. It much furthered this aduice, that, forasmuch as the Neruij were not able to make any power of horse, that they might the better resist the caualry of their borderers, whensoeuer they made any rode into their marches: their maner was to cut young trees halfe asunder, and bowing the tops down to the ground, plashed the boughes in breadth, and vvith thornes and briers planted between them, they made them so thick, that it vvas

impossible to see through them, so hard it was to enter or passe through them; so that, when by this occasion, the passage of the Romaine Army must needs be hindred, the Neruij thought the foresaid counsell not to be neglected.

The place which the Romaines chose to incamp in, was a hill, of like leuell from the top to the bottome, at the foot wherof ran the riuer Sabis: & with the like leuel, on the other side, rose another hill directly against this, to the quantity of 200 pases; the bottom whereof was plaine and open, and the vpper part so thick with wood, that it could not easily be looked into. Within these woods the Neruians kept themselues close: and in the open ground, by the riuer side, were onely seene a few troupes of horse, and the riuer in that place, was about three foote deepe.

Cæsar, sending his horsmen before, followed after with all his power; but the maner of his march differed frō the report which was brought to the Neruij: for, inasmuch as the enemy was at hand, Cæsar (as his custome was) led six legions alwaies in a readiness, without burthen or cariage of any thing, but their Armes: after them he placed the impediments of the vvhole Armie. And the two legions which were last inrolled, were a rereward to the Army, & guarded the stuffe.

OBSERVATION.

His trecherous practice of the surrendred Belgæ, hath fortunatly discouered the maner of Cæsars march, as well in safe passages, as in dangerous and suspected places: which is a point of no small consequence in martiall discipline, being subiect to so many inconueniences, & capable of the greatest art that may be shewed in managing a war. Cōcerning the discreet cariage of a march, by this circumstance it may be gathered, that Cæsar principally respected safety: and secondly conueniencie. If the place afforded a secure passage, and gaue no suspicion of hostilitie, he was content in regard of conueniency, to suffer euery legion to haue the ouersight of their particular cariages, & to insert them among the troupes, that euery man might haue at hand such necessaries as were requisite, either for their priuate vse or publique discipline. But if he were in danger of any suddaine attempt, or or stood in hazard to be impeached by an enemy, he then omitted conuenient disposition, in regard of particular vse, as disaduantageous to their safety; & caried his legions in that readines, that if they chanced to be ingaged by an enemy, they might without any alteration of their march, or incumbrance of their cariages receiue the charge, in that forme of battell, as was best approoued by their militarie rules, and the ancient practice of their fortunate progenitors.

The maner of the Romaine march.

The two respects which Cæsar had in ordering a march.
1 Safety.
2 Conueniēcy

The old Romans obserued likewise the same respects: for, in vnsafe & suspected places, they caried their troupes *agmine quadrato*, which as Liuie seemeth to note, was free frō all cariage & impediments, which might hinder thē in any sodaine alarum. Neither doth that of * Hirtius any way cōtradict this interpretation, where he saith, that Cæsar so disposed his troupes against the Bellouaci, that 3 legions marched in front, and after them came all the cariages, to which the 10 legion serued as a rereward; & so they marched, *pene agmine quadrato.* * Seneca in like maner noteth the safety of *agmē quadratū*, where he saith, that where an enemy is expected, wee ought to march *agmine quadrato*, readie to fight.

Agmen quadratum.

** Lib. 8. de bel. Gall.*

** 60. Epistle.*

fight. The most materiall consequence of these places alleadged, is, that as oft as they suspected any onset or charge, their order in a march little or nothing differed from their vsuall maner of imbattailing; and therefore it was called *agmen quadratũ*, or a square march, inasmuch as it kept the same disposition of parts, as were obserued *in quadrata Acie*. For, that triple forme of imbattailing which the Romans generally obserued in their fights, hauing respect to the distances between each battell, contained almost an equall dimension of front and file: & so it made *Aciem quadratã*; and when it marched, *Agmen quadratum*.

Lib. 6. Polybius expresseth the same in effect, as often as the place required circumspection; but altereth it somewhat in regard of the cariages: for, he saith, that in time of danger, especially where the country was plaine and champaine, and gaue space and free scope to cleere themselues, vpon any accident, the Romans marched in a triple battell, of equall distance one behind another, euery battell hauing his seuerall cariages in front. And if they were by chance attacked by an enemy, they turned themselues according to the oportunity of the place, either to the right or left hand: and so placing their cariages on the one side of their Armie, they stood imbattailed, ready to receiue the charge.

Agmẽ longũ The contrary forme of marching, where the place afforded more securitie, and gaue scope to conueniencie, they named *agmen longum*; when almost euerie maniple or order, had their seueral cariages attending vpon them, and stroue to keep that way which they found most easie, both for themselues, & their impediments. Which order of march, as it was more commodious then the former, in regard of particularity, so was it vnsafe and dangerous, where the Enemy was expected: and therefore Cæsar much blamed Sabinus and Cotta, for marching, whẽ they were deluded by Ambiorix, *longissimo agmine*; as though they had receiued their aduertisements from a friend, & not from an enemy.

Lib. 5. de bel. Gallico.

The vse that may bee made of this, in our modern wars And albeit our moderne wars are far different, in qualitie, from them of ancient times; yet in this point of discipline, they cannot haue a more perfect direction, then that which the Romaines obserued, as the two poles of their motions, Safety and Conueniencie: whereof the first dependeth chiefely vpon the prouident disposition of the Leaders; and the other will easily follow on, as the commoditie of euery particular shall giue occasion.

Concerning safety in place of danger, what better course can be taken then that maner of imbattailing, which shall be thought most conuenient, if an enemy were present to confront them? for, a well ordered march, must either carie the perfect forme of a battell, or containe the distinct principles and elements therof, that with little alteration it may receiue that perfection of strẽgth, which the fittest disposition can affoord it. First therefore, a prudent and circumspect Leader, that desireth to frame a strong and orderly march, is diligentlie to obserue the nature and vse of each weapon in his Army, how they may be placed for greatest vse and aduantage, both in respect of their different and concurring qualities, as also in regard of the place wherein they are managed: and this knowledge will consequentlie inferre the best and exactest disposition of imbattailing, as the said forces are capable of; which, if it may be obserued in a march, is no way to be altered. But, if this exactnes of imbattailing will not admit

mit conuenient carriage of ſuch neceſſarie adiuncts, as pertain to an Army; the inconuenience is to be releeued, with as little alteration from that rule, as in a wary iudgement ſhall be found expedient: that albeit the forme bee ſomewhat changed; yet the principles and ground wherein their ſtrength and ſafety conſiſteth, may ſtill be retained.

Neither can anie man well deſcend to more particular precepts in this point: he may exemplifie the practices of manie great and experienced commanders; what ſort of weapon marched in front, and what in the rereward, in what part of the Armie the Munition marched, and where the reſt of the carriage was beſtowed, according as their ſeuerall iudgements thought moſt expedient, in the particular nature of their occurrences. But the iſſue of all wil fall out thus; that he that obſerued this rule before preſcribed, did ſeldom miſcarrie through an vnſafe march. Let a good Martialliſt well know their proper vſe in that diuerſity of weapons in his Army; how they are ſeruiceable or diſaduantageous, in this or that place, againſt ſuch or ſuch an Enemie: and he will ſpeedily order his battell, diſpoſe of his march, and beſtowe his catiages, as ſhall beſt fall out both for his ſafety, and conueniency.

Cæſars cuſtome was, to ſend his Caualrie and light armed footmen, before the body of his Armie, both to diſcouer and impeach an Enemie; for theſe troupes were nimble in motion and fit for ſuch ſeruices: but if the danger were greater in the rereward then in the front, the horſemen marched in the tayle of the Army, and gaue ſecuritie where there was moſt cauſe of feare. But if it happened that they were found vnfit to make good the ſeruice in that place, as oftentimes it fell out, and eſpecially in Africa againſt the Numidians: hee then remoued them, as he beſt found it conuenient, and brought his legionarie ſoldiers, which were the ſinewes and ſtrength of his forces, and marched continually in the bulke of the Armie, to make good that which his horſemen could not perform. And thus he altred the antique preſcription, and vniformitie of cuſtome, according as he found himſelfe beſt able to diſaduantage an Enemie, or make waie to victorie.

CHAP. IX.

The Romans begin to fortifie their campe: but are *interrupted by the Neruij. Cæſar maketh haſte* to prepare his forces to battell.

THe Roman horſemen, with the ſlingers and archers, paſſed ouer the riuer, and incountred the Caualry of the Enemy: who at firſt retired backe to their companies in the wood, & from thence ſallied out againe vpon them: but the Romans durſt not purſue them further then the plaine and open ground: in the meane time the ſixe legions that were in front, hauing Cæſar.

 their

their work measured out vnto them, began to fortifie their camp. But assoon as the Neruij perceiued their former cariages to be come in sight, which was the time appointed amongst them to giue the charge, as they stood imbattailed within the thicket, so they rushed out with all their forces, and assaulted the Roman horsemen; which being easily beaten backe, the Neruij ranne downe to the riuer, with such an incredible swiftnes, that they seemed at the same instant of time to be in the woods at the riuer, & charging the legions on the other side: For with the same violēce, hauing passed the riuer, they ran vp the hil to the Roman Camp, where the souldiers were busied in their intrenchment. Cæsar had all parts to plaie at one instant: the flagge to be hung out, by which they gaue the souldiers warning to take Arms, the battell to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the soldiers to be recalled from their worke, and such as were gone far off to get turf & matter for the rampier, to be sent for; the battell to be ordered, his men to be incouraged, and the signe of battell to be giuen: the most of which were cut off by shortnesse of time, and the sudden assault of the Enemie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The description of the Roman camp with all the parts belonging vnto it.

AS the Romans excelled all other nations in many good customes; so especially in their camp-discipline, they stroue to be singular: for, it seemed rather an Academie, or a Citie of ciuil gouernment, then a camp of soldiers; so careful were they both for the safety, & skilful experience of their men at Arms. For, touching the first, they neuer suffered their souldiers to lodge one night without a campe; wherein they were inclosed with ditch and rampier, as in a walled towne: neither was it any new inuention or late found out custom in their State, but in vse amongst the auncient Romans, and in the time of their kings; their manner of incamping was included within these circumstances.

The Centurions made choise of the place.

The Centurions, that went before to choose out a conuenient place, hauing found a fit situation for their camp, first assigned the standing for the Emperors pauilion, which was commonly in the most eminent place of the camp; from whence he might easily ouerview all the other parts, or any allarum or *signum pugnæ*, might from thence bee discouered to all quarters.

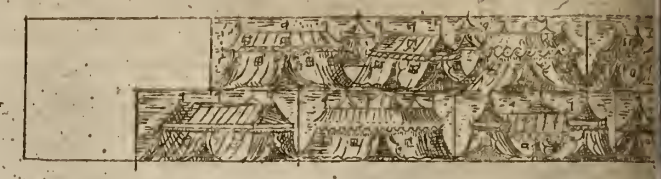
The Prætorium.

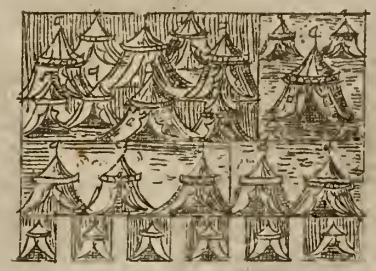
This pauilion was known by the name of *Prætorium*, for as much as amongst the ancient Romans the Generall of their Army was called Prætor: in this place where the *Prætorium* was to be erected, they stuck vp a white ensign, and from it they measured euery way 100. foot, & so they made a square containing 200. foot in euerie side; the Area, or content whereof, was almost an acre of ground: the forme of the *Prætorium* was round & high, being as eminent among the other tents, as a Temple is amongst the priuate buildings of a Cittie: and therfore Iosepus compareth it to a Church. In this *Prætorium* was their Tribunal or chair of the estate, and the place of diuination, which they called *Augurale*, with other appendices of maiestie and authority.

The lodging of the legions.

The Generals tent being thus placed, they considered which side of the pa-

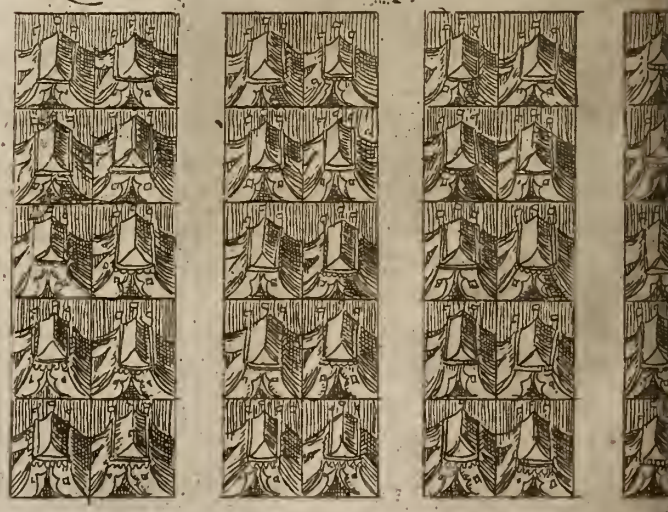
THE ROM





Principia

Quintanā



Porta


MPE
Principia
Quintana

pauilion laie most commodious for forrage and water, and on that side they lodged the legions, euery legion diuided one from another by a streete or lane of 50. foot in breadth; and according to the degree of honour, that euery legion had in the Armie, so were they lodged in the campe, either in the midst which was counted most honorable, or towards the sides, which was of meaner reputation. And againe, according to the place of euery cohort in his legion, so was it lodged neerer the pauilion of the Emperour, towardes the heart of the camp; and so consequently euery maniple tooke place in the cohort, distinguishing their preheminence, by lodging them either toward the middle or to the outsideward; according as they distinguished the place of their legions: there went a street of fiftie in breadth ouerthwart the middest of all the legions, which was called Quintana; for that it diuided the fift cohort of euery legion from the sixt. *Quintana.*

Betweene the tents of the first maniples in euerie legion and the *Prætorium*, there went a waie of 100. foote in breadth throughout the whole camp; which was called Principia; in this place the Tribunes sate to heare matters of iustice; the souldiers exercised themselues at their weapons, and the leaders and chiefe commanders frequented it as a publick place of meeting; and it was held for a reuerent and sacred place, and so kept with a correspondent decency. On either side the Emperours pauilion, in a direct line to make euen & straight the vpper side of the Principia, the Tribunes had their Tents pitched, euerie Tribune confronting the head of the legion wherof hee was Tribune: aboue them, towards the head of the campe, were the Legates and Treasurer: the vpper part of the camp was strengthened with some select cohorts and troupes of horse, according to the number of legions that were in the Armie. *Principia.* *The tentes of the Tribunes.*

Polybius describing the manner of incamping, which the Romans vsed in his time, when as they had commonly but two legions in their Armie, with as manie associates, placeth the *Ablecti* and *extraordinarij*, which were select bandes & companies, in the vpper part of the camp; and the associates on the outside of the legions.

The ditch and the rampier, that compassed the whole camp about, was 200 foote distant from any tent: whereof Polybius giueth these reasons; first, that the soldiers marching into the camp in battell array, might there dissolue themselues into maniples, centuries and decuries, without tumult or confusion: for, order was the thing which they principally respected, as the life and strength of their martiall body. And again, if occasion were offered to sallie out vpon an Enemie, they might very conueniently in that spacious roome, put themselues into companies and troupes: and if they were assaulted in the night, the dartes and fire workes, which the Enemie should cast into their campe, would little indammage them, by reason of the distance betweene the rampier and the tents. *The space betweene the tents and the rampier.*

Their tents were all of skins and hides, held vp with props, and fastened with ropes: there were 11. souldiers, as Vegetius saith, in euerie tent, and that societie was called *Contubernium*, of whom the chiefest was named *Decanus*, or *Caput Contuberniij*. *Contubernium.*

he ditch & the rampier.

The ditch and the rampire were made by the legions, euery maniple hauing his part measured out, and euery Centurion ouerseeing his Centurie; the approbation of the whole work belonged to the Tribunes. Their manner of intrenching was this: the soldiers being girt with their swords & daggers, digged the ditch about the camp, which was alwaies 8. foot in breadth at the least, and as much in depth, casting the earth thereof inward; but if the enemy were not far off, the ditch was alwaies 11. or 15. or 18. foot in latitude, & altitude; according to the discretion of the General: but what scantling soeuer was kept, the ditch was made *directis lateribus*, that is, as broad in the bottom as at the top. The rampier from the brim of the ditch, was three foote in height, and sometimes foure, made after the manner of a wall, with green turfes cut all to one measure, halfe a foot in thicknesse, a foot in breadth, and a foote and a halfe in length. But if the place, wherein they were incamped, would afford no such turfe; they then strengthened the loose earth, which was cast out of the ditch, with boughes & fagots, that it might be strong and well fastened. The rampier they properly called *Agger*: the outside whereof, which hung ouer the ditch, they vsed to stick with thicke and sharp stakes, fastened deep in the mound, that they might be firm; and these for the most part were forked stakes: which made the rampier very strong, and not to be assaulted but with great difficulty. Varro saith, that the front of the rampier thus stuck with stakes, was called *vallum*, a *varicando*, for that no man could stride or get ouer it.

Agger.

Vallum.

Prætoria porta.

The campe had foure gates: the first was called *prætoria porta*, which was alwaies behind the Emperours tent: and this gate did vsually looke either toward the east, or to the Enemie, or that waie that the Army was to march. The gate on the other side of the camp opposit to this, was called *Porta Decumana à decimis cohortibus*; for the tenth or last Cohort of euery legion, was lodged to confront this gate: by this gate the soldiers went out to fetch their wood, their water, and their forrage, and this waie their offendours were carried to execution. The other two gates were called *Portæ principales*, forasmuch as they stood opposite to either end of that so much respected place, which they called *principia*, only distinguished by these titles, *læua*, *principalis*, and *dextra*: all these gates were shut with doores, & in standing Camps fortified with Turrets, vpon which were planted Engins of defence, as Balistæ, Catapultæ, Tolenones and such like.

Porta Decumana.

Portæ principales.
Læua.
Dextra.

The Romanes had their summer Camps, which they tearmed *Aestiua*, and their winter Camps, which they called *Hiberna*, or *Hibernacula*: their summer campes were in like manner differenced, according to the time, which they continued in them. For, if they remained in a place but a night or two, they called them *Castra* or *Mansiones*; but if they continued in them any long time, they called them *Aestiuas* or *Sedes*: And these were more absolute, aswell in regard of their tents, as of their fortificatiõ, then the former, wherin they staied but one night. The other which they called *Hiberna*, had great labor & cost bestowed vpon them, that they might the better defend them from the winter season. Of these we read, that the tents were either thatched with straw, or roofed with boards, & that they had their armory, hospital, & other publike houses.

Castra.
Aestiua.

Hiberna

These

These camps haue bin the beginning of many famous towns, especially when they continued long in a place, as oftentimes they did, vpon the bankes of Euphrates, Danow, and the Rhene. The order which they alwaies obserued in laying out their Campe, was so vniforme, and well knowen to the Romanes, that when the Centurions had limitted out euerie part, and marked it with different ensignes and colours, the Souldiers entered into it, as into a knowen and familiar Citie: wherein euery societie or small contubernie, knewe the place of his lodging: and which is more, euerie particular man could assigne the proper station of euerie company, throughout the whole Armie.

The vse and commoditie of this incamping, I briefly touched in my first booke: But if I were worthy any waie to commend the excellencie thereof to our moderne Souldiers, or able by perswasion to restablish the vse of incamping in our warres; I woulde spare no paines to atchieue so great a good, and vaunt more in the conquest of negligence, than if my selfe had compassed a new found out meanes: and yet reason would deeme it a matter of small difficultie, to gaine a point of such worth, in the opinion of our men, especially when my discourse shall present securitie to our forces, and honour to our leaders, maiestie to our Armies, & terrour to our enemies, wonderment to strangers, and victorie to our nation. But sloth hath such interest in this age, that it commendeth vaine glory and foole-hardinesse, contempt of vertue, and derision of good discipline, to repugne the designes of honour, and so far to ouermaister reason, that it suffereth not former harmes to beare witnesse against errour, nor correct the ill atchieuements of ill directions: and therefore ceasing to vrge this point any further, I will leaue it to the carefull respect of the wise.

The commodity of this incamping.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe fury of the Enemy, and their sodain assault, so disturbed the ceremonies which the Romane discipline obserued, to make the Soldiers truely apprehend the waight and importance of that action, which might cast vpon their state either soueraignty or bondage; that they were all for the most part omitted; notwithstanding they are here noted vnder these titles; the first was *vexillum proponendũ, quod erat insigne cum ad Arma concurri oporteret*: for when the General had determined to fight, he caused a skarlet coate or red flag to be hung out vpon the top of his tent, that by it the Soldiors might be warned, to prepare themselues for the battell; and this was the first warning they had: which by a silent aspect presented blood and execution to their eyes, as the onely meanes to worke out their owne safety, and purchase eternal honour. The second was *Signum tuba dandum*, this warning was a noise of manie trumpets, which they tearmed by the name of *classicum a calando*, which signifieth calling: for after the eye was filled with *species* sutable to the matter intended; they then hasted to possesse the eare, and by the sense of hearing to stir vp warlike motions, & fill them with resolute thoughts, that no diffident or base conceites might take hold of their mindes. The third

The ceremonies which they vsed in their preparation to battell.

was, *milites cohortandi*: for it was thought conuenient to confirme this valor, with motiues of reason, which is the strength and perfection of all such motions. The vse and benefit wherof I somwhat inlarged in the Heluetian war; and could affoord much more labour to demonstrate the commodity of this part, if my speech might carrie credit in the opinion of our souldiers, or bee thought worthie regard to men so much addicted to their owne fashions. The last was *signum dandum*; which, as some think, was nothing but a word, by which they might distinguish & know themselues from their enemies. Hirtius in the war of Afrike saith, that Cæsar gaue the word *Felicitie*; Brutus and Cassius gaue *Libertie*; others haue giuen *Virtus*, *Deus nobiscum*, *Triumphus Imperatoris*, & such like words, as might be ominous to a good successe. Besides these particularities, the manner of their deliuerie gaue a great grace to the matter. And that was distinguished by times, and cues: whereof Cæsar now complaineth; that all these were to be done at one instant of time: for without all controuersie, there is no matter of such consequence in it selfe, but may be much graced with ceremonies & complements, which like officers or attendants adde much respect and maiestie to the action; which otherwise being but barely presented, appeareth far meaner and of lesse regarde.

CHAP. X.

The battell betweene Cæsar and the Neruij.

Cæsar.

IN these difficulties, two things were a help to the Romans; the one was the knowledge & experiēce of the soldiers: for by reason of their practice in former battels, they could as wel prescribe vnto themselues, what was to be done, as any other commaunder could teach them. The other was, that notwithstanding Cæsar gad giuen commandment to euery Legate, not to leaue the worke or forsake the legions, vntill the fortifications were perfited; yet when they sawe extreamitie of danger, they atttended no countermand from Cæsar: but ordered all things as it seemed best to their owne discretion. Cæsar hauing commanded such things as he thought necessarie, ranne hastily to incourage his souldiers, and by fortune came to the tenth legion; where he vsed no further speech, then that they should remember their ancient valour, and valiantly withstand the brunt of their enemies. And for as much as the enemie was no further off, then a weapon might be cast to incounter them, hee gaue them the signe of battell: and hastening from thence to another quarter, he found them already closed and at the incounter. For the time was so short & the enemy so violent, that they wanted leisure to put on their head peeces, or to vncase their targets: & what part they lighted into from their work, or what ensigne they first met withall, there they staied; least in seeking out their owne

And therefore I rather take it to bee something els then a word.

owne companies, they should lose that time as was to be spent in fighting. The Army being imbattailed rather according to the nature of the place, the decliuity of the hill, & the breuity of time, then according to the rules of art; as the legions incountred the Enemie in diuers places at once, the perfect view of the battell being hindred by those thicke hedges before spoken of, there could no succors be placed any where; neither could any man see what was needfull to be done: & therefore in so great vncertainty of things, there happened diuers casualties of fortune.

The soldiers of the 9. & 10. legion, as they stood in the left part of the Army, casting their piles, with the aduantage of the hil, did driue the Attrebatij, breathless with rũning & wounded in the incoũter, down into the riuer; & as they passed ouer the water, slew many of them with their swords: Neither did they stick to follow after them ouer the riuer, & aduẽture into a place of disaduantage, where the battell being renued againe by the Enemy, they put them to flight the second time. In like manner two other legions, the 11. & the 8. hauing put the Veromãdui frõ the vpper ground, fought with them vpon the banks of the riuer; and so the front & the left part of the camp was well neere left naked. For in the right cornẽt were the 12. & the 7. legions, where as all the Neruij, vnder the cõduct of Boduognatus, were heaped together; & som of them began to assault the legions on the opẽ side, & other som to possess themselues of the highest part of the camp.

At the same time the Roman horsemen, & the light armed footmen that were intermingled amongst them, & were at first al put to flight by the Enemy, as they were entering into the camp, met with their enimies in the face, & so were driuen to flie out another waie. In like manner, the pages & souldiers boies, that frõ the Decumane port & top of the hill, had seen the tenth legion follow their enemies in pursuit ouer the riuer, and were gone out to gather pillage, when they looked behind them, and saw the enemy in their camp; betook them to their heels as fast as they could. Which accident so terrified the horsemen of the Treuiri (who for their prowesse were reputed singular amongst the Galls, and were sent thither by their State, to aid the Romanes) first when they perceiued the Roman camp to be possest, by a great multitude of the Enemy, the legions to be ouercharged & almost inclosed about, the horsemen, slingers, and Numidians to be dispersed and fled, that without anie further expectation they took their waie homeward, & reported to their State, that the Romans were vtterly ouerthrowen.

Cæsar departing from the tenth legiõ, to the right cornet, found his men exceedingly ouercharged, the ensignes crowded together into one place, & the soldiers of the 12. legiõ so thick thronged on a heap, that they hindred one another; all the Centurions of the fourth cohort being slain, the ensign bearer kild and the ensign taken, and the Centurions of the other cohorts either slain, or sore wounded; amongst whõ Pub. Sextus Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, so grieuously woũded, that he could scarce stand vpon his feet; the rest not very forward, but many of the hindmost turning taile & forsaking the field; the Enemy on the other side, giuing no respite in front, although he fought against the hil, nor yet sparing the open side, and the matter brought to a narrow issue, without any means or succor, to relieue thẽ: he took a target from one of the hindmost soldiers

(for he himself was come thither without one) & pressing to the front of the battell, called the Centurions by name, and incouraging the rest, commaunded the ensignes to be aduaunced toward the enemie, and the Maniples to bee inlarged, that they might with greater facilitie and readinesse vse their swords.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The place and office of a primipile.

HIs Publius Sextus Baculus was the chiefest Centurion of the 12. legion, beeing the first Centurion of that Maniple of the Triarij, that was of the first Cohort in that legion; for that place was the greatest dignitie that could happen to a Centurion; and therefore he was called by the name of *Centurio primipili*, or simply *Primipilus*, and somtimes *Primopilus*, or *Primus Centurio*. By him were commonly published, the mandates and edicts of the Emperour, and Tribunes: and therefore the rest of the Centurions, at all times had an eie vnto him; and the rather for that the eagle, which was the peculiar ensigne of euery legion, was committed to his charge and carried in his Maniple: Neither was this dignitie, without speciall commoditie, as may be gathered out of diuers authours. We read further, that it was no disparagement for a Tribune, after his Tribunalitie was expired, to be a Primipile in a legion; notwithstanding, there was a lawe made, I know not vpon what occasion, that no Tribune should afterward be Primipile. But let this suffice concerning the office and title of P. S. Baculus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Target described.

AND heere I may not omit to giue the Target anie honour I may: and therefore I will take occasion to describe it in Cæsars hand, as in the place of greatest dignitie, and much honouring the excellency therof. Polybius maketh the Target to containe two foot and an halfe in breadth, ouerthwart the conuex surface thereof; and the length foure foot, of what form or fashion soeuer they were of: for the Romans had two sorts of Tragets amongst their legionarie; the first carried the proportion of that figure, which the Geometricians call Oual, a figure of an vnequal latitude, broadest in the midst, and narrow at both the ends like vnto an egge, described in *Plano*: the other sort was of an equall latitude, and resembled the fashion of a gutter-tile; and thereupon was called *Scutum imbricatum*. The matter whereof a target was made, was a double board, one fastened vpon another, with lint and Buls glewe; and couered with an Oxe hide, or som other stiffe leather; the vpper and lower part of the target were bound about with a plate of iron, to keepe it from cleauing; and in the middest there was a bosse of iron or brasse, which they called *Vmbo*. Romulus brought them in first among the Romanes, taking the vse of them from the Sabines. The wood whereof they were made, was for the most part either sallow, alder or figtree: whereof Plinie giueth this reason, for as much as

Lib.16.c.40.

as these trees are colde and waterish, and therefore any blow or thrust that was made vpon the wood, was presently contracted and shut vp againe. But for as much as the Target was of such reputation amongst the Roman Armes, and challenged such interest in the greatest of their Empire, let vs enter a little into the consideration of the vse and commoditie thereof; which cannot be better vnderstood, then by that conference, which Polybius hath made betweene the weapons of the Romans and the Macedonians: and therefore I haue thought it good to insert it in these discourses. And thus it followeth.

Of the difference of the Roman and Macedonian WEAPONS.

I Promised in my sixt booke that I would make a comparison, betweene the weapons of the Romans, and Macedonians. And that I woulde likewise write of the disposition of either of their Armies; how they do differ one from another: and in what regarde, the one, or the other, were either inferiour, or superiour: which promise I will now with diligence endeuour to perform. And for as much as the Armies of the Macedonians haue giuen so good testimonies of themselues by their actions, by ouercomming the Armies as well of those of Asia, as of Greece; and that the battailes of the Romans haue conquered, as well those of Africa, as all the esterne countries of Europ: It shall not be amisse, but very profitable, to search out the differene of either; especially seeing that these our times haue not once, but many times seene triall, both of their battailes & forces; that knowing the reason why the Romans do ouercome, and in their battailes cary away the better, wee doe not as vaine men were wont to do, attribute the same to fortune, and esteem them without reason happy victors; but rather looking into the true causes, we giue thē their due praises, according to the direction of reason, and sound iudgement. Concerning the battails between Hanniball and the Romans; and concerning the Romans their losses, there is no need that I speak much. For their losses are neither to bee imputed to the defect of their Armes, or disposition of their Armies; but to the dexteritie and industrie of Hanniball: but wee haue entreated thereof when wee made mention of the battels themselues; and the end it selfe of that warre, doth especially confirme this our opinion: for when they had gotten a Captaine equall with Hanniball, euen consequentlie with all his victories vanished. And hee had no sooner ouercome the Romans, but by and by, reiecting his owne weapons, he trayned his Armie to their weapons: and so taking them vp in the beginning, hee continued them on vnto the end.

And Pyrrhus in his war against the Romans, did vse both their weapons and order, and made as it were a medlie both of the cohort, and phalanx: but notwithstanding, it serued him not to get the victory; but alwaies the euent by some meanes or other, made the same doubtful: concerning whom it were not vnfit, that

that I ſhould ſay ſomething, leaſt in being altogether ſilent, it might ſeeme to preiudice this mine opinion. But notwithſtanding I wil haſten to my purpoſed compariſon.

Now touching the phalanx, if it haue the diſpoſition, and forces proper to it, nothing is able to oppoſe it ſelfe againſt it, or to ſuſtaine the violence thereof; as may eaſily by many documents be approued. For when an armed man doth ſtand firme in the ſpace of three foote in ſo thicke an arraie of battell, and the length of their pikes being according to the firſt baſis, or ſcantling ſixteene foote; but according to the true and right conueniency of them, 14. cubits, out of which are taken foure allowed for the ſpace betweene the left hand, which ſupporteth the ſame, and the butte end thereof, whiles hee ſtands in a readineſſe to attend the incounter: being thus ordered, I ſaie, it is manifeſt that the length of tenne cubites dooth extend it ſelfe before the bodie of euerie armed man, where with both his hands he doth aduance it ready to charge the Enemie. By which meanes it followeth, that ſome of the pikes doe not onely extend themſelues before the ſecond, third, and fourth ranke, but ſome before the formoſt, if the phalanx haue his proper and due thickeneſſe, according to his naturall diſpoſition, both on the ſides and behinde: as Homer maketh mention when he ſaith, that one target doth encloſe and fortifie another; one head-piece is ioined to another, that they may ſtand vnited and cloſe together.

Theſe circumſtances being rightly and truely ſet downe, it muſt follow, that the pikes of euerie former ranke in the phalanx, doe extend themſelues two cubites before each other, which proportion of difference they haue betweene themſelues: by which may euidently be ſeene the aſſault, and impreſſion of the whole phalanx, what it is, and what force it hath, conſiſting of 16. rankes in depth, or thickneſſe; the exceſſe of which number of ranks aboue fiue. For as much as they cannot commodiouſly couch their pikes, without the diſturbance of the former, the points of them not being long inough to enlarge themſelues beyond the formoſt ranks, they grow vtterly vnprofitable, & cannot man by man, make any impreſſion, or aſſault: but ſerue only, by laying their pikes vpon the ſhoulders of thoſe which ſtand before them, to ſuſtaine and hold vp the ſwaies and giuing backe of the former rankes, which ſtand before them to this end, that the front may ſtand firme and ſure; and with the thickeneſſe of their pikes they doe repell all thoſe darts, which paſſing ouer the heads of thoſe that ſtand before, would annoy thoſe rankes which are more backward.

And farther by mouing forward, with the force of their bodies, they doe ſo preſſe vpon the former, that they doe make a moſt violent impreſſion. For it is impoſſible that the formoſt rankes ſhould giue back.

This therefore being the generall and particular diſpoſition of the phalanx: we muſt now ſpeake on the contrarie part, touching the properties & differences, as well of the Arms, as of the whole diſpoſition of the Roman battell. For euery Roman ſoldier for himſelfe, and his weapon, is allowed three foot to ſtand in, and in the incounter, are moued man, by man, euery one couering himſelfe with his target; and mutually moouing whenſoeuer there is occaſion offered.

But

But those which vse their swords, do fight in a more thin and distinct order; so that it is manifest, that they haue three foot more allowed them to stand in both from shoulder to shoulder, and from backe to beily, that they may vse their weapons with the better commodity. And hence it commeth to pass, that one Roman souldier taketh vp as much ground, as two of those which are to encounter him of the Macedonian Phalanx: so that one Roman is as it were to oppose himselfe against ten pikes, which pikes the saide one souldier can neyther by any agility come to offend, or else at handy blowes otherwise annoy: And those which are behinde him, are not only vnable to repell their force, but also with conueniency to vse their owne weapons. Whereby it may easily be gathered, that it is impossible, that any battaile being assaulted, by the front of a phalanx, should be able to sustaine the violence thereof, if it haue his due and proper composition.

What then is the cause that the Romans doe ouercome, and that those that doe vse the phalanx are voyde of the hope of victory? Euen from hence, that the Roman Armies haue infinite commodities, both of places, and of times, to fight in. But the phalanx hath only one time, one place, and one kinde, whereto it may profitably apply it selfe: so that if it were of necessitie; that their enemy should incounter them at that instant, especially with their whole forces, it were questionlesse not only, not without danger, but in all probability likelie; that the phalanx should euer carry away the better. But if that may bee auoided, which is easily done: shall not that disposition then, be vtterly vnprofitable, and free from all terror? And it is farther euident, that the phalanx must necessarily haue plaine and champion places, without any hinderances, or impediments; as ditches, vneuen places, vallies, little hils and riuers: for all these may hinder and disioine it. And it is almost impossible to haue a Plain of the capacity of 20. *stadia*, much lesse more, where there shall bee found none of these impediments. But suppose there bee found such places, as are proper for the phalanx: If the Enemy refuse to come vnto them, and in the mean time, spoile, and sack the Cities, and country round about; what commodity, or profit shall arise by any Army so ordered? for, if it remaine in such places, as hath been before spoken of; it can neither reliene their friends, nor preserue themselues. For the conuoies which they expect from their friends; are easily cut off by the Enemy, whiles they remain in those open places.

And if it happen at any time, that they leaue them vpon any enterprise, they are then exposed to the Enemy. But suppose, that the Roman Army should find the phalanx in such places, yet would it not aduenture it self in gross at one instant; but would by little and little retire it selfe: as doth plainly appeare by their vsuall practice. For there must not be a coniecture of these things by my words only, but especially by that which they do. For they doe not so equally frame their battell, that they doe assault the Enemy altogether, making as it were but one front: but part make a stand, and part charge the Enemie, that if at any time the Palanx doe presse them, that come to assault them and bee repelled; the force of their order is dissolued. For whether they pursue those that retire, or fly from those that doo assault them, these doe disioyne themselues

themselues from part of their Army; by which meanes there is a gap opened to their Enemies, standing and attending their opportunity: so that now they neede nor anie more to charge them in the front, where the force of the phalanx consisteth; but to assault where the breach is made, both behinde, and vpon the sides. But if at any time the Romane Army may keepe his due proprietie, and disposition, the phalanx by the disaduantage of the place, being not able to do the like: doth it not then manifestly demonstrate the difference to be great betweene the goodnesse of their disposition, and the disposition of the phalanx?

To this may be added the necessities imposed vpō an Army: which is, to march through places of all natures, to encamp themselues, to possesse places of aduantage, to besiege, & to be besieged; and also contrary to expectation sometimes to come in view of the Enemie. For, all these occasions necessarily accōpany an Army; and oftentimes are the especiall causes of victory, to which the Macedonian phalanx is no way fit, or conuenient: forasmuch, as neither in their generall order, nor in their particular disposition, without a conuenient place, they are able to effect any thing of moment: but the Roman Army is apt for al these purposes. For, euerie souldiour amongst them, being once armed and ready to fight, refuseth no place, time nor occasion; keeping alwaies the same order, whether he fight togither with the whole body of the Army, or particularly by himselfe, man, to man.

And hence it happeneth, that as the commodity of their disposition is aduantageous: so the end doth answere the expectation.

These things I thought to speak of at large, because manie of the Grecians are of an opinion, that the Macedonians are not to be ouercome. And againe, many wondered, how the Macedonian phalanx should be put to the worse by the Roman Army, considering the nature of their weapons.

Thus farre goeth Polybius, in comparing the weapons and imbattailing of the Romans, with the vse of Arms amongst the Macedonians: wherein we see the Pike truly and exactly ordered, according as the wise Grecians could best proportion it with that forme of battell, which might giue most aduantage to the vse thereof: so that if our squadrons of Pikes iumpe not with the perfect manner of a phalanx, (as wee see they doe not) they fall so much short of that strength, which the wisedome of the Grecians and the experience of other nations, imputed vnto it. But suppose we could allowe it that disposition, in the course of our warres, which the nature of the weapon doth require; yet forasmuch as by the authority of Polybius, the sayd manner of imbattailing is tyed to such dangerous circumstances of one time, one place, and one kind of fight: I hold it not so profitable a weapon, as the practice of our times doth seem to make it, especially in woddy countries, such as Ireland is; where the vse is cut off by such inconueniences, as are noted to hinder the managing thereof. And doubtless, if our commanders did but consider of the incongruity of the Pike and Ireland, they would not proportion so great a number of them in euery companie, as there is; for, commonly half the companie are Pikes, which is as much to saie in the practice of our wars, that halfe the Army hath neither

offensiue

offensiue nor defensiue weapons, but onely against a troupe of horse. For, they sildome or neuer come to the push of pike, with the foote companies, where they may charge and offend the enemie: and for defence, if the enemie thinke it not safe to buckle with them at hand, but maketh more aduantage, to play vpon them afarre off with shotte; it affordeth small safety to shake a long pike at them, and stand faire in the meane time, to entertaine a volley of shot, with the body of their battailion. As I make no question, but the pike in some seruices is profitable, as behind a rampier, or at a breach; so I assure my self, there are weapons, if they were put to triall, that would counteruaile the pike, euen in those seruices, wherein it is thought most profitable.

Concerning the Target, we see it take the hand, in the iudgement of Polybius, of all other weapons whatsoeuer, as well in regard of the diuers and sundry sorts of imbattailing, as the qualitie of the place wheresoeuer: for, their vse was as effectuall in small bodies and centuries, as in grosse troupes and great companies; in thinne and spacious imbattelling, as in thick thronged Testudines.

Neither could the nature of the place make thē vnseruiceable; for, whether it were plaine or couert, leuell or vnequall, narrow or large, if there were anie commodity to fight, the target was as necessarie to defend, as the sword to offend: besides the conueniencie, which accompanieth the target in any necessitie imposed vpon an Armie, whether it be to march through places of all natures, to make a fast march, or a speedy retraite, to incamp themselues, to possesse places of aduantage, to besiege and to be besieged, as Polybius saith, with many other occasions which necessarily accomhanie an Armie. The vse of this weapon hath been to much neglected in these later ages, but may be happilie renued againe in our Nation, if the industry of such as haue laboured to present it vnto these times, in the best fashion, shall find any fauour in the opinion of our Commaunders. Concerning which Target, I must needes say this much, that the light target will prooue the target of seruice, whensoeuer they shall happen to be put in execution: for, those which are made proofe, are so heauie and vnwieldie (although it be somewhat qualified with such helps as are annexed to the vse thereof) that they ouercharge a man, with an vnsupportable burthen, and hinder his agilitie and execution in fight, with a waight disproportionable to his strength. For, our offensiue weapons, as namely, the Hargebusiers, and Musketires, are stronger in the offensiue part, then any armes of defence, which may be made manageable & fit for seruice. Neither did the Romans regard the proofe of their target further, then was thought fit for the readie vse of them in time of battaile, as it appeareth in manie places, both in the Ciuill vwars, and in these Commentaries: for, a Romaine Pile hath oftentimes darted through the Target, and the bodie of the man that bare it, and fastened thē both to the ground: which is more then a Musket can well do; for the bullet commonly resteth in the bodie. And although it may be said, that this was not common, but rather the effect of an extraordinary arme; yet it seruetb to proue, that their targets were not prose to their offensiue weapons, when they were well deliuered, & with good direction. For, I make no doubt, but in their

battailes there were oftentimes some hinderances, which would not suffer so violent an effect, as this which I speake off: for, in a volley of shotte, wee must not thinke, that all the bullets flie with the same force, & fall with the like hurt; but as Armour of good proofe, will hardly hold out some of them; so slender Armes, and of no proofe, will make good resistance against others. And, to conclude, in a battell or incounter at hand, a man shall meet with more occasions, suting the nature and commoditie of this light Target, then such as wil aduantage the heauie Target of proofe, or counteruaile the surplus of waight, which it carieth with it.

Some men will vrge, that there is vse of this Target of proofe, in some places and in some seruices: which I deny not to those, that desire to be secured from the extreamitie of peril. But this falleth out in some places, & in some particular seruices; and hindereth not, but that the vniuersall benefit of this weapon consisteth in the multitude of light Targetiers, who are to manage the most important accasions of a warre.

This much I am further to note, concerning the sword of the Targetires, that according to the practice of the Romaines, it must alwaies hang on the right side; for, carying the Target vpon the left arme, it cannot bee that the sword should hang on the left side, but with great trouble and annoiance. And if any man say, that if it hang on the right side, it must be very short; otherwise, it will neuer be readily drawne out: I say, that the sword of the Targetiers, in regard of the vse of that weapon, ought to be of a very short scantling, when as the Targetier is to commaund the point of his sword within the compasse of his Target, as such as looke into the true vse of this weapon, will easily discouer. But let this suffice, concerning the vse of the Pike and the Target.

CHAP. XI.

The Battell continueth, and in the end *Cæsar ouercommeth.*

Cæsar.

AT the presence of their Generall, the souldiers conceiued some better hopes; and gathering strength and courage againe, when as euery man bestirred himselfe in the sight of the Emperor, the brunt of the enemy was a little staied. Cæsar, perceiuing likewise the seuenth legion, vvhich stood next vnto him, to be sore ouerlaid by the enemy, commanded the Tribunes by little and little, to ioyne the two legions together, and so by ioyning back to back, to make two contrary fronts; & being thus secured one by another from feare of beeing circumuented, they began to make resistance with greater courage. In the mean time, the two legions that were in the rereward to guard the cariages, hearing of the battell, doubled their pase, and vvere descried by the enemy vpon the toppe of the hill. And Titus Labienus, hauing won the Campe of the Neruij, and beholding from the higher

ground

ground what was done on the other side of the riuer, sent the tenth legion to help their fellowes: who, vnderstanding by the horsemen and Lackies that fledde, in what case the matter stood, and in what danger the Campe, the legions, and the Generall was, made all the haste they possibly could. At whose comming, there happened such an alteration and change of things, that euen such as were sunke downe, through extreame griefe of their wounds, or leaned vpon their Targets, beganne againe to fight afresh; and the Pages and the boies, perceiuing the enemy amazed, ranne vpon them vnarmed, not fearing their weapons.

The horsemen also, striuing with extraordinary valour, to wipe away the dishonour of their former flight, thrust themselues in all places before the legionary souldiers. Howbeit, the Enemy in the vtmost perill of their liues, shewed such manhood, that as fast as the formost of the were ouerthrowne, the next in place bestrid their carcasses, and fought vpon their bodies: and these beeing likewise ouerthrowne, and their bodies heaped one vpon another, they that remained, possest themselues of that Mount of dead carcasses, as a place of aduantage, and from thence threw their weapons, and intercepting the piles, returned them againe to the Romans.

By which it may be gathered, that there was great reason to deeme them men of haughtie courage, that durst passe ouer so broad a Riuer, climbe vp such high rocks, & aduenture to fight in a place of such inequalitie. The battell being thus ended, and the Nation and name of the Neruij beeing well neere swallowed vp with destruction, the elder sort, with the women and children, that before the battell, vvere conuaied into Ilands and Bogs; when they heard thereof, sent Embassadours to Caesar, and yielded themselues to his mercy; and in laying open the misery of their State, affirmed, that of six hundred Senatours, they had now left but three; and of sixtie thousand fighting men, there was scarce fiue hundred that were able to beare Armes. Caesar, that his clemencie might appeare to a distressed people, preserued them with great care, granting vnto them the free possession of their townes and country, & straightly commanding their borderers, not to offer them any wrong or iniurie at all.

OBSERVATION.

And thus endeth the relation of that great and dangerous battel, which Ramus complaineth of as a confused narration: much differing from the direct & methodicall file, of his other Commentaries. But if that rule hold good, which learned Rhetoricians haue obserued in their Oratory; that An vnperfect thing, ought not to be told in a perfect maner: then by Ramus leaue, if any such confusion do appeare, it both sauoureth of eloquence, & well suteth the turbulent cariage of the action, wherein order and skill gaue place to Fortune, & prouidence was swallowed vp with peraduenture. For, that which Hirtius saith of the ouerthrow hee gaue to Pharnaces, may as well be said of this; that he got the victorie, *plurimũ adiuuante deorum benignitate, qui cũ omnibus belli casibus interfunt, tum praecipuè ijs quibus nihil ratione potuit administrari.* *Lib. de Militia. Iu. Ca.*

For, so it fell out in this battell, and the danger proceeded from the same cause, that brought him to that push in the battell with Pharnaces: for, he well vnderstood that the Neruij attended his comming on the other side the riuer Sabis: Neither was hee ignorant how to fortifie his Campe in the face of an enemie, without feare or danger, as we haue seene in his warre with Ariouistus; when he marched to the place where hee purposed to incampe himselfe with three battels, and caused two of them to stand ready in Armes to receiue any charge, which the Enemy should offer to giue, that the third battell in the meane time might fortifie the Campe. Which course would easily haue frustrated this stratagem of the Neruij, and made the hazard lesse dangerous: but hee little expected any such resolution, so contrarie to the rules of Militarie discipline, that an enemie should not stick to passe ouer so broad a riuer, to clime vp such steep and high Rocks, to aduenture battell in a place so disaduantageous, and to hazard their fortune vpon such inequalities. And therefore, he little mistrusted any such vnlikely attempt, wherein the enemy had plotted his own ouerthrow, if the legions had beene ready to receiue them.

Which may teach a Generall, that which Cæsar had not yet learned, that a Leader cannot be too secure in his most assured courses, nor too carefull in his best aduised directions; considering that the greatest meanes may easily be preuented, and the safest course weakened with an vnrespected circumstance: so powrefull are weake occurrences in the maine course of the waightiest actions; and so infinite are the waies, whereby either wisedome or fortune may work. Neither did this warne him, to prouide for that which an enemy might doe, how vnlikelie soeuer it might seeme vnto him: as appeareth by that accident in the battell with Pharnaces. Which practice, of attempting a thing against reason and the arte of warre, hath found good successe in our moderne wartes, as appeareth by the French histories: notwithstanding, it is to be handled sparingly, as no way fauouring of circumspect and good direction, forasmuch as *Temeritas non semper felix*, as Fabius the great answered Scipio.

The chiefest helps which the Romaines found, were first the aduantage of the place; whereof I spake in the Heluetian warre. Secondlie, the experience, which the souldiours had got in the former battailes, which much directed them in this turbulent assault; wherin they caried themselues, as men acquainted with such casualties: lastly, the valour and vndanted iudgement of the Generall, which ouerswaied the perill of the battaile, and brought it to so fortunate an end. Wherein we may obserue, that as in a temperate course, when the issue of the battaile rested vpon his directions, hee wholly intended warinesse and circumspection: so in the hazard and perill of good hap, hee confronted extreamitie of danger with extreamitie of valour, and ouer-topt furie, vvith a higher resolution.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

The Aduatici betake themselues to a strong hold, *and are taken by Cæsar.*

THE Aduatici before mentioned, comming with all their power to aide the Neruij, and vnderstanding by the way, of their ouerthrowe, returned home againe; and forsaking all the rest of their Townes, and Castles, conuaied themselues and their wealth into one strong and well fortified towne, which was compassed about with mighty rocks and steepe downefals, sauing in one place of two hundred foote in breadth; vvhere there was an entry by a gentle and easie ascent: which passage they had fortified, vvith a double wall of a large altitude, and had placed mighty great stones & sharp beames vpon the walles, ready for an assault. This people descended from the Cimbri and Teutoni; who, in their iourney into Italie, had left such cariages on this side of the Rhene, as they could not conuenientlie take along with them, in the custodie of these forces: who, after the death of their fellowes, beeing many yeeres disquieted by their neighbours, sometimes inuading other States, and sometimes defending themselues, at length procured a peace, and chose this place to settle themselues in.*

Cæsar.

* *Either Doway or Bosleduke, in Brabant.*

At the first comming of the Romaine Armie, they sallied out of the towne, & made many light skirmishes with them: but after that Cæsar had drawn a rampier about the towne, of twelue foote in height, fifteene miles in compasse, & had fortified it with Castles very thick about the towne, they kept themselues vvithin the wall. And, as they beheld the Vines framed, the Mount raised, & a towre in building afarre off, at first they beganne to laugh at it; and with scoffing speeches from the wall, began to aske, with what hands, & with what strength, especially by men of that stature (for the Romaines were but little men in respect of the Galles) a towre of that huge massie waight shold be brought vnto the walles? But, when they saw it remooued, and approching neere vnto the towne (as men astonished at the strange and vnaccustomed sight therof) they sent Embassadors to Cæsar, to intreat a peace, with this message: They beliueed that the Romaines did not make war, without the speciall assistance of the Gods, that could vvith such facility transport engines of that height, and bring thē to incounter at hand, against the strongest part of their towne: and therefore, they submitted both themselues, & all that they had, to Cæsars mercy; desiring one thing of his meer clemencie, that hee vvould not take away their Armes; forasmuch as all their neighbours were enemies vnto them, and enuied at their valour; neither vvere they able to defend themselues, if they should deliuer vp their Armour: so that they had rather suffer any inconuenience by the people of Rome, then to be butcherly murthered by them, vvhom in former time they had held subiect to their commaund.

To this, Cæsar answered; that he would saue the Citie rather of his owne custome, then for any desert of theirs, so that they yielded before the Ram touched the wall: but no condition of remedy should be accepted, without present deliuerie of their Armes; for, he would doe by them as he had done by the Neruij, and giue commaundement to their neighbours, that they should offer no wrong to such, as had commended their safety to the people of Rome. This answere being returned to the Citty, they seemed contented to doe whatsoeuer he commaunded them: and thereupon, casting a great part of their Armour ouer the wall, into the ditch, insomuch as they fild it almost to the toppe of the rampier; and yet (as afterward was knowne) concealing the third part, they set open the gates, & for that day caried themselues peaceably. Towards night, Cæsar commaunded the gates to be shut, and the souldiours tobe drawne out of the towne. But the Aduatici, hauing consulted together before (forasmuch as they belieued, that vpon their submission, the Romaines would either set no watch at all, or at the least, keepe it verie careleslie) partly vvith such Armour as they had retained, and partly vvith targets, made of barke, or wrought of wicker, which vpon the suddaine they had couered ouer with Leather, about the third watch, where the ascent to our fortifications was easiest, they issued suddainely out of the towne with all their power: but signification thereof being giuen by fires, as Cæsar had commaunded, the Romaines hasted speedily to that place. The Enemy fought verie desperatly, as men in the last hope of their welfare, incountering the Romaines in a place of disaduantage: at length, with the slaughter of foure thousand, the rest were driuen backe into the towne. The next day, vvhen Cæsar came to breake open the gates, and found no man at defence, he sent in the souldiers, and sold all the people and spoile of the towne: the number of persons in the towne, amounted to fiftie three thousand bondslaues.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Circumuallatio.

IN the surprise, attempted by the Belgæ vpon Bibract, I set down the manner, which both the Galles and the Romaines vsed in their suddaine surprising of a towne: whereof if they failed (the place importing any aduantage in the course of war) they then prepared for the siege, in that manner, as Cæsar hath described in this place. They inuironed the towne about with a ditch and a rampier, and fortified the said rampier, with many Castles and Fortresses, erected in a conuenient distance one from another; and so they kept the towne from any forraine succour or relieſe: & withall, secured themselues from sallies, or other stratagems, which the townsmen might practice against them. And this manner of siege was called *circumuallatio*; the particular description whereof, I referre vnto the historie of Alesia, where I will handle it, according to the particulars there set downe by Cæsar.

In the seuēth Cōmentarie.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Ram, which Cæsar heere mentioneth, was of greatest note amongst all the Romaine Engines, and held that place which the Canon hath in our warres. Vitruuius doth attribute the inuention thereof to the Carthaginians, who at the taking of Cadiz, wanting a fit instrument to raze and ouerthrowe a Castle, they tooke a long beame or timber tree, and bearing it vpon their armes and shoulders, with the one end thereof, they first brake downe the vppermost ranke of stones: and so descending by degrees, they ouerthrew the whole towre. The Romaines had two sorts of Rams, the one was rude and plaine; the other, artificiall & compound: the first, is that which the Carthaginians vsed at Cadiz, and is purtraited in the column of Traian at Rome.

Aries, or the Ramme.

Cales.

Aries simplex.

The compound Ramme is thus described by Iosephus; A Ramme, saith he, is a mightie great beame, like vnto the mast of a ship, and is strengthened at one end, with a head of iron, fashioned like vnto a Ramme, and thereof it tooke the name. This Ram is hanged by the middest with roapes vnto another beame, which lieth crosse a couple of pillars: and hanging thus equally balanced, it is by force of men thrust forward, and recoiled backward; and so beateth vpon the wall with his iron head: neither is there any towre so strong, or wall so broade, that is able to stand before it.

Aries composita.

The length of this Ram was of a large scantling; for, Plutarch affirmeth, that Anthonie in the Parthian war, had a Ramme foureſcore foote long. And Vitruuius saith, that the length of a Ramme was vsually one hundred and sixe, and sometimes one hundred and twentie; and this length gaue great strength and force to the engine. It was managed at one time with a whole Centurie or order of souldiers: and their forces being spent, they were seconded with another Centurie; and so the ramme plaied continually vpon the wall, without intermission. Iosephus saith, that Titus, at the siege of Ierusalem, had a ramme for euery legion: it was oftentimes couered with a Vine, that the men that managed it might bee in more safetie. It appeareth by this place, that if a towne had continued out vntill the ramme had touched the wall, they could not presume of any acceptation of rendry; forasmuch as by their obstinacie, they had brought in perrill the liues of their enemies, and were subdued by force of Armes, which affordeth such mercie as the Victor pleaseth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe Aduatici, as it seemeth, were not ignorant of the small securitie which one State can giue vnto another, that commendeth their safetie to be protected by it: for, as Architas the Pythagorian saith, A bodie, a familie, and an Armie, are then well gouerned, vvhen they containe within themselues the causes of their safetie; So wee must not looke for anie securitie in a State, when their safetie dependeth vpon a forraine protection.

protection. For, the old saying is, that *Neque murus, neque amicus quisquam teget, quem propria arma non texere.* Although in this case the matter was wel qualified, by the maiestie of the Romaine Empire, and the late victories in the continent of Gallia; whereof the Hedui with their associates, were very gainefull witnesses: but amongst kingdoms, that are better suted with equalitie of strength and authoritie, there is small hope of safetie to be looked for, vnlesse the happy gouernment of both doe mutually depend vpon the safetie of either Nation. For, that which Polybius obserued in Antigonus, king of Macedonia, taketh place for the most part amongst all Princes; that Kings by nature esteeme no man, either as a friend or an enemie, but as the calculation of profit shall find them answerable to their proiects. And contrariwise, it cutteth off many occasions of practices and attempts, when it is knowne that a State is of it selfe able and ready to resist the dessignes of forraine enemies, according to that of Manlius; *Ostendite modo bellum, pacem habebitis: videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipsi remittent.*

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

To giue notice of an Alarũ by fire.

THe manner of signifying any motion or attempt by fire, was of great vse in the night season, where the fortification was of so large an extension: for, fire in the night doth appeare far greater then indeede it is; forasmuch as that part of the aire, which is next vnto the fire, as it is illuminated with the light thereof, in a reasonable distance, cannot be discerned from the fire it selfe, and so it seemeth much greater then it is in substance. And contrariwise, in the day time it sheweth lesse then it is; for, the cleare brightnesse of the aire, doth much obscure that light, which proceedeth from a more grosse and materiall body: and therefore their custome was to vse fire in the night, and smoake in the day, suting the transparent middle with a contrarie qualitie; that so it might more manifestly appeare to the beholder.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

Lib. 25.

The punishmẽts vvhich the Romans laid vpon a conquered Nation.

AND albeit after the victorie, the Romains inflicted diuers degrees of punishment, according to the malice which they found in an enemie; yet as Flauius Lucanus saith in Liuie, there was no Nation more exorable, nor readier to shew mercie, then the Romains were. The punishments which we find them to haue vsed towards a conquered Nation were these; either they punished them by death, or sold them for bondslaues, *sub corona*, or dismissed them *sub iugum*; or merced them, in taking away their territories; or made them tributarie States.

Of the first we find a manifest example, in the third of these Commentaries; where Cæsar hauing ouerthrowne the Veneti by sea, in as much as they had retained his Embassadours by force, contrarie to the law of Nations, hee put all the Senate to the sword, and sold the rest *sub corona.*

Festus

Festus saith, that an enemie was said to be sold *sub corona*, inasmuch as the captiues stood crowned in the Market-place, where they were sette out to sale: as Cato saith, in his booke *De re militari*, *vt populus sua opera potius ob rem bene gestam coronatus, supplicatum eat; quàm re malè gesta coronatus vaneat.* And Gellius affirmeth the same thing, but addeth also another reason, forasmuch as the souldiers that kept them while they were in selling, incircled them round about, to keep them together; and this round-about-standing, was called *corona*. Festus saith, that oftentimes they vsed a speare; and therefore they were said to be sold *sub hasta*: forasmuch as amongst the Greeks, by the speare or pike, was signified the power of Armes, and maiestie of Empires.

When they dismissed them *sub iugum*, their order was to erect three trees like a paire of gallowes, vnder which they caused all the captiues to passe, as a signe of bondage: for, they had so conquered them by force of Armes, that they laid vpon their neck the yoake of thraldome.

Liuie saith, that Quintius the Dictator, dismissed the *Aequos sub iugum*; & this *iugum* was made of three speares, whereof two were stuck vpright in the ground, and the third was tied ouerthwart them. The souldiers that passed *sub iugum*, were vngirt, and their weapons taken from them, as Festus saith.

Sometimes againe, they tooke away their lands and territories, and either sold it for mony, & brought it into the Treasurie, or diuided the land amongst the Romaine people, or let it out to farme rent: of all which, Liuie hath many pregnant examples.

CHAP. XIII.

Crassus taketh-in all the maritimate Cities that *lie to the Ocean: the legions are caried into* their vwintering Campes.

THE same time Pub. Crassus, whom he had sent with one legion to the maritimate Cities that lay to the Ocean, aduertised him, that all those States had yielded themselues to the people of Rome. The warres beeing thus ended, and all Gallia being settled in peace, there went such a fame of this vvarre among other barbarous people, that from Nations beyond the Rhene there came Embassadours to Caesar, offering both hostages and obedience to whatsoeuer he commaunded them. But Caesar willed them to repaire vnto him againe in the beginning of the next Sommer, forasmuch as he then hasted into Lumbardie, after hee had placed his legions in their wintering Campes. For these things, vpon the sight of Caesars Letters, a generall supplication was proclaimed in Rome for fifteene daies together: which honour before that time had happened to no man. And thus endeth the second Commentarie.

Caesar.

Of this supplicatiõ I will speake in the latter end of the 4. booke.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS VPON THE THIRD BOOKE OF CAESAR HIS COMMENTARIES.

THE ARGVMENT.

His Commentarie beginneth with an Accident, which happened in the latter ende of the former Sommer; wherein the Belgæ had so leane a harueſt: and then it proceedeth to the warre betweene Cæſar and the Veneti; Craſſus and the Aquitani; Titurius Sabinus and the Curioſolitæ; and Titus Labienus, with the Treuiri.

CHAP. I.

Sergius Galba, beeing ſent to cleere the paſſage of *the Alpes, was beſieged by the Seduni* and Veragri.

Cæſar.

AESAR, taking his iourney into Italie, ſent Sergius Galba vvith the twelfth legion, and part of the horſemen vnto the Nantuates, Veragri & Seduni: whoſe territories are extended from the riuer Rhone, and the lake Lemanus, vnto the tops of the higheſt Alpes. The end of this voyage was chiefelie to cleere the Alpes of thieues & robbers, that liued by the ſpoile of Paſſengers, that trauailed betweene Italie and Gallia. Galba, hauing order if he found it expedient, to winter in thoſe parts, after ſome fortunate incounters, and the taking of ſome Caſtles and holds, he concluded a peace, and reſolued to place two cohorts of his legion amongst the Nantuates; and himſelfe to winter with the other cohorts, in a towne of the Veragri, named Octodurus. This towne beeing ſited in a narrow valley, and incircled about with mighty high hils, was diuided by a riuer into two parts, whereof he gaue one part to the Galles, and the other he choſe for his wintering Campe, and fortified it about with a ditch & a rampier. After he had ſpent many daies of wintering, and giuen order, that corne ſhould be brought thither for prouiſion; he had intelligence vpon a ſudden, that the Galles in the night time, had all left that part of the towne that was allotted vnto them; and that the hills which hung ouer the valley, vvherein the towne ſtood, were poſſeſt with great multitudes of the Seduni, and Veragri. The reaſons of this ſuddaine commotion, vvere chiefely the paucitie of the Romaine forces,

forces, not making a cõpleat legion; forasmuch as two cohorts wintered amongst the Nantuates: besides many particulars, that were wanting vpon necessary occasions. And to make them more contemptible in regard of themselues, the place affoorded such aduantage, that they were perswaded by reason of the steepe decliuitie of the hill, that the Romaines would not indure the brunt of the first assault: besides this, it grieued them exceedingly to haue their children taken from them, vnder the title of hostages; and the Alpes, vvhich Nature had excempted from habitation, and placed as bounds betweene two large kingdomes, to be seised vpon by the Romaine legions, and vnited to their Prouince.

Vpon these aduertisements, Galba, not hauing as yet finished the fortification of his Campe, nor made prouision of Corne and forrage for the winter season, in that he little feared any motion of warre, being secured of their amitie, and obedience, both by hostages and rendry: hee presently called a Councell of warre, to determine what course was best to be taken. In which Councell, the mindes of many were so amazed, with the terrour of so vnexpected a danger, when they beheld the hills pestered with armed souldiers, the passages taken and intercepted by the Enemy, & no hope left of any succour or reliefe, that they could thinke of no other way for their safetie, then leauing behind them their baggage & impediments, to sallie out of their Campe, and so to saue themselues by the same way they came thither: notwithstanding, the greater part concluded, to referre that resolution to the last push; and in the meane time, to attend the fortune of the euent, and defend the Campe.

OBSERVATION.

WHich aduise, although at this time sorted to small effect; yet it better suted the valour of the Romaines, and sauoured more of tempered magnanimitie, then that former hazard, which argued the weakenesse of their minds, by their ouer-hastie and too forward resolution. For, as it imported greater danger, and discouered a more desperate spirit, to breake through the thickest troopes of their enemies, and so by strong hand to saue themselues by the helpe of some other fortune; so it manifested a greater apprehension of terrour, and a stronger impression of feare, which can afford nothing but desperate remedies: for, desperate and inconsiderate rashnes, riseth sooner of feare, then of any other passion of the mind. But such as beheld the danger with a lesse troubled eye, and qualified the terrour of death with the life of their spirit, reseruing extreamitie of helpe to extreamity of perill, and in the meane time attended what chances of aduantage might happen vnto them, vpon any enterprise the enemy should attempt; they I say, so gaue greater scope to Fortune, & inlarged the bounds of changing accidents.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The enemy setteth vpon the wintering Camp: *Galba ouerthroweth them.*

Cæsar.

THE Councell beeing dismissed, they had scarce time to put in execution such things, as were agreed vpon for their defence: but the enemy, at a watch-word giuen, assaulted the Campe on all sides, with stones and darts, & other casting weapons. The Romans, at first, when their strength vvas fresh, valiantly resisted the brunt of the charge; neither did they spend in vaine any weapon which they cast frō the rampier; but what part soeuer of their Camp seemed to be in greatest danger, & want of help, thither they came with succour and reliefe; but heerein they were ouer-matched: for, the enemy being spent and wearied with fight, when soeuer any of them gaue place and forsooke the battell, there were alwaies fresh combattants to supply it. But the Romans, by reason of their small number, had no such helpe: for, their extreamitie in that point was such, that no man was permitted neither for wearinesse nor wounds, to forsake his station, or abandon his charge. And, hauing thus fought continually the space of six houres, when both strength and weapons wanted, the enemy persisting with greater furie to fill the ditch, and breake downe the rampire, and their hopes relying vpon the last expectation, P. Sex. Baculus, the Primipile of that legion, whom we said to bee so sore wounded in the Neruian battell, and Caius Volusenus, Tribune of the souldiers, a man of singular courage and wisedome, ran speedily to Galba and told him, that the onely way of safety was to breake out vpon the enemy, and to try the last refuge in that extreamitie. Whereupon, they called the Centurions, and by them admonished the souldiers to surcease awhile from fighting, and onely to receiue such weapons as were cast into the Campe; and so to rest thēselues a little & recouer their strength: and then at a watch-word, to sallie out of their Campe, and lay their safetie vpon their vertue. Which the souldiers executed with such alacritie and courage of spirit, that breaking out at all the gates of the Camp, they gaue no leisure to the enemy to consider what was done, nor to satisfie his iudgement touching so vnexpected a noueltie. And thus Fortune beeing suddenly changed, they slew more then the third part of thirtie thousand, and put the rest to flight, not suffering them to stay vpon the hils neere about them.

OBSERVATION.

The force of nouelty, turning the fortune of a battell.

WHich strange alteration, liuely describeth the force of noueltie, & the effectuall power of vnexpected aduentures: for, in the first course of their proceeding, vvherein the Romaines defended the Campe, & the Galles charged it by assault, the victory held constant with the Galles, & threatned death & mortality to the Romans.

mans. Neither had they any meanes to recouer hope of better successe, but by trying another way; which so much the more amazed the Gals, in that they had vehemently apprehended an opinion of victory, by a set fight continuing the space of 6. houres, without any likelihood of contrariety, or alteration. Which practice, of frustrating a dessigne intended, by an indirect and contrary answer, serued the Romans oftentimes to great aduantage; as besides this present example in this Commentary we shal afterward read, how Titurius Sabinus defeated the Vnellos, with the same stratagem; and ouerthrew them by eruption & sallying out, when they expected nothing but a defensiue resistance from the rampier. From whence a Commander may learn, to auoid two contrarie inconueniencies, according as the qualitie of the war shall offer occasion: first (if other things be answerable, which a iudicious eye wil easily discouer) that a sally made out at diuers ports of a hold, wil much mitigate the heat of a charge, and controle the fury of an Enemy. And on the other side, he that besiegeth any place, what aduantage soeuer he hath of the defendant, may much better assure himself of good fortune, if he appoint certain troups in readinesse to receiue the charge of any eruption, that the rest that are busily imployed in the assault may prouide to answere it, without disorder or confusion. Which order, if the Galls had taken, they had not in likelihood so often been deceiued.

CHAP. III.

Galba returneth into the Prouince: the Vnelli giue occasion of a newe warre.

*THE Enemy being thus defeated, Galba was vnwilling to trie fortune any further; and the rather for that he wanted both corn & forrage: and therfore hauing burned the towne, the next day he returned towards the Prouince, and without let or resistance brought the legion safe into the Nantuates; and from thence to the * Allobrogæ, and there be wintered.* Cæsar. *Sauoians.

*After these things were dispatched: Cæsar supposing for many reasons, that al Gallia was now in peace, and that there was no further feare of any new war, the Belgæ being ouerthrowen, the Germans thrust out, and the Seduni amongst the Alps subdued & vanquished; in the beginning of the winter, as he went into Illyricum, hauing a great desire to see those nations: there grewe a sudden tumult and dissension in Gallia vpon this occasion. Pub. Crassus wintering with the seauenth legion in Aniou neare vnto the Ocean, and finding scarcity of corn in those parts; he sent out the Prefects of the horsemen, and Tribunes, into the next cities to demaund corn, and other prouisions for his legion: of whom Titus Terrasidius was sent vnto the * Venelli, Marcus Trebius to the * Curiosilitæ, Q. Velanius, & Titus Silius to the * Veneti. These Veneti were of greatest authoritie amongst all the maritimate nations in that coast, by reason of their great store of shipping,* *Le Perche. *Cornoaille. in Bretaine. *Vannes.

ping, with which they did trafficke in Britanie, and exceeded all their neighbour States in skil and experience of sea-faring matters; hauing the most part of such, as vsed those seas, tributaries to their State: These Veneti first aauentured to retaine Sillius & Velanius, hoping therby to recouer their hostages which they had giuen to Crassus. The finitimate Cities induced by their authority & exãple, for the same reason, laide hold vpon Trebius & Terasidius; and sending speedy ambassages one vnto another, coniured by their princes and chiefest magistrates, to approue their fact by common consent, and to attend all the same euent of fortune; soliciting also other cities and States, rather to maintaine that libertie, which they had receiued of their Ancestors, then to indure the seruile bondage of a stranger.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

The weakne our iudgement in regarde of the knowledge o future times

THe circumstance in this history, which noteth the sudden breaking out of warres, when the course of things made promise of peace: sheweth first, what small assurance our reason hath of her discourse in calculating the natiuitie of *After-chances*; which so seldome answer the iudgement we giue vpon their beginnings, that when we speak of happinesse, we find nothing but miserie: and contrariwise, it goeth often well with that part, which our Art hath condemned to ill fortune. And therfore I do not maruell, if when almost all nations are at ods, and in our best conceits, threaten destructiõ one to another, there happen a sudden motion of peace: or if peace be in speech, soothing the world with pleasing tranquillitie, & through the vncertaintie of our weake probabilities, promise much rest after many troubles; there follow greater wars in the end, then the former time can truly speak of. Which being wel vnderstood, may humble the spirits of our hauty politicians, that think to comprehend the conclusions of future times, vnder the premisses of their weake proiects, and predestinate succeeding ages, according to the course of the present motion: when an accident so little thought of, shall break the maine streame of our iudgement, and falsifie the Oracles which our vnderstanding hath vttered. And it may learne them withall, how much it importeth a wise commander, to preuent an euill that may crosse his dessigne, (how vnlikely soeuer it be to happen) by handling it in such maner, as though it were necessarily to confront the same. For then a thing is well done, when it hath in it selfe both the causes of his being; and the direct meanes to resist the repugnancie of a contrary nature: and so hap what will, it hath great possiblity to continue the same.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THis practice of the Veneti may instruct a circumspect Prince in cases of this nature, to haue a more watchfull ey ouer that Prouince or city, which shall be found most potent and mighty amongst the rest, then of

of any other inferiour State of the same nature and condition: for, as example of it selfe is of great authoritie, making improbabilities seem full of reason, especially when the intention shall sympathize with our will; so when it shall happen to be strengthened with powerfull meanes, and graced with the Act of superiour personages: it must needs be very effectual to stir vp mens minds, to approue that with a strong affection, which their own single iudgement did no way allow of. And therfore equality bringeth this aduantage to a Prince, which differencie cannot affoord, that albeit example doe set on foote any rebellious motion, yet no supereminencie shall authorise the same. *The Authority of exãple*

CHAP. IIII.

Cæsar hauing aduertisement of these new troubles; *hasteth into Gallia, and prepareth* for the WARRE.

ALL the maritimate States being by this meanes drawn into the same conspiracy, they sent a cõmon ambassage vnto Crassus; that if he would haue his men againe, he must deliuer vp the hostages, which he had taken from them. Wherof Cæsar being certified by Crassus, in as much as hee was then a great way distant from from his Army, he commanded Gallies and ships of warre to be built vpon the riuer Loier, which runneth into the Ocean; and that Gallie-men, Mariners, and Ship-masters should be mustered in the Prouince: which being speedily dispatched, assoone as the time of the yeare would permit him, he came into Gallia. The Veneti and the rest of the confederacie, vnderstanding of Cæsars arriuall, and considering how hainous a fact they had committed, in detaining the Ambassadours & casting them into yrons, whose name is held sacred & inuiolable amongst all nations: prepared accordingly to answere so eminent a danger, & especially such necessaries, as pertained to shipping & sea-fights.* *Cæsar.* ** Ligeris.*

THE OBSERVATION.

FRom hence I may take occasion, briefly to touch the reuerent opinion, which all nations, how barbarous soeuer, haue generally conceiued of the qualitie & condition of Ambassadours: and what the grounds are of this vniuersall receiued custome, which in all ages, and times hath held Authenticall. And first we are to vnderstand, that all mankinde (as indued with the same nature and properties) are so linked together in the strict alliance of humane societie; that, albeit their turbulent and disagreeing passions (which in themselues are vnnaturall, as proceeding from corruption *The grounds of that reuerent opinion which is helde of Embassadors.*

ruption and defect) driue them into extream discord, & disunion of spirit, and breake the bonds of ciuil conuersation, which otherwise we do naturally affect: yet without a necessary entercourse and trafficke of societie, we are not able to keepe on foote the very discorde it selfe, in tearmes of reason and orderly proceeding, but all parts will be blended with disordered confusion & go to wrack, for want of these mutuall offices performed by messengers: so streight are the bonds of Nature, and so powerfull are the laws which she enacteth. And therfore if it were for no other end, which might sort to the benefit of either partie, (as there are many good vses thereof) yet to holde vp the quarrell and keepe it frō falling, making war, according to the grounds of reason, the entercourse of messengers is not to be interrupted, nor their persons to be touched with hateful violence: but that which the common reason of nations hath made a lawe, ought as religiously to be obserued, as an Oracle of our owne beliefe. Secondly, for as much as the end of warre is, or at the least should be, peace: which by treatie of mutuall messengers is principally to be confirmed, to the end that no people may seem so barbarous, as to maintaine a warre; which onely intendeth bloud, and proposeth as the chiefest obiect, the death and mortalitie of mankind, no way respecting peace and ciuill gouernment: such as refuse the entercourse of messengers, as the means of amity and concord, are iustly condemned in the iudgement of all nations, as vnworthy of humane societie. Last of al, it is an iniury of great dishonour, and deserueth the reward of extream infamy, to reuenge the master his quarrell vpon a seruant, and punish Ambassadors for the faults of their State: considering that their chiefest duty consisteth in the faithfull relation of such mandates, as they haue receiued: which may as well tend to the aduancement and honour of that Citie, to which they are sent; as to the dishonour and ruine of the same, whereof the messengers take no notice. And therfore whether we desire war or peace; the free libertie, and holy order of Ambassadors, is reuerently to be respected and defended from brutish and vnnaturall violence.

CHAP. V.

The proceedings of either partie, in the enterance of this Warre.

Casar.

He Veneti conceiued great hope of their enterprise, by reason of the strength of their situation: for as much as all the passages by land were broken and cut off, with arms and creekes of the sea; and on the other side nauigation and entrance by sea was so troublesome and dangerous, in that the Romans were altogether vnacquainted with the chanelles and shelues of the coast. Neither did they thinke that the Roman Armie could long continue there without corne, which was not to bee had in those quarters. And if

*if it happened, that the course of things were carried contrarie to this probable expectation; yet they themselues were strong in shipping; whereas the Romans had none at all: Neither had they knowledge of the flats and shallows, Ports and Ilands of that coast, where they were to fight. And to conclude, they should find the vse of Nauigation in that narrow sea, to be farre different from that, which they were accustomed vnto, in the vast and open Ocean. In this resolution, they fortified their townes, stored them with prouision, & brought all their shipping to Vannes; against whom, Cæsar (as it was reported) would begin to make war, taking the Osismi, Lexouij, Nannetes, Ambiuariti, Morini, Menapij, Diablintres, as consorts and partakers in this quarrell. Notwithstanding these difficulties, many motiues stirred vp Cæsar to vndertake this war: as namely, the violent detaining of the Roman knights: their rebellion, after they had yeelded themselues by rendry, and giuen hostages of their loialtie: the conspiracie of so many Cities, which being now neglected, might afterward incite other nations and States to the like insolency. And therefore vnderstanding, that almost all the Galles were inclining to nouelty & alteration, and of their own nature, were quick & ready to vndertake a war; and further, considering that all men by nature desired liberty, and hated the seruile condition of bondage: hee preuented all further insurrections of the other States, with the presence of the Roman forces: and sent Titus Labienus with the Caualrie, vnto the * Treuiri, that bordered vpon the Rhene to him he gaue in charge, to visit the men of Rhemes & the rest of the Belgæ, to keep them in obedience, and to hinder such forces, as might peraduenture be transported ouer the riuer by the Germains, to further this rebellious humor of the Galles. He commanded likewise Pub. Crassus, with 12. legionarie cohorts, and a great part of the horse to go into Aquitane, least there might come any aide from those nations. He sent also Q. Titurius Sabinus with three legions, vnto the Lexouij, Curiosolitæ, Vnelli, to disappoint any practice which rebellious minds might intend. And making D. Brutus chiefe Admirall of the nauie, he gaue him in charge, to make towards Vannes, with what speede he could: and hee himself marched thitherward with the rest of the foot forces.*

Lendriguer. Corsieux. Vantes. Aurenche. Leondoul. Cities in little Britaine.

**Triers.*

THE OBSERVATION.

IN the first booke, I obserued the authority which the Roman Leaders had to vndertake a war, without further acquainting the Senat with the consequence thereof: in this place, let vs obserue the care and circumspection, which the Generalls had, not to vndertake a troublesome and dangerous warre vpon a humor, or any other slender motion: but diligently waighing the circumstances thereof, and measuring the perill & hazard of the warre, with the good and consequence of the effect; informed their iudgements of the importance of that action; and so tried whether the benefit would answer their labor. And thus we find the reasons particularly deliuered, that moued Cæsar first to vndertake the Heluetian warre: and then the causes, which drew him on to the quarrell with Ariouistus: then followeth the

necessity of that warre with the Belgæ; and now the motiues which induced him to this with the maritimate Citties of Bretaine: and so consequently of his passage into Germany, or what other enterprise he attempted: which he laieth downe as the grounds and occasions of those wars, & could not be auoided but with the losse and dishonour of the Roman Empire.

Further, let vs obserue the meanes he vsed to preuent the inclination of the Galles, & to keep them in subiection and peaceable obedience, by sending his men into diuers quarters of that Continent; & so settling the wauering disposition of the further skirts, with the weight of his Army, and the presence of his legionary soldiers, which hee sent ready to stifle all motions of rebellion in the beginning, that they might not breake out to the preiudice and diminution of the Roman Empire, and the good successe of his proceedings: besides the aduantage, which he gained in the opinion of the Enemy; whom he so little feared cōcerning the vpshot of that quarrel, that he had dispersed the greatest part of his Army vpon other seruices, the rest being sufficient to end that war.

CHAP. VI.

The manner of their shipping, and their Sea-fight.

Cæsar.

He site of almost all these Cities was such, that being built in points and promontories, they could not at full sea, which happened alwaies twise in 12. houres, be approched by foot-forces, nor yet with shipping neither; for, againe in an ebbe, the vessells were laid on the ground, and so left as a prey to the Enemy. And if the Romans went about to shut out the sea, with mounts which they raised equall to the walls of the towne, and were at the point of entering & taking it: yet the townsemen hauing such store of shipping, would easily conuey both themselues & their cariages, into the next towns, and there helpe themselues with the like aduantage of place. And thus they deluded Cæsar the greatest part of the sommer: for the Roman fleet by reason of continuall windes and foule weather, durst not aduenture to put out of the riuer Loier into so vast a sea, wherein the hauens and roades were fewe, and farre distant one from another, & the tides great. The shipping of the Galles was thus built and rigged: the keele was somewhat flatter then the Romans shipping, the better to beare the ebbes, and shallowes of that coast: the fore-deck was altogether erect and perpendicular: the poupe was made to beare the hugenesse of the billowes, and the force of the tempest. And in a word, they were altogether built for strength: for, the ribbes and seats were made of beams of a foot square, fastned with yron pinnes of an inch thicke: in steade of cables, they vsed chaines of yron; and raw hides and skins for sailes, either for want of linnen or ignorant

of

of the vse therof, or because sailes of linnen would hardly serue to carrie ships of that burthen.

The meeting and conflict of the Roman nauy, with this kind of ships was such, that they only excelled them in celerity and speedy nimblenes with force of oars: but in all other things, either concerning the nature of the place, or the daungers of the foule weather, were far inferiour vnto them: for the strength of them was such that they could neither hurt them with their beak-heads, nor cast a weapon to any purpose into them, by reason of their altitude, and high built bulkes. And if anie gust chanced in the meane time to rise, that forced them to commit themselues to the mercy of the weather, their shipping would better beare the rage of the sea; and with greater safety shelter it selfe amongst flats and shallowes, without feare of rockes or any such hazard: of all which chaunces the Roman nauy stood continually in danger.

OBSERVATION.

The causes of the ebbing & flowing of the Sea.

AND here, let it not seem impertinent to the argument which we handle, considering the generall vse which we Insulairs haue of nauigation, briefly to set down the most eminent causes of the flowing and ebbing of the sea, as farre forth as shall seem necessary to the knowledge of a souldier: which, albeit may fall short of the true reasons of this great secret; yet for as much as they stand for true principles of regularitie, and wel approued rules in our Art of nauigation, let vs take them for no lesse then they effect, and giue them that credit in our imagination, which tract of time hath gained to those forged circles in the heauens: that albeit their chiefest essence consisteth in conceit and supposall; yet for as much as they serue to direct our knowledge to a certainty, in that variety and seeming inconstancy of motion, we esteem of them as they effect, and not as they are.

Considering then the globe of the world, as it maketh a right spheare (for in that position, the Naturalists chiefly vnderstand celestiall influence to haue operation in this liquid element of the water) it is diuided by the Horizon and Meridian into foure quarters: the first quarter is that, betweene the east horizon and the noone meridian, which they call a flowing quarter: the second frō the noon meridian, to the west horizon; which they make an ebbing quarter: the third, from the west horizon to the midnight meridian; which they likewise call a flowing quarter: and again, from the midnight meridian to the east horizon, the second ebbing quarter: And so they make two flowing quarters, and two ebbing quarters of the whole circuit of heauen. The instruments of these sensible qualities, and contrary effectes, are the sunne and the moone, as they are caried through these distinct parts of the heauen. And although experience hath noted the moon to be of greatest power in watrie motions; yet wee may not omit to acknowledge the force, which the sunne yeeldeth in this miracle of nature.

First therefore we are to vnderstand, that when the moon or the sunne begin

to appeare aboue the right horizon,& enter into that part of the heauen which I tearmed the first flowing quarter, that then the sea beginneth to swell: and as they mount vp to their meridian altitude; so it increaseth vntill it come to a high floud. And again,as those lights passing the meridian,decline to the west, and run the circuit of the ebbing quarter: so the water decreaseth & returneth again from whence it came. Again,as they set vnder the west horizon, & enter into the second flowing quarter; so the sea beginneth again to flowe, and still encreaseth vntil they come to the point of the night meridian: and then again, it refloweth,according as the sun & moon are carried in the other ebbing quarter from the night meridian, to the west horizon.

Spring-tides. And heuce it happeneth that in coniunction or new of the moon,when the sun & the moon are caried both together in the same flowing, & ebbing quarters; that then the tides and ebs are very great: and likewise in opposition or ful of the moon,when these lights are carried in opposite quarters,which we haue described to bee of the same nature, either ebbing or flowing; that then in like manner the tides are great: forasmuch as both these Planets, through the symbolising quarters wherein they are carried,do ioyn their forces to make perfect this work of Nature in the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. And contrariwise, in a quadrate aspect (as the Astronomers call it) or quarter age of the moone, when as the moon is carried in a flowing quarter; and at the same instant, the sun doth happen to be in an ebbing or decreasing quarter, as the course of Nature dooth necessarily require: then are the tides lessened, as daily experience doth witnesse.

And for as much as both the right horizon and the meridian also, diuide euerie diurnall circle, which either the sun or the moon maketh in their reuolutions, into equal parts; it followeth that euery tide is continually measured with the quantity of 6. houres: and therfore that which Cæsar here saith,must needs be true,that in the space of 12.houres,there are alwaies 2.high tides. And least any man should imagine, that euery inland City,standing vpon an ebbing and flowing riuer, may take the computation of the tide according to this rule: let him vnderstand,that this which I haue deliuered, is to be conceiued principally of the sea it self; and secondarily of such ports and hauens, as stand either neer or vpon the sea: but where a riuer shall run many miles from the sea,and make many winding Meanders, before it come to the place of calculation; it must needs lose much of this time before mentioned. And thus much I thought cõuenient to insert in these discourses touching the ebbing & flowing of the sea, as not impertinent to martiall knowledge.

The manner of their shipping. Concerning the shipping of the Romans, whereof posteritie hath only receiued the bare names, and some fewe circumstances touching the manner of their Equipage, the Critickes of these times haue laboured to set forth a fleet, answerable to that, which the tearms and title mentioned in history seeme to report: but yet the gaine of their voyage doth not answere their charge. For, many men rest vnsatisfied,first touching the names themselues,wherof we find these kindes.

Names

Names { *Longas.* *Onerarias.* *Actuarias.* *Triremes.* *Quadriremes.* *Quinqueremes.*

The first we may vnderstand to be Gallies or ships of seruice: the second, ships of burthen: the third, ships that were driuen forward with force of oares, and the rest founding according to their Names; for, I dare not intitle them with a more particular description. Now whether these Names *Longas* and *Actuarias*, were a seuerall sort of shipping by themselues; or the generall Names of the *Quadriremes*, *Triremes*, and *Quinqueremes*, for as much as euerie kinde of these might be called both *Longas* and *Actuarias*, as it yet remaineth in controuersie: so it is not much materiall to that which wee seeke after. But that which most troubleth our sea Critickes, is, in what sense they may vnderstand these vocabularies, *Triremes*, *Quadriremes*, & *Quinqueremes*, whether they were so tearmed in regard of the number of rowers, or water-men that haled continually at an oare, as the custome of the Gallies is at this daie; or otherwise, because a *Trireme* had three orders of oares on either side, a *Quadrireme* foure, and a *Quinquereme* fiue: whereof they tooke their distinction of Names.

Such as hold, that a *Trireme* had on each side three rankes of oares, and so consequently, of a *Quadrireme* and *Quinquereme*; alleage this place of Liuie, to make good their opinion. In the warres between Rome and Carthage, Lælius meeting with Asdrubal in the straights of Gibraltar, each of them had a *Quinquereme*, & seauen or eight *Triremes* a piece: the current in that place was so great that it gaue no place to Art, but carried the vesselles according to the fall of the Billow: in which vncertainty, the *Triremes* of the Carthaginean closed with the *Quinquereme* of Lælius: which either because shee was *pondere tenacior*, as Liuie saith; or otherwise, for that *pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices facilius regeretur*; in regarde of the pluralitie of bankes of oares, which resisted the billowe and steamed the current, she sunke two of the *Triremes*, and so got the victorie. From hence they proue, that a *Quinquereme* had *plures remorum ordines*, then a *Trireme* had; and therfore it took the name from the pluralitie of bankes of oares, and not from the number of men that rowed at an oare. *Lib. 27*

But the contrarie opinion doth interpret *Ordo remorum*, to bee a couple of oares one answering another, on each side of the vessell, which wee call a paire of oares: So that a *Quinquereme* being far greater and longer then a *Trireme*, had more paires of oares then a *Trireme* had, & those oares were handled with fiue men at one oare, according to the vse of our Gallies at this daie.

But to leaue this, and come to their manner of sea-fights, wee must vnderstand that the Romans, wanting the vse of Artillerie and managing their ships of warre with force of oares, failed not to make vse of their Art, in their conflicts and incounters by sea: for, all their shippes of seruice, which we tearme *The manner of sea-fights.*

men

men of warre, carried a ſtrong beake-head of yron, which they called *roſtrum*, with which they ranne one againſt another, with as great violence and furie, as their oares could carrie them. And herein Art gaue great aduantage; for, he that coulde beſt skill to turne his ſhip, with greateſt celerity, and ſo fruſtrate an offer; or with ſpeedy & ſtrong agitation follow an aduantage: commonly got the victory.

Lib. 2. de bello ciuili.

In the battell which D. Brutus had with the Maſſilians, we reade that two Triremes charging the Admirall wherein Brutus was, one at the one ſide, and the other at the other; Brutus and his Mariners ſo cunningly handled the matter, that when they ſhould come to the hurt, they ſpeedily in a trice of time, wound themſelues from betweene them, and the two Triremes met with ſuch a carriere one againſt another, that one brake her beake-head, and the other ſplit with the blowe.

For this skil & fortune withall, Euphranor the Rhodian was of great fame in Cæſars time; although his end found too true the ſaying of the Hiſtorian, that Whom Fortune honoureth with many good haps, ſhe oftentimes reſerueth to a harder deſtiny; as other ſea-men beſides Euphranor, can truly witneſſe.

This firſt brunt being ended: when they came to grapple and boording one of another, then the art & practices of their land ſeruices came in vſe: for, they erected turrets vpon their decks, and from them they fought with engines and caſting-weapons, as ſlings, arrowes, and piles; and when they entered, they fought with ſword and target. Neither did the legionary ſouldier find any difference when he came to the point, betweene their fight at ſea and that at land: ſauing that they could not be martialled in troups and bands, in regard wherof the ſea ſeruice was counted more baſe, and diſhonourable; and the rather, in as much as it decided the controuerſie, by ſlings and caſting-weapons: which kinde of fight was of leſſe honour, then buckling at handy-blowes.

CHAP. VII.

The Battell continueth: and Cæſar ouercommeth.

Cæſar.

HE maner of their fights being this, as I haue deſcribed, neither Brutus, nor any Tribune or Centurion in his nauy, knew what to do or what courſe of fight to take: for, the ſhipping of the Galles was ſo ſtrong, that the beake-head of their Quinqueremes could performe no ſeruice vpon them: & although they ſhoulde raiſe turrets according to their vſe, yet theſe would not equall in height the poupe of the Enemies ſhipping; ſo that therein alſo the Galles had aduantage: neither had they any meanes, whereby they might foile ſo great a nauie, which amounted to the number of 230. ſhips of war. One thing

thing there was amongst their prouisions which stood them in great stead: for, the Romans had prouided great sharp hooks or sickles, which they put vpon great & lõg poles: these they fastned to the tackling which held the main yard to the mast; and then haling away their ship, with force of Oares, they cut the said tackling, & the main yard fell down. Wherby the Galles, whose only hope consisted in sayling and yare turning of their ships, lost at one instant, both their sailes & the vse of their shipping: And then the controuersie fel within the compass of valour, wherin the Romans exceeded the Galls; and the rather, inasmuch as they fought in the sight of Cæsar and the whole Army, no valiant act could bee smothered in secret; for, all the hilles and clifts, which affoorded neere prospect into the sea, were couered with the Roman Armie.

Their maine yardes being cut downe, and the Romans indeuouring with great fury to boord them failed not to take many of their ships: which the Galls perceiuing, & finding no remedy nor hope of resistance, began al to fly, & turning their ships to a forewind, were vpon a sudden so becalmed, that they were able to make no way at all. Which fell out so fitly for the Romans, that of so great a nauy, very few through the helpe of the euening escaped to land, after they had fought the space of 8. houres: with which battell, ended the war with the Veneti, & the rest of the maritimate nations. For, al sort of people both young & old, in whom there was either courage, counsell or dignity, were present at this battell, and all their shipping was taken & lost; so that such as remained, knew not whither to go, nor how to defend their towns any longer: and therfore yeelded themselues to Cæsar; in whom he vsed the greater seuerity, that he might therby teach al other barbarous people, not to violate the lawe of nations: for, he slew all the Senat with the sword, and solde the people for bondslaues.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN this battell I chiefly obserue the good fortune, which vsually attendeth vpon industry: for amongst other prouisions, which the diligence of the Romans had furnished out to the vse of this war, they had made ready these hookes, not for this intent wherin they were imploied; but at all occasions and chances, that might happen, as seruiceable complements rather then principal instruments: & yet it so fel out, that they proued the only means, to ouerthrow the Galles. Which proueth true the saying of Cæsar, that industrie commaundeth fortune and buyeth good successe, with extraordinary labour: for industrie in action is as importunitie in speech, which forceth an assent beyond the strength of reason; and striueth through continuall pursuit, to make good the motiues, by often inculcations; and at length findeth that disposition, which will easily admit whatsoeuer is required: In like manner, diligence and labourſome industrie, by circumspect and heedfull carriage, seldome faile either by hap or cunning, to make good that part wherein the maine point of the matter dependeth. For, euery action is intangled with many infinite adherents, which are so interessed in the matter, that it succeedeth according as it is carried

The force of industrie.

carried answerable to their natures. Of these adherents, some of them are by wisdome foreseen; and directed to that course which may fortunate the action: the rest being vnnknown, continue without either direction or preuention, & are all vnder the regiment of fortune; for as much as they are beyond the compasse of our wisest reach, and in the waie either to assist or disaduantage: Of these, industrie hath greatest authority; in as much as she armeth her selfe for all chances, whereby she is sayd to command fortune.

CHAP. VIII.

*La. Percke

*Sabinus ouerthroweth the * Vnelli, with the* manner thereof.

*Cæsar.

Hile these things happened in the state of Vannes, L. Titurius Sabinus entreth with his forces into the confines of the Vnelli, ouer whom Viridouix was made chiefe Commander, hauing drawne the Aulerci and the* Eburonices with a great number of vagabondes and theeues into the same conspiracie: Sabinus incāping himselfe in a conuenient place, kept his souldiers within the rampier. But, Viridouix, being lodged within lesse then two miles of Sabinus his camp, brought out his forces daily, and putting them in battell gaue him opportunitie to fight if he would: which Sabinus refused in such sort, that he began not onely to be suspected by the Enemy of cowardice, but to be taũted with the reprocheful speeches of his own soldiers; which opinion of feare being once settled in the minds of the Enemie, he vsed all meanes to increase it, and carried it so well, that the Enemie durst approche the very rampier of the camp. The colour that he pretended was, that he thought it not the part of a Legate, in the absence of the General, to fight with an Enemy of that strength, but vpon some good opportunitie, or in a place of aduantage. In this generall perswasion of feare, Sabinus chose out a subtile witted Gall, whom he perswaded with great rewards, and further promises, to flie to the Enemie, and there to carrie himself, according to the instructions, which he should giue him. This Gal, comming as a reuolter to the Enemy, laid open vnto thẽ the feare of the Romans; the extremity that Cæsar was driuẽ into by the Veneti; & that the night before, Sabinus was about to withdraw his forces secretly out of his camp, & to make all the haste he could to relieue Cæsar. Vpon which aduertisemẽt, they al cried out with one consent, that this opportunity was not to be omitted; but setting apart al other deuises, to go & assault the Roman campe. Many circumstances perswaded the Gals to this resolutiõ; as first the lingring & doubt which Sabinus had made, whẽ he was offred battel: secondly, the intelligẽce which this fugitiue had broght: thirdly, the want of victuals wherin they had bin negligent & vnaduisedly carelesse: fourthly, the hope they cõceiued of the war of Vannes; and lastly, for that men willingly belieue that which they would haue com to pass. The force of these motiues was so strong, that they would not suffer Viridouix*

* Rhone.
* Eureux.

douix, nor the rest of the Captaines, to dismisse the Councell, vntill they had permitted them to take Armes, and goe to the Romaine Camp. Which being granted, they gathered rubbish and fagots to fill vp the ditch; & with cheerful harts, as though the victorie were already gotten, they marched to the place where Sabinus was incamped; which was the top of a hill, rising gently from a leuell, the quantity of one thousand paces. Hither the Galles hasted with all expedition: & to the intent the Romaines might not haue so much time, as to put on their Armour, the Galles for haste ranne themselues out of breath.

Sabinus, incouraging his souldiers, gaue the signe of battell; and sallying out at two seuerall gates of his Campe, it fell out that through the oportunity of the place, the wearinesse and vnexperience of the Enemy, the valour of the Romane souldier, and their exercise in former battels, that the Galles could not indure the brunt of the first incounter, but presently tooke themselues to flight, of whom, very few escaped. And so it happened, that at one time, Sabinus had newes of the ouerthrow at Sea, and Cæsar of Sabinus victory by Land. Vpon these victories, all the Citties and States yielded themselues to Titurius: for, as the Galles are prompt to vndertake a warre; so are they weake in suffering, and impatient of the consequents and calamities thereof.

OBSERVATION.

The vse which the Romans made of a counterfet feare. Lib. 5.

THis practice of a counterfeit feare, was often put in vse by the Romane Leaders, as well to disappoint the expectation of an enemie, as to draw them into an inconuenience, and so to defeate them of their greatest helps in time of battell. Cæsar, comming to succour the Campe of Cicero, made such vse of this Art, that he put to rout a great Armie of the Galles, with a handful of men: which I will referre vnto the place, where it is particularly set downe by Cæsar.

The chiefest thing in this place, which brought them to their ouerthrow, was disappointment: for, it is a thing hardly to be digested in businesses of smal consequence, to be frustrated of a settled expectation, when the mind shal dispose herselfe to one onely intent, and in the vp-shot meet with a counterbuffe to crosse her purposes, and so defeat her of that hope which the strength of her reason hath entertained: how much more then in things of such importance, when we shall proceed in a course of victorie, and humour our conceits with that wee wish and would haue to happen; and in the end, meet either with bondage or death, must our best wits bee appalled? hauing neither respite nor meanes, to thinke how the euill may be best preuented. Which the wise Romans well vnderstood, & counted it no dishonour to be reproched with shamefull cowardice, by such as knew not the secrets of wisedome; while they in the meane time foresawe their good fortunes, shrowded vnder the cloak of a pretended distrust.

Let these examples instruct a Leader, so to take the opportunitie of any such fortune, that in the execution, he omit not the chiefest points of order and discipline, as well for the better effecting of the dessigne, as for his own safety and

the ſecuritie of his Armie. For, order is as the ſinewes and ſtrength of martiall diſcipline, vniting the particular members into the firme compoſition of a well proportioned bodie: and ſo it maketh it more powerfull then any number of diſunited parts, how able or infinite ſoeuer.

I might heere alleadge infinite examples to confirme this truth: but let the battell of Drux ſerue for all; wherein the Proteſtants, ouercharging the Catholick Armie, followed the retrait ſo hard, that they quickly became Maiſters of the field: and then neglecting martiall diſcipline, fell in confuſedly with the broken multitude, to make the victorie more glorious by ſlaughter and mortalitie. The Duke of Guiſe, all this while, bouged not a foot; but in vnexampled patience, kept his regiment cloſe together, and would not ſuffer them to reſcue their Generall that was taken, vntill the regiment of the Prince of Condie was likewiſe diſperſed and broken: and then perceiuing no difference of order, betweene the victor Proteſtant, and the vanquiſhed Catholick, hee diſſolued that terrible cloud that had hung ſo long in ſuſpence; and ſo changed the fortune of the day, that he tooke the chiefeſt of their Princes priſoners, with little or no loſſe of his owne men: ſo powerfull is order in the deeds of Armes, and of ſuch conſequence in obtaining victorie. And thus wee haue firſt ſeene the inconueniences, which a counterfet feare well diſſembled, may caſt vpon a credulous and vnaduiſed enemie, when pretence and appearance hath brought them into an errour, which their owne credulitie doth afterward auouch: and ſecondly, what ſtrength and ſafetie conſiſteth in order; and how powerfull it is to throw downe, and to ſet vp.

CHAP. IX.

The proceedings of Craſſus in Aquitanie.

Cæſar.

*AT the ſame inſtant of time, it happened alſo, that Pub. Craſſus comming into Aquitania (which both in regard of the large extenſion of the Country, as alſo for the multitude of the inhabitants, was named the third part of Gallia) and conſidering that he was to make war in thoſe parts, where L. Valerius Preconius the Legate was ſlaine, and the Army ouerthrowne: and where Lucius Manlius was faine to flie, vvith the loſſe of his cariages; he thought that his affaires required no meane diligence: and therefore, hauing made prouiſion of Corne, & muſtered many Auxiliarie forces, and ſent for many valiant and prudent men from Tolouſe and Narbone, hee carried his Armie into the confines of the * Sontiates; vvhich vvas no ſooner knovvne, but they leuied great forces both of horſe and foote, and vvith their horſe, charged vpon the Romaines in their march: vvhich beeing eaſilie repelled, as they followed the retrait, the infanterie of the Galles, ſhevved it ſelfe in a Valley as it lay in Ambuſh. Theſe, ſetting vpon the Romaines, renewed the battaile, and there the fight continued hot a long time; the Sonti-*

**Euocati.*

Sontiates beeing animated with the former victories, saw all the hope of Aquitanie relie vpon their vertue: and the Romans on the other side, desired to shew what they were able to doe of themselues, vvithout their grand Captaine, and vnder the conduction of a young souldier. At length, the enemy, ouerwaged with prowesse, and wearied with wounds, betooke themselues to flight; of whom the Romans slew a great number: and then marched directlie to the towne of the Sontiates, and laid siege vnto it: the siege grew hot on both sides, the Romans approached the walles, with vines, turrets and mounts. The townesmen defended themselues, sometime by sallying out, somtimes by vndermining the mounts and fortifications, wherein the Aquitani are very skilfull. But, when they perceiued the industrie of the Romans to exceed all that they were able to do, they intreated Crassus to accept their rendry: which beeing granted, and all the Army intending the deliuery of their Armes, Adcantuanus their chiefe Magistrate, fledde out in the meane time at another port of the Cittie, with sixe hundred deuoted companions, whom they called Soldurij: but as they attempted to escape, the souldiers that kept that part of the fortification, as they signified his euasion by a clamour and shout, the rest betooke themselues to Armes, & so repelled him againe into the towne; where he desired to be taken in the number of the submissiue multitude. Crassus, hauing taken hostages of them, went into the confines of the Vocontij.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THese skilfull and experienced men, which Crassus sent for out of all the Cities in Aquitaine, were those, whom the Romans called *Euocati*: such as were free from warfare, & exempted by their lawes from giuing their names in musters, either by reason of their yeeres, or the magistracie which they had borne, or for some other causes, which gaue them that priuiledge: & in that regard, were sent for by Letters, intreating their assistance in the carriage of that war, as men well acquainted with the nature of such businesses. Their places were nothing inferiour to the Centurions, for aduise and direction, although they had no part in commaund or authoritie. *Euocati.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN this fight, we may further obserue, their maner of defence against Mounts, and Caualieros; which we find chiefly to be Mines. Iosephus, in the Iewish warre, saith, that The Romaines hauing raised an exceeding high mount, the Iewes vndermined the same with such Art, that as they digged vnderneath, they supported the Mount with huge props & planks, that it might not shrinke: and watching a time of greatest aduantage, they set all the timber-work, which vnderpropped the mount, on fire,

which taking fire, with the help of Brimstone and Pitch, the Mount fell vpon a suddaine, to the great terrour and amazement of the Romans.

Lib.7. de bello Gall.

At the siege of *Auaricum*, we find how the Galles by vndermining, did take the earth from the Mount, as fast as it was caried vnto it by the Romans; and so kept it from rising, and made it vneffectuall. But if it were for the most part made of wood, or other combustible matter, they sought then by all meanes to burne it; as it happened at the siege of Massilia: and oftentimes, when both burning & vndermining failed, they confronted it, with another Mount within the walles, to disappoint the disaduantage by equall contesting of it; and so made it vnprofitable.

Concerning Mines, this much may I say, without preiudice to that Art, that the chiefest points to be respected are these: First, the true distance to a dessigned place; which is best got by instrument, and helpe of Geometrie, where other marks of certaintie are wanting. Secondly, the direction of the Mine, that we may not erre in our course which the Compasse affordeth. Thirdly, the strengthening of the Mine with timber-work, if need require. Lastly, the countermining and crosse-meeting. All which parts haue very many circumstances, & require a larger discourse, then may be thought pertinent for this place.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe strange contract betweene these Soldurij, and their Chiefetaine, may well deserue a place amongst these obseruations, especiallie, considering the obligatorie cõditions, which either party stood bound to obserue: for, the Captaine was to make his Soldurij partakers of all his happiness in this life; in regard whereof, they were to take part of whatsoeuer ill chance or disaster should happen to befal him. If death, which is the last end of all sensuall miserie, took hold of their head, these deuoted, were tied voluntarily to follow him the selfe same way: neither in any memorie was there euer man found, that refused to die, if he to whom he was deuoted, chanced to be slaine. Which bloudy league of amitie, as it was repugnant to the course of Nature, multiplying particular destinie to a generall calamitie: so was it dangerous in a well ordered State, if the Ring-leader were either ambitious, or sought to practice any thing contrarie to good gouernment: for, he himselfe would presume much vpon the assistance of his Soldurij; and they, on the other side, must needs wish well to his attempts, that were so interessed in his life and death.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The *Galles* raise new forces against *Crassus*.

Caesar.

THe barbarous Galles were much troubled, that a towne of that strength should so soone be taken; and therfore they sent Embassadours into all quarters, coniured one with another, confirmed their couenants with mutuall hostages, and leuied what power they were able to make: sending for aide out of Spaine, and from other States that bordered vpon Aquitaine. At the comming of these forces, they began to make vvarre; vvith a great power, and with many souldiers of great fame: for, they appointed such Leaders as had seene the experience of Sertorius his warres, and were great in the opinion of men, for their skill and knowledge in the Arte Militarie. These, according to the custome of the people of Rome, beganne to take places of aduantage, to fortifie their Campe, and to intercept the Romaines from free passage of conuoies, and necessarie intercourses. Which when Crassus perceiued, & considering withall, that his owne forces were so few, that he could not well dismember them vpon any seruice or aduantage, and that the enemy went out at his pleasure, kept the passages, and left notwithstanding, a sufficient guarison in his Campe; by which meanes, their corne and prouision would in time grow scarce, and the enemie waxed euery day stronger: he thought it his best course not to linger any longer, but presently to giue them battell.

The matter beeing referred to a Councell of warre, when he vnderstood that all men were of the same opinion, he appointed the next day to giue them battell; & in the dawning, putting his men in a double battaile, & placing the Auxiliarie forces in the middest, he attended to see what the enemy would doe. The Galles, although they were perswaded, that they might aduenture battell, both in regard of their multitude and ancient prowesse of warre, as also in respect of the paucitie of the Romans; yet they thought it better to block vp the passages, and so cut off all cariages, and conuoies of corne; and so the victory would follow without bloodshed: and if the Romans for want of Corne, should offer to make a retreit, they would then set vpon them as they marched, wearied with trauell, & heauilie laden with their burthens. This resolution beeing approoued by the whole Councell of the Galles, when the Romaines imbattailed their forces, they kept their men within their Campe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Sertorius.

THis Sertorius had followed the faction of Marius and Cinna, and when Sylla had ouerthrowne both the elder & yonger Marius, hee fled into Spaine, and there maintained the quarrell on foote against Pompey and Metellus, and ouerthrew them in many battels: but in

the end was trecherously slaine by Perpanna at a banket. He was a man of great spirit, and of admirable dispatch; & vnder him were these Captaines brought vp, which Cæsar commendeth for their skill in Armes.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Two meanes to atchieue victorie and to ouermaister their enemies.

IN histories, propounding to our consideration the deedes and moniments of former ages, we may obserue two especial means, which the great Commaunders of the world haue entertained to atchieue victorie, and ouermaister their enemies: the first, by cunning and wise cariage of a matter, before it come to triall by blowes: the second by forceable meanes and waging of battaile; the one proceeding from wisedome and the better faculties of the soule; and the other depending vpon the strength and abilitie of the bodie.

Concerning the first, it hath euer beene held more honourable, as better suting the worth of the spirit, and the diuine essence of our nature, so to direct the course of an action, that the aduerse part may be weakened by wit, and preuented in the projects of their better fortunes, by anticipation of meanes and occasions, and so through aduantages taken from their owne proceedings, to be driuen to that exigent, which may determine of the controuersie before they come to blowes, and conclude the matter by tearmes of Arte, taken from the directions of good prouidence. For, to speake a truth, the action of battell, as it is the last part in that facultie; so it is the worst in regard of Christian dutie, and better fitteth the progeny of Lamech his second wife (which the Diuines doe note to be borne to the ruine and destruction of mankind) then the children of grace; whose ioy consisteth in peace and loue.

Tubalcaine by war, and Naamah by the floud.

Cæsar, in the first of the Ciuill warres, respected the same thing, but from other grounds: for, hauing shutte vp Afranius and Petreius in a place of disaduantage, and might haue cut them off without further trouble; yet, forasmuch as he foresaw the victorie comming towards him without blow or wound, he thus answered his Captaines that were earnest vpon the enemie; *Cur etiam secundo prælio aliquos ex suis amitteret? cur vulnerari pateretur optimè de se meritos milites? cur denique fortunā periclitaretur?* And this course did these Galles take, which vnder Sertorius had learned the Romaine Art, and the Romaine industrie; and were now become so expert, that they had almost beaten the Romaines at their owne weapon.

This first meanes is principally to be imbraced, as the safest way in these vncertaine and casuall euents: for, that which resteth vpon corporall strength, & maketh execution the meanes to a conclusion, is very terrible euen to the better partie, full of hazard and of little certaintie. For, it were a miracle of Fortune neuer heard of yet, so to carrie a battaile vpon what aduantage or meanes whatsoeuer, that the victor Armie should buy so great a fortune without bloodshed or losse of men; and erect a Trophee to Honour, at the sole cost of the Enemy, without losse or expense of his owne treasure.

And

And for the vncertaintie in a battaile, who knoweth not what infinite chances and changes may happen in euerie small moment of time, to turne the fortune of the day to this or that partie, and make both sides vnconstant in their affections, by presenting them interchangeably with hope and feare, ioy & sorrow? and therefore Cæsar thought it not best to tempt the weywardnesse of Fortune, when by other meanes he might obtaine his desires.

This, I say, is chiefely to be imbraced, if our means will affoord vs that happinesse: but howsoeuer, I hold it wisedome so to entertaine this course of victorie, that wee omitte not the chiefest helps of furtherance, when it commeth to blowes, but to thinke of this conquest by Arte and wit, as necessarie, if our meanes will serue vs to compasse it; and of the other, as necessarie whether we will or no: for, the historie maketh it plaine, that when Brutus found himselfe destitute of meanes, to vndertake that course of victorie, which proceedeth from prouidence and discreet cariage; hee then betooke himselfe necessarilie to the later, and by the helpe of battell, sought to free himselfe from those disaduantages, into which the Galles had brought him.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Obserue further, out of this place, that what course soeuer bee taken, a discreet Leader will not easilie for-goe an aduantage without great assurance of a better fortune: nor change the certaintie of a benefit, vpon probabilities of other hopes, vntill it haue paid him the interest of his expectation, and wrought that effect which it promised to performe. For, so hee might forgoe his fortune, by presuming too much vpon the fauour of future chances, which are often seene to crosse our purposes, rather then to further the way which is taken.

Not to forgoe an aduantage

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

Vrther, I obserue, this double battel to be answerable to the paucity of the Roman forces: for, their vsuall manner was, to make a triple battell, that the first might haue a second, and a third helpe: but where their number would not affoord that commoditie, they then made two battels, that there might be the succour of a second supply. But they neuer fought with one single battell, for ought that may bee gathered by their histories.

THE

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

The place where suspected forces are best bestowed in battell.

THE last thing which I obserue, is the place, where Crassus bestowed the Auxiliarie forces, in the disposition of his troupes to battaile; which is heere said to bee, in *mediam Aciem:* for, as their Armies were diuided into three battels; so euery battell was diuided into three parts; the two cornets, and the battell, wherein these Auxiliarie forces were in this seruice bestowed: of these he afterward saith, that Inasmuch as he durst not put any confidence in them, hee commaunded them to serue the Romans in time of battell, with stones and weapons; and to cary earth and turfe to the Mount. The reason why suspected troupes are placed in the battell, rather thē in either of the cornets, is, for that the battaile hath not such scope to fling out, or take aduantage of place to doe mischiefe, as the cornets haue: for, wheresoeuer there haue been set battels fought, the strength of their Armie consisted alwaies in the cornets, as the two principall instruments of the battell: and as long as these stood sound, the victorie went alwaies certain on that part; for, the cornets kept the enemy, both from incompassing about the body of their Armie, and had the aduantage also of charging vpon the open side of their aduersarie.

At the battell of Cannas, Hanniball put the weakest of his forces in the battell, and aduancing them towards the enemy, left the two cornets behind: so that, when the enemy came to charge vpon the battell, they easily beate them backe, and as they followed, the retrait fell in between the two cornets, wherein the strength of the Armie consisted; & being by them incompassed on each side, were defeated and ouerthrowne. And thus we see the aduantage which a Generall hath, when his two cornets stand firme, although the battell shrink in the incounter. Hanniball, in the battell hee had with Scipio in Africk, placed the Strangers in the front, and in the rereward; according peraduenture as hee found their number, and the vse of their Armes: which are circumstances to be considered in this case, and depend rather vpon the iudgement of a Generall, then of any prescription that can be giuen in this matter.

CHAP. XI.

Crassus taketh the Camp of the Galles: and *with their ouerthrow endeth that* VVarre.

Cæsar.

CRASSVS, vnderstanding their drift, and finding his men willing to set vpon their Campe, incouraged his souldiers; & to the contentment of all men, vvent directly to the place where they were lodged: & as some began to fil vp the ditch, and others with casting weapons to beate the Galles from the rampier, he commaunded the Auxiliarie forces, of vvhom he

hee had no great assurance, to bring stones and vveapons to the souldiers that fought, and to carie earth & turfe to the Mount; that so they might make a shew of fighting. And on the other side, as the enemy beganne valiantly to make resistance, and to cast their weapon from the higher ground, to the great hurt of the Romaine souldier; the horsemen in the meane time, riding about the Campe of the Galles, brought word to Crassus, that the rampier at the Decumane port, vvas not fortified with such diligence, as they found it in other places, but would admit an easie entrance. Crassus dealt earnestly with the Commaunders of the horse, to incourage their men with great promises and rewards; and instructed them what he would haue done: they, according to their instructions, took foure cohorts that were left in the Campe, and carying them a further way about, that they might not be discouered by the enemie, while all mens eyes and minds were intent vpon the fight, they speedily came to the place of the fortifications, which the horsemen had found to be weake; vvhich beeing easilie broken downe, they had entered the Campe before the Enemy could well tell what was done. And then a great clamour and shout beeing heard about that place, the Romaine legions renuing their force, as it falleth out alwaies in hope of victorie, beganne to charge them afresh with great furie. The Galles, beeing circumuented on each side, and despairing of their safetie, casting themselues ouer the rampier, sought by flight to escape the danger. But forasmuch as the Country was open & champaine, the horsemen pursued them with that execution, that of fiftie thousand, there scarce remained the fourth part.

OBSERVATION.

FRom this place Brancatio taketh occasion to dispute, how an Enemy that is strongly incamped, & for some aduantage will not remoue, may be dislodged, whether he will or no. A point of great consequence, in matter of warre; and therefore deserueth due consideration. Concerning which, he laieth this downe for a maxime, that All forts and strong holds are taken by the foot; & that camps and lodgings are taken by the head. By which is meant, that hee who purposeth to winne a fortresse well manned and prouided, must first get the foot, and take hold of the ditch, and then seise himselfe vpon the rampier, and so get the place: for, he saith, that mounts and eminent eleuations, are of little vse against fortresses or sconses, vnlesse they ouer-top them: which may be easily preuented, by raising the parapet of the fortresse in front, and the curtaine in flanke, according as the enemy shall cary his mounts aloft; and so they shall neuer come to ouer toppe the holds. But all Camps and lodgings are taken by the head: that is, by mounts and eleuations, which by the aduantage of their height, commaund the champaine: for, hee holdeth it impossible, to raise a mount within the Campe in so short a time, to contest that, which the enemie shall make without.

Lib. 3. Auertimẽto secundo.

This foundation being laid, he proceedeth to discouer a way, how to raise a mount, maugre the enemy, which shall dislodge them by force of Artillerie, or murther

Lib. de bello Gallico.

murther them all within their trenches. And this he taketh from Cæsar, at the siege of Gergobia. The substance of the matter consisteth in a double ditch, running like vnto the line which the Geometricians call *Helicall*. By this double ditch, he maketh his approach to any place of most aduantage, where hee may, in a night, raise a mount high enough for the ordinance to play vpon any quarter of the Campe. The censure of this practice, I referre to our iudicious souldiers, which may, if it please them, take a better view of the particularities of this stratagem in Brancatio himselfe. This much I dare affirme, in the behalfe of these works, that they were of high esteeme amongst the Romans, whō daily experience and exigents of hazard had taught to find out the readiest meanes, both for securitie and victorie. And if our souldiers could be brought to taste the commoditie of these works, either by perswasion or impulsion, it were the best part of their warlike practices: but our men had rather flie vpon desperate aduentures, and seeke victorie in the iawes of death, then to cleare all hazard, with paines and diligence.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar vndertaketh the warre with the *Menapij and Morini.*

Cæsar.
** Terouine.*
** Cleue and Gueldres.*

AT the same time also, although the Sommer was almost at an end, yet forasmuch as all Gallia was in peace, and the Morini onely, with the* Menapij stood out in Armes, and had neuer either sent Embassadour, or otherwise treated of Peace: Cæsar, thinking that warre might quickly be ended, ledde his Armie into their Country. At his comming, hee found them to carie the warres farre otherwise, then the rest of the Galles had done: for, vnderstanding that the greatest Nations of Gallia, vvhich had waged battell with the Romans, were beaten and ouerthrowne: and hauing vvhole continents of woods and bogs in their territories, they conuaied both themselues and their goods into those quarters. Cæsar, comming to the beginning of the woods, began to fortifie his Campe, not discouering any enemy neere about him: but as his men were dispersed in their charges, they suddenly sallied out of the woods, and assaulted the Romans; but beeing speedily driuen in againe, with the losse of manie of them, as the Romans followed them farre into the woods, had some few of their men slaine.*

The time that remained, Cæsar resolued to spend in cutting down the woods: and, least the souldiers might be taken vnawares, while they were busied in that worke, he caused them to place all the trees which they cut downe, on either side of the Armie, that they might serue for a defence, against sudden assaults. A great quantitie of ground was thus rid within a few daies, so that their goods & cattell was taken by the Romans: but they themselues were fledde into thicker woods.

vvoods. At which time there happened ſuch a continuall raine, as forced them to leaue off the worke; and the ſouldiers could no longer indure to lie in Tents of skinnes: and therefore Cæſar, after hee had waſted and ſpoiled their Country, burned their townes, and their houſes; hee caried back his Armie, and placed them in ſuch Citties to winter in, as were ſubdued by the late warres.

OBSERVATION.

THe Iriſh rebels, hauing the like commoditie of woods and bogges, do entertaine the like courſe of war, as the Morini did with Cæſar. The meanes which he vſed to diſappoint them of that practice, was to cut downe the woods; which if it be thought monſtrous in this age, or ridiculous to our men of war; let them conſider that the Romaine diſcipline, wrought greater effects of valour, then can be made credible by the vſe of theſe times. For, beſides their exquiſite diſcipline, which of it ſelfe vvas able to frame patterns of vnexampled magnanimitie, their induſtrie was admirable in the execution thereof, and caried it with ſuch vnceſſant trauell, that the ſouldiers thought it great happineſſe when they came to wage battell with the Enemy; and could haue meanes to quit their continuall trauell, with the hazard of their liues.

Neither let it ſeeme ſtrange, that the Romaines vndertooke to cut down the woods: but rather let vs admire their facilitie in ſo difficult a taske; for, as the hiſtorie witneſſeth; *magno ſpacio paucis diebus confecto, incredibili celeritate*: a great quantitie of ground, was rid in a few daies, with incredible ſpeed. And after the woods were cut downe, they tooke more paines in placing it on each ſide of the legions, to hinder any ſuddaine aſſault, then they did in cutting it downe: which deſerueth as great admiration as the former part. There is another place in the ſixt booke of theſe Commentaries, which expreſſeth more particularly the nature of ſuch warres, and may ſerue to acquaint vs with that which Cæſar did in theſe difficulties.

The Eburones, or the men of Liege, had the like commoditie of woods & bogges, and made vſe of them in the warre they had with Cæſar. The matter ſaith hee, required great diligence, not ſo much in regard of the perill of the whole Armie (for there could no danger come from an enemy that was frighted and diſperſed) as the ſafetie of euerie particular ſouldier, which in part did pertaine to the welfare of the whole Armie. For, the deſire of a bootie, caried many of the ſouldiers farre from the bodie of the Armie: and the woods being full of vnknowne and ſecret paſſages, would not ſuffer them to goe either thicke together, or cloſe imbattailed. If he deſired to haue the warre ended, and the race of thoſe wicked men to be rooted out, hee muſt of force make manie ſmall companies, & diuide his men into many bodies: but if he would haue the Maniples to keepe at their Enſignes, as the diſcipline and cuſtome of the Romaine Armie required; then the place was a ſhelter and defence to the Enemie. Neither did they want courage to lay Ambuſhments, and to circumuent ſuch

ſuch as they found alone, straggling from their companies. In theſe difficulties, there was as much done as diligence could doe; prouiding rather to be wanting in the offenſiue part (although all mens mindes were ſette on fire with reuenge) then to hurt the enemie with the loſſe of the Romaine ſouldier. Cæſar ſent meſſengers to the bordering States, to come out and ſack the Eburones, & they ſhould haue all the prey for their labour: that the life of the Galles, rather then his legionarie ſouldiers, might be hazarded in thoſe woods; as alſo, that with ſo great a multitude, both the race & name of that people might be quite extinguiſhed.

There are many particularities in this relation, which concerne the true motion of the Iriſh warres, which may be better obſerued by ſuch as knowe thoſe warres by experience, then by my ſelfe, that vnderſtand them onely by relation: and therfore to preuent ſuch exceptions, as my rule ſhall make of the parallell in theſe two caſes, I will leaue it to bee done by themſelues. And thus endeth the third Commentarie.

THE

THE FOVRTH COMMENTARIE.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe Visipetes, and Tenchtheri are driuen to seeke new seates in Gallia; they driue the Menapij out of their territories: but in the end are ouerthrowen by Cæsar. That warre being ended, he made a bridge vpon the Rhene, and carried his Army ouer into Germany. He taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri; and giueth libertie to the Vbij: returneth into Gallia, and carrieth his Armie ouer into Britanie, with the occurrences of that warre.

CHAP. I.

The *Vsipetes, and *Tenchtheri bring great multitudes of peoples, ouer the Rhene into Gallia: the nature of the Sueui.

* Those of Zutphen.
* Of Hassia.

THE winter following, Pompeie and Crassus being Consuls, the Visipetes and Tenchtheri, two Germaine nations, passed ouer the Rhene, with great multitudes of people; not far from the place, where it falleth into the sea. The reason of their flitting, was the ill intreatie, which for many yeares together they had receiued of the Sueui, the greatest and warlikest nation amongst the Germaines. For, these Sueui had one hundred Cantons or shires, which yearely furnished their warres, with 1000. men apiece; and kept as manie at home to maintain both themselues, and their Armies abroad: and these the yeare following were in Armes; and the other staied at home and performed the like duties; and so by this means, they all continued their experience both of tillage, and matter of war. They liued chiefly vpon cattel & milk, & vsed much hunting: which was the cause (what through the quality of their diet, their continual exercise, and libertie of life, being neuer tyed to anie discipline, nor vrged to any thing against their disposition) that they were strong & of a large stature, vsing skins and hides for their cloathing, which couered a but part of their bodie, the rest being naked. Their horsemen oftentimes, in time of batell, forsooke their horse, and fought on foot; being taught to stand

Cæsar.

still in one place, that when they would they might returne vnto them. Neither was there any thing more base, or dishonest in the course of their life, then to vse furniture for horses: and would aduenture to charge vpon great troups of horse, that vsed Equipage, with a few of their owne quality. They admitted no wine to be brought in vnto them, least it might effeminate their warlike inclination, or make them vnapt for labour. The greatest honour in their opinion, was to haue their bordering Territories lie waste & desolate: for, so it would be thought, that manie States togither, would not resist their conquering valour: and it was reported, that the country lay waste from them one waie 600. miles togither.

THE OBSERVATION.

BY this practice of the Sueui, it appeareth, how little a naked resolution of valour auaileth, when it wanteth the ornaments of moral carriage and ciuil discretion, to make vse of that greatnesse which prowess hath obtained: for, notwithstanding that they were a nation both warlike, and of good abilitie, they were so vainly carried on with a cõceit of manhood, that it sorted to no other end, then to maintaine barbarisme at home, and desolation abroad; where as true valor is alwaies subordinate to the preseruation of Common-weales, and is as the defensiue Armes of ciuill societie. Which I haue the rather noted, in as much as it resembleth an humor that aboundeth in this age, especially in the particular hauiour of our young Gallants, whose naked valour reuealing it selfe only in the lie and in the stabbe, for want of other assistant vertues to temper the heat of so brittle a metall, leadeth them into such inconueniences and disordered actions, that it changeth the nature thereof, into giddie headed rashnesse; and in lieu of vertues guerdon, is repaied with irrision.

CHAP. II.

The motiues, inducing the Vsipetes to *come ouer the Rhene into* GALLIA.

Cæsar.

NExt vnto these Sueui, inhabited the Vbij, a very ample and potent State: and through their entercourse & traffick with marchants, somewhat more ciuill then the rest of the Germans. With these, the Sueui had often waged battell: and albeit they could not expel them out of their coũtry, forasmuch as their State was very great and populous; yet by continuall incursions they brought them vnder, and much weakened their estate. In the same case were the Vsipetes and Tenchtheri: for, hauing made head against the Sueui

*Sueui for many yeares together, they were constrained in the end to forsake their possessions; and wandering the space of three yeares through the Continent of Germany, at last they arriued where the * Menapij inhabited the bankes, on both sides the riuer Rhene: but being terrified with the arriuall of such a multitude, they forsooke all their dwellings beyond the riuer, and planted themselues on this side of the water, to hinder the Germans from further passage.*

** Geldres & Cleeue.*

The Vsipetes with their associates, hauing tried all meanes, and not finding themselues able to passe ouer by force, for want of boats; nor by stealth, by reason of the diligent watch of the Menapij, fained a retrait to their old habitation: & after three daies iourney, their horsemen in one night speedily returned againe, and slewe the Menapij, both vnguarded and vnprouided. For they vpon the departure of the Germans, feared not to returne ouer the riuer into their towns & houses. These being slain, and their shipping taken, they got ouer the riuer, before the rest of the Menapij had any notice of their comming: by which meanes they easily dispossessed them of their dwelling places, and liued that winter vpon the prouision they found there.

Cæsar vnderstanding of these things, and fearing the weaknesse of the Galles, in as much as they are sudden & quick in their resolutions, and withall desirous of noueltie: he durst no waie trust their vnconstancie; for, it was their practice and custome to stay trauellers and passengers, and inquire of them what they either heard or knewe, concerning any thing that had happened; and the common people would flocke about Merchants in faires and markets, and learne of them whence they came, and what newes they brought from thence: and by these rumors and hearesayes they directed the main course of their actions; wherof they could not but repent themselues, being grounded vpon such weake intelligence, as was vsually coined to please the multitude. Which custom being known, Cæsar to preuent a greater war, hasted to his Army sooner then he was wont to doe.

OBSERVATION.

SVch as haue spent their time in the contemplation of Nature, & haue made diligent search of the temperature & quality of climates and nations, haue all with one consent made choler the Regent of the French complexion; distinguishing the people, with such attributes, as the saide humor vsually breedeth. Neither haue these conditions, which Cæsar so long agoe obserued in the ancient Galles, any disresemblance from that which the learned of this age haue deliuered, cōcerning the nature of the said inhabitants: but that irresolute constitution, which breeds such nouelties and contrarieties of actions, continueth the same vnto these times, in the inhabitants of that country, notwithstanding the alteration of customes, and people, or what else so long a time hath changed; which argueth the vnresistable power of celestiall influence, establishing an vniformity of nature, according as the site of the place lieth capable of their powerfull aspect.

The cause of the diuersitie in the temperature of nations, which are differen-

ced by North and South, is not without apparant cause, attributed to their propinquitie, or distance from the course of the sun, which distinguisheth by heat and cold the Northren & Southerne climates of the earth; and separateth the inhabitants thereof, by the dominion of their actiue qualities. But the reason why two Nations which are both in the same climate, and vnder the same parallel, receiuing the vertue of the celestiall bodies, by the same downfall and reboundof their beames, being differenced only by East and West; are so much disunited in nature, and so vnlike in disposition, is not so apparant: whether it be as some haue imagined, forasmuch as the all-inclosing spheare; which remaineth quiet and immoueable aboue the circuit of the first motor, hath his parts diuersly distinguished with variety of properties; which by continuall reference and mutuall aspect, are imprinted in the correspondent quarters of the earth; and so keepe a perpetuall residency of one and the same qualitie, in one and the same place; and make also the variety of fashions in such partes, as otherwise are equall fauorites of the heauens maiestie, by receiuing an equall measure of light, heat and vertue; or whether the saide quarters of the earth are in themselues diuersly noted, with seuerall qualities, which appropriate the selfe same influence to their particular nature, and so alter it into many fashions; or whether there be som other vnknown cause: I will leaue euery man to satisfie himself with that which seemeth most probable vnto him, and proceed to the discouerie of this cholerick passion. Wherin I will indeuour to shew, how impatiencie, sodaine resolution, and desire of noueltie, are naturall adiuncts of this humor. And if Cæsar made vse of this Philosophy in the managing of that warre; let it not be thought impertinent to the knowledge of a Generall, to enter into the consideration of this learning. Wherein first, I must laie for a maxime, that which long experience hath made authenticall, that the motions of the minde are either quicke or slow, according as the complexion is tempered, either with heat or cold: for, as the flegmaticall humor, is of a moist, colde and heauie nature, begetting weake and grosse spirits, and benumming the instruments with a liuelesse disabilitie; so is the motion of the internall faculties, proceeding likewise after a slow manner, according to the quality of the instruments, wherby it moueth: and therefore men of this waterish constitution, are no way apt to receiue an impression, nor to entertaine any sensible apprehension, vnlesse it be beaten into them, with often and strong repetitions: and then also they proceede as slowly in discoursing of the consequence, and linger in the choise of their resolutions. On the contrary part, this *flaua bilis*, being of a hot piercing nature, and resembling the actiue vertue of the fire, doth so purifie the instruments of sense, and quicken the spirits with the viuacity of motion, that they take the first impression as perfectly, as if it had been oftentimes presented vnto them, with many strong circumstances. And thence it happeneth, that inasmuch as the *Species* is so readily receiued, & possesseth the apprehending faculte, with such facility of entrance, that it moueth the other powers of the soule, with as great efficacie at the first conception, as if it had beene brought in with troupes of probabilities, and strengthened with manifest arguments of vndoubted truth: It followeth therefore (by reason of the subtile and

fit

fit disposition of the instruments, which proceedeth frō heate the chiefest qualitie in choler) that the obiect is at the first moment, so strongly settled, in the first receiuing facultie, that the other powers of the minde, with as great speed manifest their offices, concerning the apprehension; and deliuer a sentence answerable to the strength of the first conception: which maketh them so impatient of delay, and so sodainly to alter their former resolutions, not suffering the discoursiue power to examine the substance thereof, by conference of circumstances; nor to giue iudgement according to the course of our intellectuall court. It behoueth therfore euery man, in that vnsteady disposition, especially in matter of moment, to be suspicious of his own credulity, & not to giue place to resolution, before his iudgement be informed, by discourse of the strength or weakneſſe of the conceiued opinion.

But to leaue these speculatiue meditations, to Philosophers of learned conceit: for as much as the right vse of passions is either true wisdom, or commeth neerest to the same; I will only touch in a word what degree of choler best befitteth a soldier; or how it auaileth, or disaduantageth in matter of warre. And first it cannot be denyed, that there is almost no passion, that doth more eclipse the light of reason, or sooner corrupteth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, then this of anger, which we now speak of: Neither is there any motion that more pleaseth it selfe in his owne actions, or followeth them with greater heat in the execution. And if the trueth chance to shew it selfe, and conuince a false pretended cause, as the authour of that passion, it oftentimes redoubleth the rage euen against truth and innocency. Piso condemned a souldier for returning from forraging, without his companion, being perswaded that he had slain him: but at the instant of the execution, the other that was missing, returned & with great ioy of the whole Army, they were carried to the Generall, thinking to haue much gratified him, with the manifestation of the truth: but he through shame and despight, being yet in the torture of his wrath, redoubled his anger, and by a subtilty which his passion furnished him withall, he made three culpable for that hee found one innocent; the first, because the sentence of death was past against him, and was not to bee recalled without the breach of lawe: the second, for that he was the cause of the death of his companion: and thirdly, the executioner, for not obeying his commandement.

Concerning matter of warre, as it consisteth of differenced parts; so hath choler diuers effectes. In case of discourse and consultation, when as the powers of the minde ought to bee cleere of all violent affections, it greatly darkeneth the vnderstanding, and troubleth the sinceritie of a good iudgement, as Cæsar noted in his speech to the Senate concerning Cateline: and therefore a Commander, must by al means indeuor to auoid, euen the least motions of so hurtfull a passion; and season his affections, with that grauity and constancy of spirit, that no turbulent disposition may; either hinder his vnderstanding, or with-holde his will from following that course, which reason appointeth, as the best means to a fortunate successe: alwaies remembring that all his actions are presented vpon a stage, and passe the censure of many curious beholders, which applaud graue & patient motions, as the greatest proof of true wisdom; *Salust.*

& disallow of passionate, and headstrong affection, as derogating from the sincere cariage of an action, how iust soeuer otherwise it seemeth.

Concerning execution and furie of battaile, I take anger to be a necessarie instrument to set valour on foot; and to ouerwage the difficulties of terror, with a furious resolution: for, considering that the noblest actions of the mind, stand in need of the impulsions of passions, I take anger to be the fittest meanes, to aduance the valiant carriage of a battaile: for, as feare is treacherous and vnsafe, so anger is confident and of an vnquencheable heat. And therfore a Cōmaunder ought by all meanes, to suggest matter of anger against an Enemie, that his men may beholde them with a wrathfull regarde, and thirst after the daie of battell, to satisfie their fury with the bloud of their aduersaries. If any vrge, that it hath been heertofore obserued of the Galles, that in the beginning of a battell they were more then men, and in the later end they were lesse then women; and therefore a cholerick disposition is not so fit for seruice, as we seem to make it: I answer, that There is a difference between a disposition to choler, such as was obserued in the Galles, and the passion of anger, wel kindled in the minde: for, the first is subiect to alteration and contrarietie of actions; but the other is furious, inuincible, neuer satisfied but with reuenge. And so that of Aristotle is prooued true, that anger serueth oftentimes as a weapon to vertue; whereunto some answere very pleasantly, saying, it is a weapon of a strange nature: for, we do manage other weapons, and this doth manage vs; our hand guideth not it, but it guideth our hand; it possesseth vs, and not we it, as it happened in the raigne of Tyberius, amongst the mutinous legions at *Vetera*: & therefore a Commander ought to take great heed, whom hee maketh the obiect of that anger, which kindleth in his Army. For, as it is a passion of terrible execution, and therefore needeth to be wisely directed; so is it dangerous in regarde of obedience, which was the only thing which Cæsar required in his soldiers.

Tacit. 1. Annal.

But to leaue this hasty matter, and fall neerer that which we seek after: I may not omit the Prognostication, which Cæsar made of the consequence of this accident, by the naturall disposition of the people; the euent whereof proued the truth of his predictions; which sheweth what aduantage a learned General that hath bin somwhat instructed in the school of Nature, hath gained of him, whom only experience hath taught the actiue rudiments of the war, and thinketh of no further lesson in that art, then that which the office of a Seriant, or Lanceprizado containeth.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar commeth to his Armie, marcheth towards *the Germaines, and by the waie treateth of* conditions of Peace.

CAESar being come to his Army, found that to haue happened which he before suspected: for, some of the States of Gallia had sent messengers vnto the Germains, to leaue the bãks of Rhene, and to Come further into the continent, where they should find ready, whatsoeuer they desired. Whereupon the Germains began to make further incursions, and to waste the land as far as the confines of the Eburones. The Princes of the Galles being called together, Cæsar thought it best to dissemble what he had discouered, concerning their reuolt; and confirming their minds with an approbation of their loialty, he commanded certaine troupes of horse to be leuied, and resolued to make warre vpon the Germains; and hauing made prouision of corne, hee directed his march towards them. From whõ as he was on the way, within a few daies iourney of their Camp, he receiued this message: The Germains as they were not willing to make warre vpon the Romans, so they would not refuse to make triall of their manhood, if they were iustly prouoked; for, their ancient custome was to answere an Enemy by force, and not by treaty: yet this much they would confesse, that they came thither very vnwillingly, being driuen by violence out of their possessions. If the Roman people would accept of their friendship, & either giue them teritories to inhabite, or suffer them to keep that which they had got by the lawe of Armes, they might proue profitable friends vnto them. They onely yeelded to the Sueui, to whom the gods in feats of Arms were inferior; any other Nation they would easily conquer.*

Cæsar.

**Liege.*

To this Cæsar answered what he thought fit; but the purport of his speech was, that he could not make any league with them, if they continued in Gallia: neither was it probable, that they that could not keepe their owne, would get possessions out of other mens hands: Gallia had no vacant place to entertain so great a multitude: but if they would they might find a welcome, amongst the Vbij, whose agents were at that instant in his Camp, complaining of the iniurie of the Sueui, and desiring aide against them; this much he himself would intreat of the Vbij. The messengers went backe with these Mandates, promising within three daies to returne againe to Cæsar: in the meane time, they desired him, not to bring his Army anie neerer their quarters; which request Cæsar denyed. For, vnderstanding that a fewe dayes before, a great part of their Caualrie were passed ouer the Mosa, he suspected that this delay imported nothing more then the return of their horsemen.*

**Colonia Agrippina.*

When Cæsar was come within twelue miles of their Camp, their Ambassadors returned

returned; and meeting him on the way, entreated him earneſtly to march no further towards them: but being denied of their ſuit, they beſought him to ſend to thoſe troups of horſe, which marched before the Army, that they ſhould not fight nor make any hoſtile incounter; and that he would giue them leaue to ſend meſſengers to the Vbij: of whoſe entertainment they would willingly accept, if the Princes and Senate would ſweare faith and ſafe continuance vnto their people: Neither would they require more then 3. daies, to negotiate this buſineſſe. Cæſar conceiued this intreaty to import nothing elſe, then the returne of their horſemen that were abſent in pillage, whom they expected within three dayes; notwithſtanding he promiſed them to march but foure miles further that day, to a conuenient watring place: in the meane time he ſent to the Commanders of the horſe that were before, not to prouoke the Enemy to fight; and if they were ſet vpon, to ſuſtaine the charge, vntill he came neerer with the Armie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrſt, wee may obſerue his diſſembling of the practice of the Galles with the Germans; and the incouragement which hee gaue them in a faithfull and loyall affection to the people of Rome, when hee himſelfe knew they had ſtarted from that duty, which both their honour and a good reſpect of their friends required: for, he well vnderſtood, that his preſence did take away all ſcruple of any further motion in that kind; and therfore to haue obiected vnto them their errors, had not bin to heale, but to diſcouer their wound: only he took the waie to cut off their hopes of any practiſes, which they might attempt againſt the Romaine people; and held them in the mean time in the apparance of faithfull friends, that they might not be diſcouraged, by the detection of their reuolt.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, vpon this reſolution that there was no league to be made with the Germans, if they continued on this ſide the Rhene; wee may obſerue how he entertained a treaty of peace, with ſuch conſents & denials, as might manifeſt his readineſſe to further what he made ſhew of, & not weaken the meanes of his beſt aduantage. For as hee was content they ſhould take a quiet farewel of Gallia, & plant themſelues in the poſſeſſions of the Vbij; ſo was he loath to yeeld to any condition, which might diſaduantage his forcible conſtraint or weaken his command, if perſwaſion failed: for, he well knew, that powerfull means to effect that which he required, would further the courſe of a peaceable concluſion, and carry more authority in a parlee, then any other motiue, how reaſonable ſoeuer.

Vincitur haud gratis

Moreouer wee may obſerue, how carefull hee was not to impoſe vpon the Germanes a neceſſitie of fighting; but opened a paſſage (by propounding vnto

to them the association of the Vbij) by which they might auoyd the hazard of battell. Which thing was alwayes obserued by Commaunders of auncient times, who diligently searching into the nature of things, found that neyther of those noble instruments, whereby man worketh such wonders (I meane the hand and the tongue) had euer brought so many excellent workes to that type of perfection, vnless they had been forced thereunto by necessity: and therefore we are wisely to handle the course of our actions, least while we stand too strict vpon a violent guarde, we giue occasion to the Enemy, by the waie of *Antiperistasis*, to redouble his strength; and so furnish him with that powerfull engine, which Vetius Mescius calleth *vltimum* and *maximum telum*, the last and greatest weapon; the force whereof shall better appeare by these examples.

ugulo qui prouocat hostem.

Some fewe of the Samnites, contrarie to the articles of peace between them and the Romans, hauing made incursions into the territories of the Roman cõfederats; the Senate of that State sent to Rome, to excuse the fact, and to make offer of satisfaction: But beeing reiected, Claudius Pontius Generall of their forces, in an excellent Oration which he made, shewed how the Romans would not harken to peace, but chose rather to be reuenged by war: and therfore necessity constrained them to put on Arms: *Iustum est bellum* (saith he) *quibus necessarium, & pia arma quibus, nisi in Armis, spes est.*

Liu. lib. 9

Caius Manlius, conducting the Roman legions against the Veij, part of the Veian Army had entred the Roman Campe; which Manlius perceiuing, hee hasted with a band of men to keep the breach, and to shut in the Veij: which they no sooner perceiued, but they fought with that rage and fury, that they slew Manlius; and had ouerthrown the whole Camp, had not a Tribune opened them a passage, by which they fled away.

Liu. lib. 7

In like manner Camillus, the wisest of the Romaine Captaines, being entered into the Cittie of the Veij, that hee might take it with greater facilitie and disarme the Enemie of that terrible weapon of necessitie, hee caused it to bee proclaimed, that no Veian should bee hurt, that was found vnarmed. Wherupon euery man cast away his weapon, and so the towne was taken without bloudshed.

Let a souldier therefore take such holde of occasions, and opportunities that are offered vnto him, that in time of battell hee may seem to cast necessitie vpon his own cause, and retaine it in his paie: considering how the power therof altereth the works of Nature, and changeth their effects into contrary operations: being neuer subiect to anie ordinance or lawe; and yet making that lawfull which proceedeth from it.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The Germans, contrary to their owne requeſt *made to Cæſar, ſet vpon the Romaine horſe-* men, and ouerthrewe them.

Cæſar.

Notwithſtanding the Germans requeſt, concerning the truce, aſſoon as they ſaw the Roman horſemen, which were in number 5000. (wher as the Germans had not aboue 800. horſe) they charged vpon the Romans, not expecting any hoſtile incounter, inaſmuch as their ambaſſadours were newly departed from Cæſar, and had obtained that daie of truce: but being ſet vpon, they made what reſiſtance they could. The Germans, according to their vſuall cuſtome, forſooke their horſe, and fighting on foote, did eaſily put the Romans to flight; who neuer looked backe, vntill they came into the ſight of the legions: in that battell were ſlain 74. Roman horſemen. After this battell, Cæſar thought it not ſafe, either to hearken to any conditions, or to receiue any meſſage from them, that by fraud and deceit had ſought for peace, & meant nothing but war: And to attend any longer vntill their horſemen returned, was but to giue them that aduantage againſt him, eſpecially conſidering the weakeneſſe of the Galles, amongſt whom the Germans by this battell had gayned great reputation; and therfore he durſt not giue them ſpace to thinke vpon it.

OBSERVATION.

His cunning of the Germans offereth occaſion to ſpeak ſomwhat, concerning that maine controuerſie of policie, which is, whether the actious of Princes and great Commanders, are alwaies to be attended with integrity, & faithful accompliſhment therof. Wherin I will only ſet down ſuch arguments and gronnds of reaſon, which vertue and moralli honeſtie on the one part, (for we will make it no queſtion to a Chriſtian mind) & the daily practice of States men on the other ſide, alleage to make good their contrarie aſſertions.

The great Politicians of the world, that commend vertue in a ſhew, and not in *eſſe* and being, & ſtudy to maintaine their ſtates onely with humane reaſon, not regarding the authority of diuine ordinance, ſet this down as a *maxime* in their Art; That he, that is to negotiate a matter, and meaneth to bring it to an end ſorting to his contentment, muſt in all reſpects bee like qualified, both in iudgement and diſpoſition, as the party is, with whom he dealeth: otherwiſe he cannot be ſufficiently prepared, to hold himſelf ſtrong in the matter, which he vndertaketh. For, a wraſtler that commeth with meere ſtrength to incounter an other that hath both ſtrength and cunning, may beſhrewe his ſtrength that brought him thither, to be caſt by skill, and be laught at, as an vnworthie Cham-

Champion for serious sports: in like manner, in this vniuersall confusion of infidelity, wherin subtilty flyeth at so high a pitch, he that thinketh with simplicity of spirit to wind through the labyrinths of falshood, and auoid the snares of deceit, shall find himself too weak for so difficult a task, and beshrew his honesty, if he regard his commodity. For, it is the course that euery man taketh, which must bring vs to the place, to which euery man goeth: and he that opposeth himself against the current of the world, may stand alone in his owne conceit, and neuer attain that which the world seeketh after. Forasmuch therefore, as craft & deceit are so generall, it behoueth a man of publicke negotiations, to carry a mind apt & disposed to these qualities. This was signified by that, which ancient writers report of Achilles, who was sent to Chiron the Cẽtaure, half a man and half a beast, to be instructed in the rudiments of Princely carriage; that of the brutish part, hee might learne to strengthen himselfe, with force and courage; and of the humane shape, so to manage reason, that it might bee a fit instrument to answer or preuent, whatsoeuer mans wit might forge to ouerthrow it. Neither ought a priuate man to wõder at the strangenes of these positions; considering that the gouernment of kingdoms, & Empires is caried with another bias, then that which concerneth particular affaires in a wel ordered State: wherin truth-breakers and faithless dissemblers are worthily condemned, inasmuch as they necessarily enforce the ruine therof. But these that sit at the helm of gouernment, and are to shape the course of a State, according to the variation of times and fortunes, deriue their conclusions from other principles, wherof inferior subiects are no morre capable, then men are able to vnderstand the works of the Gods: and therefore they are called *arcana imperij*, to be reuerenced rather, then lookt into.

To conclude, the affaires of particular persons are of so short extension, and incircled in so small a compasse, that a meane capacity may easily apprehend the aduantages or inconueniences, which may ensue vpon the contract: and therefore it is requisit they should stand to the aduenture, and their iudgement is worthily taxed with the loss: but the businesses of the Common-weale are, both subiect to so many casualties of fortune, and rely vpon such vnexpected accidents, that it is impossible for any spirit, how prouident soeuer, to foresee the issue in that variety of chances. Besides that, euery particular subiect is much interessed in the fortune of the euent, and may iustly chalenge an alteration of the intended course, rather then suffer shipwrack through the error of their Pilot: And so the safetie of the State doth balance out the loss of credit in the Gouernour.

On the other side, such as zealously affect true honour, affirme virtue to bee the same both in Prince & people; neither doth condition of state, or calling, or the qualitie of publicke or priuate businesses, alter the nature and essence of goodnes: for, to depriue the toung of truth and fidelity were to break the bond of ciuill society, which is the basis and ground-plot of all States and Common-weales. They doe not denie but that a wise Prince may so carrie a treatie, that he may seeme to affect that most which he least intendeth; or answere doubtfully concerning the propositions; and that hee may vse with great honour the

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practices and stratagems of warre, when the fortune of both parties consisteth vpon their owne industrie: but to breake any couenants agreed vpon, may wel get a kingdome, but neuer honourable reputation.

And thus they contend concerning the means, wherby a State is continued in happy gouernment: whereof this much I dare say by the warrant of this History, that he who falsifieth his word vpon aduantage, howsoeuer he regardeth his honour, had need to pay them home in regard of his owne safetie: for, if they once recouer the loss, and get any aduantage against those truth-breakers, they will finde as little fauour, as the Germans did with Cæsar.

CHAP. V.

Cæsar marched directly to the Campe of the *Germans, and cut them all in peeces, and* so ended that warre.

Cæsar.

Pon these considerations, Cæsar manifesting his resolution to the Legates, and Questor, there happened a very fortunate accident. For, the next daie, very early in the morning, most of the Princes and chiefest of the Germans came vnto Cæsar into his Camp, to excuse their fraudulent practice; and withall to continue their petition of truce. Wherof Cæsar was exceeding glad, and caused them to be kept in hold; and at the same instant brought his Army out of the Camp, commanding his horsemen to follow the legions, because they had bin daunted with so late an ouerthrow: And making a triple battel, marched speedily eight miles, and so came vpon the Germans, before they had notice what had hapned; & being terrified with our suddain arriual, & the departure of their own leaders, knew not whether it were their best course to bring forth their forces, or defend their Cãp, or otherwise to seek their safety by flight. Which tumult & feare was no sooner perceiued by the Romã soldier, but calling to mind their perfidious treacherie, they brake into the Camp, and were at first a little resisted; in the meane time, the women and children fled euery one away: vvhich Cæsar perceiuing, sent his horsemen to pursue them. The Germans, hearing the clamour and schrichings behind their backs, & seeing their friends pursued and slaine, did cast away their weapons, and fledde out of the Campe: and comming to the confluence of the Mase and the Rhene, such as had escaped, cast thẽselues into the riuer; where, what through feare & wearinesse, and the force of the water, they were all drowned. In this conflict, the Romans lost not a man. The number of the enemie was 430000, with women and children. To them whõ he had retained in his Campe, he gaue leaue to depart; but they, fearing the crueltie of the Galles, desired that they might continue with the Romans: which Cæsar agreed vnto.

OBSER-

OBSERVATION.

THis relation affordeth little matter of warre, but onely a ſeuere reuenge of hatefull trecherie: notwithſtanding, I will hence take occaſion, to diſcouer the offices of the Queſtor and the Legates; and ſhew what place they had in the Armie. And firſt, concerning the Queſtor, we are to vnderſtand, that he was elected by the common voice of the people, in the ſame Court, which was called to create the Generall. His office was, to take charge of the publique treaſure, whether it came out of their *Aerarium*, for the pay of the Armie; or otherwiſe was taken from the enemy.

Of him the ſouldiers receiued their ſtipend, both in corne and money: and what other bootie was taken frõ the enemy, he either kept them, or ſold them, for the vſe of the Common-weale.

The Legates were not choſen by the people, but appointed by the Senate, as Aſsiſtants and Coadiutors to the Emperour, for the publique ſeruice, & vvere altogether directed by the Generall, in whoſe abſence they had the abſolute commaund: and their number was for the moſt part vncertaine; but proportioned according to the number of legions in the Armie.

CHAP. VI.

Cæſar maketh a bridge vpon the Rhene, and *carieth his Armie ouer into* Germanie.

THE Germane warre beeing thus ended: Cæſar thought it neceſſarie, to tranſport his Armie ouer the Rhene into the Continent of Germanie, for many cauſes: whereof this was not the leaſt, that ſeeing the Germans were ſo eaſily perſwaded, to bring their Colonies, & their vagrant multitudes into Gallia, he thought it good to make known vnto them, that the Romaine people could at their pleaſure, carie their forces ouer the Rhene into Germanie. Moreouer, thoſe troupes of horſe, vvhich were abſent at the late ouerthrowe of the Germanes, vvere fledde into the confines of the Sicambri; to vvhom, vvhen Cæſar ſent Meſſengers to demaund them to be ſent vnto him, they aunſwered, that the Romaine Empire vvas limited by the Rhene: & if the Germaines vvere interdicted Gallia, vvhy ſhould Cæſar challenge anie authoritie in their quarters? Laſtlie, the Vbij, vvho amongſt all the reſt of the Germaines, had onelie accepted of Cæſars friendſhippe, and giuen pledges of their fidelitie, had made earneſt ſute vnto him, to ſend them aide againſt the Sueui; or at the leaſt, to tranſport his Army ouer the Rhene: for, the name and opinion of the Roman Army was ſo great, & of ſuch fame, what with Ariouiſtus ouerthrow, &

this last seruice, that it sounded honorable amongst the furthest Nations of Germany. For these reasons, Cæsar resolued to passe the Rhene: but to carie his Armie ouer by boate, was neither safe, nor for the maiestie of the people of Rome. And, albeit it seemed a matter of great difficultie, by reason of the breadth, swiftnesse, and depth of the riuer, to make a bridge: yet hee resolued to try what he could doe; otherwise, hee determined not to passe ouer at all: and so hee built a bridge after this manner.

At two foote distance, he placed two trees of a foot and halfe square, sharpned at the lower end, and cut answerable to the depth of the riuer: these hee let downe into the water with engines, and droue them in with commaunders, not perpendicularly, after the fashion of a pile, but gable-wise, and bending with the course of the water: opposite vnto these, he placed two other trees, ioyned together after the same fashion, being fortie foote distant from the former, by the dimension between their lower parts in the bottome of the water, and reclining against the course of the riuer. These two paire of couples thus placed, hee ioyned together with a beame of two foote square, equall to the distance betweene the said couples, and fastened them at each end, on either side of the couples, vvith braces and pinnes: whereby the strength of the worke, and nature of the frame was such, that the greater the violence of the streame was, and the faster it fell vpon the timber work, the stronger the bridge vvas vnited in the couplings and ioynts. In like manner, he proceeded with couples, and beames, vntill the work was brought vnto the other side of the riuer: and then hee laid straight plankes from beame to beame, and couered them with hurdles; and so hee made a floore to the bridge. Moreouer, on the lower side of the bridge, he droue down supporters, which being fastened to the timber worke, did strengthen the bridge against the force of the water; and on the vpper side of the bridge, at a reasonable distance, he placed piles to hinder the force of trees or boates, or what else the enemie might cast downe to trouble the worke: within tenne daies, that the timber beganne to be cut downe and caried, the worke was ended, and the Army transported. Cæsar, leauing a strong guarizon at either end of the bridge, went into the confines of the Sicambri.

OBSERVATION.

IT shall not be amisse, to enter a little into the consideration of this bridge; as wel in regard of the ingenious Architecture thereof, as also that we may somewhat imitate Cæsar: whom wee may obserue to insist with as great plenty of wit and eloquence, in presenting vnto vs the subtiltie of his inuention, in such manner of handy works, as vpon any other part of his actions; as this particular description of the bridge, may sufficiently witness: besides, the fortifications at Alesia, & the intrenchments in Britany, for the safety of his shipping, with many other works, which he might well record, as the greatest dessignes of an heroick spirit, and the wonderfull effects of magnanimous industrie, that succeeding ages might not boast either of Arte or prowesse, which his vertue had not expressed; or otherwise might wonder

wonder at that worth, which they themselues could not attaine vnto. And to that purpose, he entertained Vitruuius, the Father of Architecture, and as worthily to be imitated in that facultie, as his Maister Cæsar is in feates of Armes. By whose example, a great Commaunder may learne, how much it importeth the eternitie of his fame, to beautifie his greatest dessignes with Art, and to esteeme of such as are able to intreat the Mathematicall Muses, to shew themselues vnder the shape of a sensible forme; which albeit, through the rudenesse of the matter, fall farre short of the truth of their intellectuall nature, yet their beautie expresseth such a maiestie of Arte, that no time will suffer the memorie thereof to perish.

The workmanship of this bridge consisted chiefely in the oblique situation of the double postes, whereof the first order bending with the streame, and the lower ranke against the streame, when they came to bee coupled together with ouerthwart beames, which were fastened in the couplings with braces, which he nameth *Fibulas*; the more violent the streame fell vpon the work, the faster the ioynts of the building were vnited, as may better appeare by a modell of that making, then can be expressed by any circumstance of words.

I might hence take occasion to speake of the diuersitie of bridges, and of the practices which antiquitie hath deuised, to transport Armies ouer Riuers: but inasmuch as it is a common subiect for all that vndertake this Militarie task, & hath been handled by Lipsius, vpon the occasion of this bridge; I will refer the Reader to that place; and onely note the singular disposition of this action, inasmuch as Cæsar made the meanes correspondent to that end which hee intended. For, considering that the chiefest end of his passage was, to let the Germans vnderstand, that the power of the Romaine Empire, was not bounded with the Rhene; and that a riuer could not so separate their territories, but that they were able to ioyne both the Continents together, and make a common roade way, where it seemed most vnpassable: hee thought it best to passe ouer his Armie by a bridge, that so the Germaines might knowe the power of his forces, and also conceit their Territories, as vnited vnto Gallia; or to be vnited at the pleasure of the Romans, with a firme Isthmus and plaine passage by foote, which in times past had alwaies been separated by a mightie riuer. Neither would a transportation by boat haue wrought that effect, forasmuch as the daily vse thereof was so familiar to the Germaines, that it nothing altered their imagination, of an vnaccessible passage: but when they saw so strange a thing attempted, & so suddainely performed, they would easily vnderstand, that they were not so farre off, but that they might bee ouertaken: and so direct their demeanour accordingly.

Lib. de Machi.

Let this suffice therefore to proue, that a passage ouer a riuer by a bridge, is more honourable, safe, and of greater terror to the enemy, then any other way that can be deuised; especially, if the riuer carrie any depth, such as the Rhene is: otherwise, if it haue either shallowes or fordes, whereby men may wade ouer, without any great incombrance, it were but lost labour to stand about a bridge; but rather to thinke of it, as of a place incombred with such hindrances, as men often meet with a march.

CHAP. VII.

Cæsar taketh reuenge vpon the Sicambri: giueth *libertie to the Vbij; and returneth a-* gaine into Gallia.

Cæsar.

THE Sicambri, vnderstanding that Cæsar vvas making a bridge ouer the Rhene, prepared themselues to flie; and at the perswasion of the Vsipetes, forsooke their country, and conuaied themselues and their possessions into woods and solitarie Deserts. Cæsar, continuing a few daies in their quarters, hauing set on fire their villages and houses, and burned vp their Corne and prouision; he came to the Vbij, promising them aide against the Sueui: by whom, he vnderstood, that as soone as the Sueui had intelligence, that hee went about to make a bridge, calling a Councell, according to their manner, they sent vnto all quarters of their State, that they should forsake their townes, and carie their wiues and children, and all that they had, into the woods: and that all that were able to beare Armes, should make head in one place, which they appointed to be the midst of their Country; & there they attended the comming of the Romans, & were resolued in that place to giue the battell. Which when Cæsar vnderstood, hauing ended all those things, in regard vvhereof he came into Germanie, vvhich was chiefely to terrifie the Germans, to be reuenged vpon the Sicambri, to set the Vbij at libertie; hauing spent in all eighteene daies beyond the Rhene, as well in regard of his own honor, as the good of the Common-vveale: hee returned into Gallia, and brake vp the bridge.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar thinketh of a voiage into Britanie: hee en- *quireth of Merchants, concerning the na-* ture of that people.

Cæsar.

ALthough the Sommer was almost spent, & that in those parts the winter hastened on apace, inasmuch as all Gallia inclineth to the North; notwithstanding, hee resolued to goe ouer into Britanie: forasmuch as hee vnderstood, that in all the former warres of Gallia, the Enemy had receiued most of their supplie from thence. And, although the time of the yeere vvould not suffer him to finish that warre; yet hee thought it would bee to good purpose, if he went onely to view the Iland, to vnderstand the qualitie of the inhabitants,

inhabitants, and to know their Coast, their Ports, & their landing places; wherof the Galles were altogether ignorant: for, sildome any man but Marchants did trauell vnto them. Neither was there any thing discouered but the Sea-coast, & those Regions vvhich were opposite vnto Gallia. And therefore, calling Marchants together from all quarters, he neither could vnderstand of what quantity the Iland was, what Nations, or of vvhat power they vvere that inhabited it; vvhat vse or experience of warre they had; what lawes or customes they vsed; nor what Hauens they had to receiue a Nauie of great shipping.

OBSERVATION.

AS the Germans had oftentimes stirred vp motions of rebellion amongst the Galles, by sending their superfluous multitudes into their kingdome; so the Britaines had vpheld most of their warres, by furnishing them with such supplies, as from time to time they stood in need of. So that if Cæsar, or the Romane people, would rest secure of their quiet and peaceable gouernment in Gallia, as they had chastised the insolencie of the Germans, and sent them backe againe, with greater losse then gaine; so was it necessary to make the Britaines knowe, that their assistance in the warre of Gallia, would draw more businesses vpon them, then they were well able to manage. For, as I haue noted in my former discourses, the causes of an vnpeaceable gouernment, are as well externall and forraine, as internall, and bred in the bodie; which neede the helpe of a Physician, to continue the body in a perfect state of health, and require as great a diligence to qualifie their malicious operations, as any internall sicknesse whatsoeuer.

In the second Commentarie, I briefely touched the commoditie of good discouerie: but because it is a matter of great consequence, in the fortunate cariage of a warre, I will once againe by this example of Cæsar, remember a Generall not to be negligent in this dutie. Suetonius, in the life of our Cæsar reporteth, that he neuer vndertooke any expedition, but he first receiued true intelligence of the particular site and nature of the Country, as also of the manners and qualitie of the people: and that he would not vndertake the voiage into Britanie, vntill hee had made perfect discouerie by himselfe, of the magnitude and situation of the Iland. Which Suetonius might vnderstand by this first voyage, which Cæsar would needs vndertake in the later end of a Sommer, although it were as he himselfe saith, but to discouer.

It is recorded by ancient Writers, that those demi-gods that gouerned the world in their time, gaue great honour to the exercise of hunting, as the perfect image of warre in the resemblance of all parts; and namely, in the discouerie and knowledge of a Country: without which, all enterprises, either of sport in hunting, or earnest in warres, were friuolous and of no effect. And therefore Xenophon in the life of Cyrus, sheweth, that his expedition against the King of Armenia, was nothing but a repetition of such sports, as hee had vsed in hunting. Howsoeuer, if the infinite examples registred in historie, how by the

dexterity of some Leaders it hath gained great victories, and through the negligence of others, irrecouerable ouerthrowes, are not sufficient motiues to perswade them to this duty: let their owne experience in matters of small moment, manifest the weaknes of their proceedings, whē they are ignorant of the chiefest circumstances of the matter they haue in hand. But let this suffice in the second place, to proue the necessity of good discouerie; and let vs learn of Cæsar, what is principally to bee inquired after in the discouery of an vnknowen country; as first, the quantity of the land: secondly, what Nations inhabite it: thirdly, their vse of warre: fourthly, their ciuill gouernment: and lastly, what Hauens they had to receiue a Nauie of great shipping. All which circumstances, are such principall Arteries in the bodie of a State, that the discouery of any one of these demands, would haue giuen great light, concerning the motion of the whole body.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsar sendeth C. Volusenus, to discouer the coast *of Britanie; and prepareth himselfe for* that voiage.

Cæsar. Teroanne, or Monstrell.

CAESAR sent out Caius Volusenus, with a Galley, to discouer what he could concerning these things; and to returne againe vnto him very speedily: hee himselfe marched in the meane time, with all his forces, vnto the Morini; forasmuch as from thence, lay the shortest cut into Britanie. Thither hee commaunded that shippes should be brought from all the maritimate Citties of that quarter, and namely that fleet, which hee had built the yeere before for the warre at Vannes. In the meane time, his resolution beeing knowne, and caried into Britanie by Merchants and others, many priuate States of that Iland sent Embassadours vnto him, promising him hostages of their loyaltie, and signifying their readinesse to submit themselues to the Romaine Empire. To these he made liberall promises, exhorting them to continue in that obedience; and so sent them backe againe. And with them he sent Comius, whom he had made King of Arras, whose wisedome & vertue he held in good account, and knew it to be of great authoritie in those Regions. To him hee gaue in charge to goe to as many of the States as hee could, and perswade them to accept of the friendshippe of the Romaine Empire, and that Cæsar himselfe would presentlie follow after.

Volusenus, hauing taken what view of the Country he could (for, he durst not goe on shore to commit himselfe to the barbarisme of the enemy) after fiue daies returned to Cæsar: and while hee staied in those places, for the furnishing of his fleet, the Morini sent Messengers vnto him, excusing their former faultes, and manifesting their readinesse to obey his mandates.

Cæsar,

Cæsar, not willing to leaue any enemie behind him, or to neglect his voyage into Britanie, for such small matters; hee willingly accepted of their submission, hauing first receiued many hostages of them, and hauing made readie eighty ships of burthen, which he thought sufficient to transport two legions, he diuided the Galleies to the Questor, the Legates, and the Commaunders of the horse. There were also eighteene ships of burthen more, which lay wind-bound at a Port eight miles off, and them he appointed for the horsemen. The rest of the Army, he committed to Q. Titurius Sabinus, and L. Arunculeius Cotta, commaunding them to goe to the confines of Menapij: and appointed P. Sulp. Rufus, a Legate, to keep the Port, with a sufficient guarizon.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar saileth into Britanie, and landeth *his men*.

Hese things beeing thus dispatched; hauing a good wind, in the third watch, he put out to Sea, commaunding his horsmen to imbarke themselues at the further Port; which was but slowely performed: He himselfe arriued vpon the coast about the fourth houre of the day, where hee found all the Clifts possessed with the forces of the enemy. The nature of the place was such, that the hills lay so steep ouer the sea, that a weapon might easily be cast, from the higher ground vpon the lower shore: and therefore he thought it no fit landing place; notwithstanding, hee cast anchor vntil the rest of the Nauie were come vp vnto him. Cæsar.

In the meane time, calling a Councell of the Legates and Tribunes, hee declared vnto them what aduertisements he had receiued by Volusenus, and told them what he would haue done; and withall, admonished them, that the course of Militarie affaires, and especially Sea matters, that had so suddaine & vnconstant a motion, required all things to be done at a beck, and in due time. The Councell beeing dismissed, hauing both wind and tide with him, hee waighed anchor, and sailed eight miles from that place, vnto a plaine and open shore.

The Britaines, perceiuing the Romans determination, sent their horse & chariots before, and the rest of their forces followed after, to the place vvhere the Romaines intended to land. Cæsar found it exceeding difficult to land his men, for these respects: the shippes were so great, that they could not be brought neere vnto the shore; the souldiers in strange & vnknowne places, hauing their hands laden with great and heauie weapons, were at one instant to goe out of the ship, to withstand the force of the billow, and to fight with the enemy; vvhere-as the Britaines either standing vpon the shore, or making short sallies into the vvater, did bolaly cast their weapons in knowne and frequented places, and managed their horses, as accustomed to such seruices.

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The Romans beeing terrified with these things, and altogether vnskilfull of this kind of fight, did vse the same courage as they were wont to doe in land-seruices. Which whē Cæsar perceiued, he caused the Galleies, that were both strange to the Britaines, and readier for vse, to be remoued from the shippes of burthen, and to be rowed vp and downe, and laid against the open side of the enemy; that from thence, with slings, engines and arrowes, the Enemy might bee beaten vp from the water side; which stood the Romans in good stead: for, the Britains, being troubled with the strangenesse of the Gallcies, the motion of their Oares, and the vnusuall kind of engines; were somewhat dismaied, and beganne to retire backe, and giue way to the Romans. But the souldiers still lingering, and especially for feare of the depth of the sea, the Eagle-bearer of the tenth legion, desiring the Gods, that it might fall out happily to the legion: If you will, saith hee, forsake your Eagle, O yee souldiers, and betray it to the enemy; for mine owne part, I will doe my dutie, both to the Common-weale, and to my Imperator. And having spoken this with a loud voice, he cast himselfe into the Sea, and caried the Eagle toward the Enemy. The Romaines, exhorting one another, not to suffer such a dishonour to be committed, they all leaped out of the shippe: which when others that were neere at hand perceiued, they followed them with as great alacritie, and pressed towards the enemie to incounter with them.

The fight on both parts was very eager: the Romans (not being able to keepe any order of battell, nor to get any firme footing, nor to follow their Ensignes, forasmuch as euery man kept with those Ensignes which he first met with all) vvere wonderfully troubled. But the Enemy, acquainted with the flats and shallowes, as they beheld them from the shore to come single out of their shippes, putting spurres to their horse, would set vpon them incombred and vnprepared, & many of them would ouer-lay a few: others, would get the aduantage of the open side, and cast their weapons amongst the thickest troupes of them. Which when Cæsar perceiued, he caused the shipboates and smaller vessels to be manned with souldiers: and where he saw need of help, hee sent them to rescue such as were ouercharged.

As soone as the Romaines got footing on the firme land, they made head togegether, and charged the enemy, and so put them to flight; but they were not able to follow them, nor take the Iland at that time, for want of horsemen, which thing was onely wanting to Cæsars fortune.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

VPon this circumstance of landing, I may iustly take occasion to handle that controuersie, which hath beene often debated by our English Captaines, which is, whether it be better in question of an inuasion, & in the absence of our shipping, to oppose an enemy at his landing vpon our Coast; or quietly to suffer him to sette his men on shore, and retire our forces into some in-land place, & there attend to giue him battell? It seemeth that such as first set this question on foot, and were of an opinion,

on, that we ought not by any means to encounter an enemy at his landing; for, so we might much endanger our selues and our Country; did ground themselues vpon the authority of Monsieur de Langey, not obseruing the difference between an Iland and a Continent. For, where he setteth downe that position, he plainly aimeth at such Princes, as border one vpon another in the same Cõtinent: but where their territories are disioyned by so great a bar as the Ocean, and haue not such meanes to surprise one another, it were meere folly to hold good that rule, as shall better appeare by the sequell of this discourse. Wherein I will first lay downe the reasons, that may be vrged to proue it vnsafe to oppose an enemy at his landing, not as beeing vrged by that party (for, I neuer heard any probable motiue from them, which might induce any such opinion) but set downe by such as haue looked into the controuersies, both with experience, and good iudgement.

And first, it may be obiected, that it is a hard matter to resist an enemy at his landing, as well in regard of the vncertaintie of place, as of time: for, beeing ignorant in what place hee will attempt a landing, wee must either defend all places of accesse, or our intentions will proue meere friuolous; & to performe that, it is requisite that our defensiue forces be sufficient, according to the particular qualitie of euery place subiect to danger: which, considering the large extension of our maritimate parts, and the many landing places on our Coast, will require a greater number of men, then this Iland can afford. And although it could furnish such a competent number, as might seeme in some sort sufficient; yet the vncertaintie of the time of the enemies arriuall, would require that they should be lodged, either vpon, or neere the places of danger, many daies at least, if not many weekes, before the instant of their attempt, which would exhaust a greater masse of Treasure, then could bee well affoorded by the State.

Secondly, it may bee obiected, that all our landing places are of such disaduantage for the defendants, that it were no safetie at all to make head against him at the landing: for, inasmuch as such places are open & plaine, they yield no commoditie to shelter the defendants from the furie of the artillerie, wherwith the Enemy will plentifully furnish their long boates and landing vessailes; which beating vpon the beach (for, most of our landing places are of that qualitie) will so scatter them, that no man shall be able to indure the inconuenience thereof.

The third obiection, may arise from the disparitie both of numbers, and condition of the forces of either partie: for the first, it must needs bee granted, that the defendants, beeing to guard so many places at once, cannot furnish such numbers to euery particular place for defence, as the assailants may for offence.

Concerning the qualitie of the forces, it is without question, that a great & potent Prince (for, such a one it must be, that vndertaketh to inuade the territories of so absolute and well obeied a Princesse as her Maiestie is) would draw out the floure of his soulderie wheresoeuer; besides, the gallant troupes of voluntaries, which doe commonlie attend such seruices. Now, these being thus qualified,

qualified, and drawne into one head, and being to make as it were but one bodie: how can it be reasonably imagined (the time and place of their attempt beeing vncertaine) that the defendants should equall them with forces of like vertue and experience?

These are the reasons, which may be drawne from the disaduantage, which they haue that goe about to oppose an enemy at his landing: the rest that haue beene vrged, by such as maintaine this opinion, are either impertinent to the question, or taken altogether from false grounds. But before I proceed to the aunswere of these reasons, I will lay this downe for a principle: That it is impossible for any forraine Prince, how puissant soeuer, to make such a preparation as shal be fitting, to inuade a State so populous, and respective of their Soueraigne (notwithstanding the pretences deuised to dissemble the same) but it must of necessitie be discouered, before it can be made able to put any thing in execution: which I might enlarge by particularizing the infinite equipage, which is required for so great a fleet. But I will rest my selfe in the example of the yeere 88, which proueth the discouery of the pretended inuasion, before it could come to execution.

Answere to the first obiection.

Concerning therefore the first obiection: it cannot indeed be denied, but the place of the enemies landing will be doubtfull, and therefore our care must generally extend it selfe to all places of accesse: but that our defensiue forces are not sufficient in a competent manner to guard all such places, according as the necessitie of them shall require, that is the point in question.

To proue that our forces are sufficient: we must necessarily enter into particularities, wherin I will take Kent for a president, as not altogether vnacquainted with the state thereof; which, if I deceiue not my selfe, is a shore of as large extension vpon the maritimate parts, as any other within this kingdom. For the breadth thereof enlarging it selfe from the point of Nesse by Lyd, which is the vttermost skirt vpon the coast of Sussex, vnto Margate, vpon the coast of Essex; is by computation about twentie foure miles: but notwithstanding this large circuit, who knoweth not, that the sixt part thereof is not subiect to the landing of such an enemy as wee speake of: partly, in regard of the hugenesse of the cliffes, which doe inclose a great part of that skirt; & partly in regard that much of that quantitie, which may be landed vpon, hath such eminent and difficult places neere adioyning, as an Armie that should put it selfe there on shore, should find it selfe, beeing opposed but by a small force, so straitened, as they would not easily find a way out, without apparant ruine of their whole forces.

Further, it cannot be denied, but that generally along the coast of Kent, there are so many rocks, shelues, flats, and other impediments, that a Nauie of great shippes can haue no commoditie to anchor neere the shore: and for the most part, the coast lieth so open to the weather, that the least gale of wind will put them from their Anchor: all which particularities duly considered, it will appeare that this large skirt of Kent, will afford a far lesser part fit for the landing of an Army, then was thought of at the first. And were it that so publique a treatise as this is, would admit with good discretion such an exact relation, as falleth within my knowledge cōcerning this point, I would vndertake to make

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it so euident, by the particular description, both of the number, quantitie, and qualitie of the places themselues, as no man of an indifferent iudgement, wold imagine our forces to be insufficient, to afford euery of them such a safe & sure guard, as shal be thought requisite for the same. But forasmuch as it is vnfitting to giue such particular satisfaction in this publique discourse, giue mee leaue, submitting my selfe alwaies to better iudgements, to giue a generall taste of that meanes as would secure all places, with a competent number of men.

Hauing shewed you before, the circuit of the maritimate parts of Kent, I would obserue this order: first, to make a triple diuision of all such forces, as shal be appointed for this seruice; as for example, I will suppose the number to bee twelue thousand, of which I would lodge three thousand about the point of Nesse, and three thousand about Margate, and sixe thousand about Foulkston, which I take to be as it were the center: for, my greatest care should bee so to dispose of them, as they might not only succour one another in the same shire: but as euery shire bordereth one vpon another; so they should mutually giue helpe one vnto another, as occasion should be offered: as if the enemy should attempt a landing about Nesse, not onely the sixe thousand lodged as before, should march to their succours, but such also of the Sussex forces as were neer vnto that part; & so likewise of the rest. By which you may see, how great a force wold in few houres be assembled, for the renforcing of any of these out-skirts; and the rather, forasmuch as the one halfe of the whole forces, are thus lodged in the center of the Shire, which is neerer to all parts thē any other place whatsoeuer. There would also in the quartering of them, an especiall care be had to the places of danger, as might be answerable to the importance thereof: for, my meaning is not to lodge them close together, but to stretch them out along the coast, by regiments and companies, as the Country might afford best opportunitie to entertaine them.

Now, concerning the later part of this obiection, which vrgeth the vncertaintie of time, when the enemy shall make his approches: I hold it most requisite, that our defensiue forces should be drawne into a head, before the enemie should be discouered neer our coast, ready to put himselfe on shore: for, it were a grosse absurditie to imagine, that companies could vpon such a suddaine bee assembled, without confusion; and make so long a march, with such expedition, as the necessitie of the occasion would require. Now, for that husbanding respect of her Maiesties coffers, which is vrged to such extreamitie, as it would be vnsupportable for this State to beare: as I doubt not but good intelligence would much qualifie that supposed immoderate expence; so I assure my selfe, that men of sound iudgement, will deeme it much out of season to dispute about vnnecessary thrift, when the whole kingdome is brought in question of beeing made subiect to a stranger:

Vt iugulent homines surgunt de nocte latrones:
Non expergisceris, vt te ipsum serues?

The enemy (peraduenture) hath kept 30000 men in pay 2 months before, to make hauocke of our Country, and to bring vs into perpetuall thraldome; shall

shall we thinke it much to maintaine sufficient forces vpon our Coast, to assure our selues that no such enemy shall enter into our Country? The extreamitie of this charge, would be qualified by our good espial, which would proportion our attendance, with the necessitie which is imposed vpon vs, to be carefull in businesses of this nature. Let this suffice therefore to proue, that our forces are sufficient to keepe the Sea-coast; and that the vncertaintie of time, when the enemy will make his attempts, ought not to hinder vs from performing that dutie, which the care and respect of our Prince and Country, imposeth vpon euery good subiect; which is the substance of the first reason, which I set down in the beginning of this discourse.

The answere to the second reason.

Now, concerning the second reason, which vrgeth the disaduantage of the place, in regard of the furie of the Enemies artillery. True it is, that such places as yeeld the Enemy commoditie of landing, are for the most part plaine and open, and afford naturally no couert at all. What then? shall a souldier take euery place as he findeth it, and vse no Arte to qualifie the disaduantages thereof? Or shall a man forgoe the benefit of a place of aduantage, rather then hee will relieue with industry, the discommoditie of some particular circumstance? I make no question, but an ingenious Commaunder, being in seasonable time lodged with conuenient forces vpon any of those places, yea, vpon the beach it selfe, which is vnapt to make defensible, as any place whatsoeuer, would vse such industrie, as might giue sufficient securitie to his forces, & ouer-weigh the Enemie with aduantage of place; especially, considering that this age hath afforded such plentifull examples of admirable inuentions in that behalfe. But this cannot be done, if our forces do not make head before the instant of the Enemies attempt, that our Commaunders may haue some time to make readie store of Gabions, hand-baskets, with such moueable matter as shal be thought fit for that seruice.

Neither let this trouble any man: for, I dare auouch it, that if our forces are not drawne into a head before the Enemie bee discouered vpon the Coast, although wee neuer meane to oppose their landing, but attend them in some inland place, to giue them battaile; our Commaunders will be farre to seeke of manie important circumstances, which are requisite in a matter of that consequence. And therefore, let vs haue but a reasonable time to bethinke our selues of these necessaries, and wee will easilie ouercome all these difficulties, and vse the benefite of the firme land to repell an Enemie, weakened with the Sea, tossed with the billow, troubled with his weapons, with many other hinderances and discouragements, which are presented vnto him both from the Land and the Sea. Hee that saw the landing of our forces in the Iland of Fiall, in the yeere 97, can some-what iudge of the difficultie of that matter: for, what with the working of the Sea, the steepnesse of the Cliffes, the troublesomnesse of their Armes, the souldiers were so incombred, that had not the Enemy been more then a coward, he might well with two hundred men, haue kept vs from entering any part of that Iland.

The answere to the 3 reasõ

Concerning the third Obiection, this briefely shall bee sufficient, that vvee are not so much to regard, that our forces doe equall them in number, as

as to see that they bee sufficient for the nature of the place, to make it good against the Enemies landing: for, wee know that in places of aduantage and difficult accesse, a small number is able to oppose a great; and wee doubt not, but all circumstances duely considered, wee shall proportionably equall the Enemie, both in number and qualitie of their forces: alwaies presupposed, that our State shall neuer bee destitute of sufficient forces trayned, and exercised in a competent manner, to defende their Contrey from forraine Enemies. For, the neglect thereof were to drawe on such as of themselues are but too forwarde to make a prey of vs; and to make vs vnapt, not onelie to oppose an Enemies landing, but to defende our selues from beeing ouerrunne, as other Nations liuing in securitie, without due regarde thereof, haue beene.

And this much concerning the answere to those three reasons, which seeme to prooue that an Enemie is not to be resisted at his landing. Now if wee doe but looke a little into the discommodities, which follow vpon the landing of an Enemy, we shall easily discouer the dangerousnesse of this opinion: as first, we giue him leave to liue vpon the spoile of our Countrey; which cannot bee preuented by any wasting, spoiling, or retiring of our prouisions, in so plentifull a Country as this is, especially considering that we haue no strong townes at all to repose our selues vpon. Wherof we need no further testimonie, then is deliuered vnto vs out of the seuenth booke of these Commentaries, in that warre, which Cæsar had with Vercingetorix.

Secondly obedience, which at other times is willingly giuen to Princes, is greatly, weakned at such times; wherby all necessary means to maintain a war is hardly drawn frō the subiect. Thirdly, opportunity is giuen to malecontents & ill disposed persons, either to make head themselues, or to flie to the Enemy. Fourthly, the madnesse to aduenture a kingdome vpon one stroke, hauing it in our disposition to do otherwise, with many other disaduantages, which the opportunity of any such occasion would discouer.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe word Imperator, which the Eagle-bearer attributeth to Cæsar, was the greatest title that could be giuen to a Romane Leader: and as Zonaras in his second Tome saith, was neuer giuen but vpon some great exploit, and after a iust victory obtained; and then in the place where the battaile was fought, and the Enemy ouerthrowne, the Generall was saluted by the name of Imperator, with the triumphant shout of the whole Armie; by which acclamation, the souldiers gaue testimonie of his worth; and made it equiualent with the most furtunate Commanders. *Of the name Imperator.*

This Ceremonie was of great antiquitie in the Roman Empire, as appeareth by manie Histories, and namely by Tacitus, where hee sayth, that Tyberius gaue that honour to Blesus, that hee should bee saluted Imperator by 3. *Annal.*

the legions; which hee sheweth to bee an ancient dignitie belonging to great Captaines, after they had foiled the Enemy, with an eminent ouerthrow. For, euerie victorie was not sufficient, whereby they might chalenge so great an honour, but there was required (as it seemeth) a certaine number of the Enemies to be slaine. Appian in his second book sayth, that in olde time the name of Imperator was neuer taken, but vpon great and admirable exploites: but in his time 10000. of the Enemie being slaine in one battell, was a sufficient ground of that honour. Cicero sayth, that 2000. slaine in the place, especially of Thracians, Spaniards or Galles, did worthily merit the name of Imperator. Howsoeuer; it seemeth by the same Author, that there was a certaine number of the Enemy required to be slaine, where he sayth, *Se iusta victoria Imperatorem appellatum.*

Phil. 14.

Lib.2.epist.9

CHAP. XI.

The Britaines make peace with Cæsar, but breake it againe vpon the losse of the Roman shipping.

Cæsar.

He Britaines being ouerthrowne in this battaile; assoone as they had recouered their safety by flight, they presẽtly dispatched messengers to Cæsar to intreat for peace, promising hostages & obedience, in what soeuer he commanded. And with these Ambassadors returned Comius of Arras, whom Cæsar had sent before into Britany. Cæsar complained, that wheras they sent vnto him into Gallia to desire peace, notwithstanding at his comming they made war against him, without any cause or reason at all; but excusing it by their ignorance, hee commanded hostages to be deliuered vnto him: which they presently performed in part; and the rest being to be fet further off, should likewise bee rendered within a short time; in the meane while, they commaunded their people to returne to their possessions, and their Rulers and Princes came out of all quarters to commend themselues and their States to Cæsar. The peace being thus concluded; foure daies after that Cæsar came into Britanie, the 18. ships which were appointed for the horsemen, put out to sea with a gentle wind: and approaching so neere the coast of Britanie, that they were within viewe of the Roman Camp; there arose such a sodaine tempest, that none of them were able to holde their course, but some of them returned to the port from whence they came; othersome were cast vpon the lower part of the Iland, which lieth to the West-ward; and there casting anchor tooke in such seas, that they were forced to commit themselues againe to the sea, and direct their course to the coast of Gallia. The same night it happened, that the moone being in the full, the tides were very high in those seas; whereof the Romans beeing altogether ignorant, both the Gallies which were drawne vp vpon the shoare were fild with the tide, and the shippes of burthen that lay at anchour, were shaken with the tem-

tempest; neither was there any help to be giuen vnto them: so that many of them were rent, and split in peeces; and the rest lost both their anchors, gables and other tackling, and by that meanes became altogether vnseruiceable. Wherat the whole Army was exceedingly troubled; for there was no other shipping to recarry them backe againe: Neither had they any necessaries to new furnish the olde: and euery man knew that they must needs winter in Gallia; forasmuch as there was no prouision of corn in those places where they were. Which thing being knowen to the Princes of Britanie, that were assembled to conferre of such things as Cæsar had commanded them to perform; when they vnderstood that the Romans wanted both their horsemen, shipping and prouision of corn, and coniecturing of the paucity of their forces, by the small circuit of their Campe; and that which was more important then all the rest, that Cæsar had transported his souldiers without such necessary cariages, as they vsed to take with them: they thought it their best course to rebell, and to keepe the Romans from corne and conuoyes of prouision, and so prolong the matter, vntill winter came on. For, they thought that if these were once ouerthrown and cut off from turning into Gallia, neuer any man would afterward aduenture to bring an Army into Britanie: therfore they conspired againe the second time, and conuaied themselues by stealth out of the Camp, and got their men priuily out of the fields, to make head in some conuenient place against the Romans.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CONceming the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and the causes therof; it hath already been handled in the second book: to which I wil adde this much, as may serue to shew, how the Romans became so ignorant of the spring tides, which happen in the full and newe of the Moone. It is obserued by experience, that the motion of this waterie element is altogether directed by the course of the moon; wherin she exerciseth her regency, according as shee findeth the matter qualified for her influence. And forasmuch as al mediterranean seas, & such gulfs as are inclosed in sinues and bosomes of the earth, are both abbridged of the liberty of their course, and through the smallness of their quantity, are not so capable of celestiall power, as the Ocean it selfe: it consequently followeth, that the Tuskane seas, wherwith the Romans were chiefly acquainted, were not so answerable in effect to the operation of the moon, as the main sea, whose bounds are ranged in a more spacious circuit; and through the plentious aboundance of his parts, better answereth the vertue of the Moon. The Ocean therfore being thus obedient to the course of the celestial bodies, taking hir course of flowing frō the North, falleth with such a current between the Orcades, and the maine of Noruegia; that she filleth our channell between England and France, with great swelling tides; & maketh her motion more eminent in these quarters, then in any other parts of the world. And hence it happeneth, that our riuer of Thames, lying with her mouth so ready to receiue the tyde as it commeth, and hauing withall a plaine

leuelled belly, and a very smal fresh current, taketh the tide as far into the land, as any other known riuer of Europe. And for this cause the Romans were ignorant of the spring tides in the full of the moon.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SVch as either by their own experience, or otherwise by obseruation of that which history recordeth, are acquainted with the gouernment of Common weales, are not ignorant with what difficultie a nation, that either hath long liued in libertie, or bin gouernd by Cōmanders of their owne choosing, is made subiect to the yoak of bondage, or reduced vnder the obedience of a stranger. For, as we are apt by a naturall inclination to ciuill society; so by the same nature wee desire a free disposition of our selues and possessions, as the chiefest end of the saide societie: and therefore in the gouernment of a subdued State, what losse or disaduantage happeneth to the Victor, or how indirectly soeuer it concerneth the bond of their thraldom, the captiue people behold it as a part of their aduersaries ouerthrow; and conceiue thereupon such spirits as answere the greatness of their hope, and sort with the strength of their will, which alwaies maketh that seem easie to be effected which it desireth. And this was the reason that the Britains altered their resolution of peace, vpon the losse which the Romans had receiued in their shipping.

CHAP. XII.

Cæsar new trimmeth his late shaken nauie: the Britaines set vpon the Romans as they haruested; but were put off by CÆSAR.

Cæsar.

Cæsar although hee had not discouered their determination, yet coniecturing of the euent by the losse of his shipping, and by their delay of giuing vp hostages; hee prouided against all chaunces: for, hee brought corne daily out of the fieldes into his Campe; and tooke the hulls of such shippes as were most dismembred, and with the timber and brasse therof he mended the rest that were beaten with the tempest, causing other necessaries to bee brought out of Gallia. Which being handled with the great industry and trauell of the Souldiers, he lost onely twelue ships, and made the other able to abide the Sea.

While these things were in action, the seuenth legion being sent out by course, to fetch in corne, and little suspecting any motion of warre; as part of the souldiers continued in the field, and the rest went and came between them & the Campe; the

the station that watched before the gate of the Camp, gaue aduertisement to Cæsar, that the same way which the legion went, there appeared a greater dust then was vsually seen. Cæsar suspecting that which indeed was true, that the Britains were entred into som new resolution, he tooke those two cohorts which were in station before the port, commanding other two to take their place, and the rest to arm themselues, and presently to follow him, and went that way, where the dust was descried. And when he had marched some distance from the Camp, he saw his men ouercharged with the Enemy, & scarce able to sustaine the assault, the legion thronged together on a heap, & weapons cast from al parts amongst them. For, when they had haruested all other quarters, ther remained one piece of corn, whither the Enemie suspected the Romans would at last come; and in the night time conuaied themselues secretly into the woods, where they continued vntill the Romans were come into the field: and as they sawe them disarmed, dispersed and occupied in reaping; they suddenly set vpon them, and slaying some fewe of them, rowted the rest and incompassed them about with their horsemen, and Chariots. Their manner of fight with Chariots, was first to ride vp and down & cast their weapons, as they sawe aduantage; and with the terror of their horses and rattling of their wheeles, to disorder the companies; and when they had wound themselues between any troups of horse, they forsook their Chariots and fought on foot: in the mean time, the guiders of their chariots would driue a little aside, & so place themselues, that if their masters needed any helpe, they might haue an easie passage vnto them. And thus they performed, in al their fights, both the nimble motion of horsemen, and the firme stability of footmen; and were so ready with daily practice, that they could staie in the decliuity of a steep hill, and turne short or moderate their going, as it seemed best vnto them; and run along the beam of the coach and rest vpon the yoak, or harnesse of their horses, and return as speedily again at their pleasure. The Romans being thus troubled, Cæsar came to rescue them in very good time: for, at his comming, the Enemy stood still; and the soldiers gathered their spirits vnto them, and began to renew their courage that was almost spent. Cæsar taking it an vnfit time, either to prouoke the Enemy, or to giue him battel; he continued à while in the same place: and then returned with the legions into the Camp. While these things were a-doing, and the Romans thus busied, the Britains that were in the field, conuaied themselues al away.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

BY this we plainly find, that there were vsually two cohorts (which according to the rate of 120. in a maniple, amounted to the number of 720. men) which kept the daie watch before the gate of the Camp, & were alwaies in readinesse vpon any seruice. The commoditie whereof appeareth by this accident: for, considering that the aduertisemẽt required haste and speedy recourse; it greatly furthered their rescue, to haue so many men ready to march forwarde at the first motion, that they might giue what helpe they could, vntill the rest of their fellowes came in.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THeir manner of fight with Chariots, is very particularly deſcribed by Cæſar, and needeth not to be ſtood vpon any longer: only I obſerue that neither in Gallia, nor any other country of Europ, the vſe of Chariots is euer mentioned: but they haue euer beene attributed, as a peculiar fight, vnto the Eaſterne Countries, as ſuitable to the plain and leuell ſituation of the place, whereof we finde often mention in the ſcripture: which may ſerue for an argument to Geffrey of Monmouth, to proue the Britaines deſcent from Troy in Aſia, where we likewiſe finde mention of ſuch Chariots.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, wee may obſerue the diſcreet and moderate temper of his valour, and the meanes hee vſed to make his ſouldiers confident in his directions: for, notwithſtanding the Britaines had exceedingly vrged him, to make hazard of a preſent reuenge; yet finding it an vnfit time, (inaſmuch as his men had beene ſomewhat troubled, with the furie of the Britains) he thought it beſt to expect ſome other opportunitie. And againe, to auoid the inconueniences of a fearefull retrait, hee continued a while in the ſame place, to imbolden his men with the ſight of the Enemie. And this manner of proceeding wrought a full perſwaſion in his ſoldiers, that his actions were directed with knowledge, and with a carefull reſpect of their ſafetie: which gaue his men reſolution when they were carried vpon ſeruice; being aſſured that what ſeruice ſoeuer they were imploied vpon, was moſt diligently to be performed, as a matter much importing the fortunate iſſue of that warre: wheras if they had perceiued, that headſtrong fury (which carrieth men on with a deſire of victorie, and neuer looketh into the meanes whereby it may bee obtained) had directed the courſe of their proceedings, they might with reaſon haue drawn back from ſuch imployments, and valued their ſafety aboue the iſſue of ſuch an enterpriſe. And hence ariſeth that confident opinion, which the ſoldiers haue of a good Generall; which is a matter of great importance in the courſe of warre.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Britaines make head, with their forces; and *are beaten by Cæsar: his returne into* GALLIA.

AFter this; for manie dayes together, there followed such tempests and foule weather, that both the Romans were constrained to keepe their Campe, and the Britaines were kept from attempting any thing against them: But in the meane time, they sent messengers into all quarters, publishing the smal number of the Roman forces, & amplifying the greatnesse of the booty, & the easie means offered vnto them of perpetuall liberty, if they could take the Roman Campe. Shortly, vpon this, hauing gathered a great companie, both of horse and foot; they came to the place where the Romans were incamped. Cæsar (although he foresawe the euent by that which before had hapned, that if the Enemie were beaten back, he would auoid the danger by flight) yet hauing som 30. horse, which Comius of Arras had carried with him, at his comming into Britany; he imbattailed his legions before his Camp; & so gaue them battel. The Enemy not being able to beare the assault of the Roman soldiers, turned their backs & fled: the Romans followed them, as far as they could by running on foote; and after a great slaughter, with the burning of their towns farre and neere, they returned to their Camp. The same day the Britains sent messengers to Cæsar, to intreat for peace; whom he commanded to double their number of hostages, which he commanded to be carried into Gallia. And forasmuch as the Aequinoctium was at hand; he thought it not safe to put himselfe to the winter sea, with such weake shipping: and therefore hauing got a conuenient time, he hoised saile a little after midnight, and brought all his ships safe vnto the Continent. Two of these ships of burthen, not beeing able to reach the same hauen, put in somewhat lower into the land: the souldiers that were in them being about 300. being set on shore, and marching towardes their Camp; the Morini, with whom Cæsar at his going into Britany had made peace, in hope of a booty, first with a fewe of their men stood about them, commanding them vpon paine of death to laie downe their weapons: & as the Romans by casting themselues into an Orbe, began to make defence, at the noise and clamour amongst them, there were suddenly gathered together about 6000. of the Enemy. Which thing being knowen, Cæsar sent out all the horsemen to relieue them: in the meane time the Romans sustained the force of the Enemie, and fought valiantly the space of foure houres; and receiuing themselues some few wounds, they slew many of the Enemy. After the Roman horsemen came in sight, the Enemie cast awaie their weapons and fled, and a great number of them fell by the horsemen.

Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

OF al the figures which the *Tactici* haue chosen to make vse of in military affairs; the circle hath euer been taken for the fittest, to be applied in the defensiue part, as inclosing with an equall circuit on all parts whatsoeuer is contained within the circumference of that Area: and therefore Geometrie tearmeth a circumference a simple line, forasmuch as if you alter the site of the parts, and transport one arch into the place of another; the figure notwithstanding will remaine the same, because of the equal bending of the line, throughout the whole circumference. Which propertie, as it proueth an vniformity of strength in the whole circuit, so that it cannot be said that this is the beginning, or this is the end; this is front, or this is flank: So doth that, which Euclide doth demonstrate in the 3. of his Elements, concerning the smal affinity between a right line, and a circle (which being drawen to touch the circumference, doth touch it but in a point only) shew the greatness of this strength in regarde of any other line, by which it may be broken. Which, howsoeuer they seem, as speculatiue qualities, conceiued rather by intellectuall discourse, then manifested to sensible apprehension; yet forasmuch as experience hath proued the strength of this figure, in a defensiue part, aboue any other manner of imbattailing; let vs not neglect the knowledge of these naturall properties, which discouer the causes of this effect: neither let vs neglect this part of militarie knowledge, being so strong a means to maintain valour, & the sinew of al our abilitie: for, order correspondent to circumstances is the whole strength and power of an Army. Neither ought there any action in a well ordered discipline, to be irregular, or voide of order: and therefore the Romans did neither eat nor sleep, without the direction of the Consull, or chief Commander; otherwise their valour might rather haue been tearmed fury then vertue: but when their courage was ranged with order, and disposed according to the occurrences of the time; it neuer failed as long as the saide order continued perfect.

It appeareth therefore, how important it is for a Commander to look into the diuersity of orders for imbattailing, and to waigh the nature therof; that he may with knowledge apply them to the quality of any occasion. The Romans tearmed this figure, *Orbis*; which signifieth a round body both with a concaue, and a conuex surface: in resemblance whereof, I vnderstand this Orbe of men imbattailed to be so named; which might peraduenture consist of fiue, or more, or fewer ranks, inclosing one another after the nature of so many circles, described about one Center: so that either the middest thereof remained voide, or otherwise contained such cariages, and impediments, as they had with them in their march. This form of imbattailing was neuer vsed, but in great extreamitie: for, as it was the safest of all other; so it gaue suspicion to the soldiers of exceeding danger: which abated much of their heat in battel, as will hereafter appeare by the testimony of Cæsar himself, in the fist Commentarie, vpon the occasion which happened vnto Sabinus and Cotta.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIIII.

THe next daie, Cæsar sent Titus Labienus a Legate, with those legions which he had brought out of Britany, against the reuolted Morini; who hauing no place of refuge because their bogs & fennes were dried vp, where they had sheltred themselues the yeare before; they al fel vnder the power of his mercy. Q. Titurius, & A. Cotta the Legats, who had led the legiõs against the Menapij, after they had wasted their fields, cut vp their corn, burned their houses (for, the Menapij were all hid in thicke woods) they returned to Cæsar: these things being thus ended, Cæsar placed the wintering Camps of al his legions amõgst the Belgæ; to which place two only of all the Cities in Britany, sent hostages vnto him: the rest neglecting it. These wars being thus ended: vpon the relatiõ of Cæsars letters, the senat decreed a supplicatiõ for the space of 20. daies. Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

IN the end of the second Commentary, we read of a supplication granted by the Senat, for 15. daies; which was neuer granted to anie man before that time, since the first building of the Citie: but forasmuch as in this fourth yeare of the wars in Gallia, it was augmented from 15. vnto 20. daies, I thought it fit to refer the handling therof, vnto this place. We are therfore to vnderstand, that whensoeuer a Roman Generall had carried himself well in the wars, by gaining a victory, or enlarging the boundes of their Empire, that then the Senate did decree a supplication to the gods, in the name of that Captain. And this dignity was much sought after: not onely because it was a matter of great honour, that in their names the Temples of their gods should be opened, and their victories acknowledged, with the concourse & gratulation of the Roman people; but also because a supplication was commonly the forerunner of a triumph, which was the greatest honor in the Roman gouernment: And therfore Cato nameth it the prerogatiue of a triumph. And Liuie in his 26. book saith, that it was long disputed on in the Senate, how they could deny one that was there present to triumph, whose absence they had honoured, with supplication, & thanksgiuing to the gods, for things happily effected. The manner of the Ceremonie was; that after the Magistrate had publikely proclaimed it with this form or stile, *quòd bene & feliciter rempublicam administrasset*; the Roman people cloathed in white garments & crowned with garlands, went to all the Temples of the gods, and there offered sacrifices, to gratulate the victory in the name of the General. In which time they were forbidden all other businesses, but that which pertained to this solemnity. It seemeth that this time of supplicatiõ, was at first included within one or 2. daies at the most. as appeareth by Liuie in his third book, where he saith, that the victorie gained by two seuerall battells, was spitefully shut vp by the Senat in one daies supplication; the people of their own accord keeping the next day holy, & celebrating it with greater deuotion then the former. Li 15. fam. Cicero.

Vpon

Vpon the victory which Camillus had against the Veij, there were granted foure daies of supplication; to which there was afterward a daie added, which was the vsuall time of supplication vnto the time that Pompei ended the warre, which they called Mithridaticum; when the vsual time of fiue daies was doubled, and made 10. and in the second of these Commentaries, made 15. and now brought to 20. daies. Which setteth forth the incitements and rewards of wel doing, which the Romans propounded both at home and abroad, to such as indeuoured to inlarge their Empire, or manage a charge, to the benefit of their Common-wealths. And thus endeth the fourth Commentarie.

THE

THE FIFT COMMENTARY OF THE WARRE, WHICH CÆSAR MADE IN GALLIA.

THE ARGVMENT.

Cæsar caused a great nauy to be built in Gallia: he caried 5. legions into Britany, where he made war with the Britains, on both sides the riuer Thames: at his returne into Gallia, most of the Galles reuolted; and first the Eburones, vnder the conduction of Ambiorix, set vpon the Camp of Q. Titurius the Legate, whom they circumuented by subtilty; and then besieged the Camp of Cicero: but were put by, and their Army ouerthrowen by Cæsar.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar returneth into Gallia: findeth there great *store of shipping made by the souldiers, and commaundeth* them to be brought to the hauen Iccius.

Vcius Domitius, and Appius Claudius, being Consuls; Cæsar at his going into Italy, gaue order to the Legats to builde as many ships that winter, as possibly they could; commanding them to be built of a lower pitch then those which are vsed in the mediterranean sea, for the speedier lading & vnlading of them, and because the tides in these seas were very great: and forasmuch as he was to transport great store of horse, he commanded them to be made flatter in the bottome then such as were vsuall in other places, and all of them to be made for the vse of Oares, to which purpose their lowe building serued very conueniently. Other necessaries and furniture for rigging, he gaue order to haue it brought out of Spain. Cæsar after the assembly of the States in Lombardy, and that he set free Illiricum from the incursions of the Piruſtæ, he returned into Gallia; where he found 600. ships built, by the extraordinarie industry of the soldiers, notwithstanding the penurie and want of all necessary matter, with 28 Gallies ready furnished, which in a few daies might be lanched: hauing commended the soldiers and ouerseers of the work, he commanded them to be brought to the port called Iccius, from whence he knew the passage into Britany, was not aboue thirty mile ouer. Cæsar.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

THis Iccius Portus, Floide thinketh to bee Caleis; others take it to bee Saint Omer: partly in regarde of the ſituation of the place, which being in it ſelfe very lowe, hath notwithſtanding very high banks, which incompaſſe the towne about; and in times paſt was a very large hauen. To this may be added the diſtance from this towne, to the next Continent of the Iland of Britany; which Strabo maketh to containe 320. ſtadia, which agreetht o the French computation of 13. leages. Cæſar maketh it thirty mile: this is the hauen, which Pliny calleth *Britannicum portum Morinorum.*

CHAP. II.

Cæſar ſaileth into Britanie: landeth his forces, and ſeeketh the Enemie.

Cæſar.

Cæſar hauing prepared all things in readineſſe, he left Labienus in the Continent with three legions, & 2000. horſe, both to keep the hauen & make prouiſion of corne; and alſo to obſerue the motion of the Galles: and with 5. legions & the like number of horſe, as he left in the Continent, about ſun-ſetting he put out to ſea, with a ſoft ſouth wind, which continued vntill midnight; and then ceaſing he was carried with the tide vntill the morning; when, he perceiued that the Iland laie on his left hand: and again, as the tide chãged, he laboured by rowing to reach that part of the Iland, where hee had found good landing the yeare before: wherin the ſoldiers deſerued great cõmendation; for, by ſtrength & force of Oares, they made their great ſhips of burthen to keepe waie with the Galleies. About high noon, they arriued in Britany, with all their ſhips: neither was there any Enemy ſeene in that place: but as afterward Cæſar vnderſtood by the Captiues, the Britains were there with a great power; but being terrified with the infinit number of ſhipping, which they diſcouered from the ſhore (for there were in al aboue 800) they forſook the ſhore, & hid themſelues in the vpland country. Cæſar hauing landed his men, and choſen a conuenient place to incamp, aſſoon as he vnderſtood by the captiues where the enemy laie, in the 3. watch of the night, he marched towards them; leauing ten cohorts & 300. horſe for a guariſon to his ſhipping: which he the leſſe feared, becauſe it lay at anchour in a ſoft & open ſhore: he marched that night about 12. mile before he found the Enemy. The Britains ſending out their horſe, and chariots to a riuer that ran between them & the Romans, and hauing the aduantage of the vpper ground; began to hinder the Romans and to giue them battell: but being beaten backe with our horſemen, they conuaied thẽſelues into a wood. The place was ſtrongly fortified both by Art and Nature, and made for a defence (as it ſeemeth) in their ciuill

warres:

wars: for, all the entrances were shut vp with great trees, laid ouerthwart the passages. And the Britaines shewed themselues out of the wood but heere and there, not suffering the Romans to enter the fortification: but the souldiers of the 7 legion, with a Testudo which they made, and a mount which they raised, tooke the place, and draue them all out of the woods, without any losse at all; saueing some fewe wounds which they receiued. But Cæsar forbade his men to follow after them, with any long pursute, because he was both ignorant of the place, and a great part of that day being spent, he would imploy the rest thereof in the fortification of his Campe.

OBSERVATION.

CAesar, hauing taken what assurance of peace hee could with the Galles, both by carrying the chiefest of their Princes with him, and by leauing three legions in the Continent, to keep the vulgar people in obedience; he imbarked all his men at one place, that they might be all partakers of the same casualties, and take the benefit of the same aduentures: which beeing neglected the yeere before, drew him into many inconueniences for want of horse, which being imbarked at another Hauen, met with other chances, & saw other fortunes; & neuer came to him into Britanie. The place of landing in this second voyage, was the same where he landed the yeer before: & by the circumstances of this history, may agree with that which tradition hath deliuered of Deale in Kent, where it is said that Cæsar landed. In the first yeere we find, that he neuer remooued his Campe from the sea shore, where he first seated himselfe; although his men went out to bring in Corne, as far as they might wel returne again at night: but now he entered further into the Iland, and within twelue miles march came vnto a riuer, which must needs be that of Canterbury, which falleth into the Sea at Sandwich.

In that he saith that the guarizon of his shipping consisted of tenne cohorts, which I haue said to be a legion: we must vnderstand, that Cæsar left not an entire legion in that guarizon; but he tooke tenne cohorts out of his whole forces, peraduenture two out of euery legion, and appointed them to take the charge of his shipping.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar returneth to his Nauies, to take order for *such losses as had happened by tempest* the night before.

THE next day, earlie in the morning, hee deuided his forces into three companies, and sent them out to pursue the enemie: but before they had marched any farre distance, and came to haue the rereward of the Enemie in viewe; there came newes from Q. Atrius, vvith Cæsar.

whom he left the ten cohorts, & the charge of the ſhipping, that the night before, there was ſuch a tempeſt at ſea, that the whole Nauie was either ſore beaten, or caſt on ſhore; and that neither anchor nor gable could hold them, nor yet the Sailers indure the force of the weather: and that there vvas great loſſe in the ſhipping, by running againſt one another, in the violence of the tempeſt.

Vpon theſe newes; Cæſar cauſed the legions to be called backe againe, and to ceaſe for that time, from following the enemie any further. Hee himſelfe returned to the Nauy, where he found forty ſhips loſt, and the reſt, not to be repaired, but with great induſtry and paines: firſt, therefore, he choſe Ship-wrightes and Carpenters out of the legions, and cauſed others to be ſent for out of Gallia, and wrote to Labienus to make ready what ſhipping he could. And although it ſeemed a matter of great difficulty & much labour, yet hee thought it beſt, to hale vp all the ſhips on ſhore, and to incloſe them vvithin the fortification of his Campe. In this buſineſſe he ſpent ten daies, without intermiſsion either of night or day, vntill he had drawne vp the ſhippes, and ſtrongly fortified the Campe; leauing the ſame guarriſon which was there before, to defend it.

THE OBSERVATION.

WHerein we may behold the true image of vndanted valour, and the horrible induſtry (as Tully tearmeth it) which hee vſed to preuent Fortune of her ſtroke in his buſineſs, and comprehend caſualties and future cõtingents, within the compaſſe of order, & the bounds of his owne power, beeing able in tenne daies ſpace, to ſet almoſt eight hundred ſhippes from the hazard of wind and weather; & to make his Campe the Roade for his Nauie, that ſo hee might reſt ſecure of a meanes to returne at his pleaſure.

CHAP. IIII.

The *Britaines* make Caſsiuellaunus Generall in *this warre: the Iland, and the manners of the* people deſcribed.

Cæſar.

CAESAR, returning to the place from whence he came, found far greater forces of the Britaines there aſſembled, then he left when he went to the Nauie: and that by publique conſent of the Britaines, the whole gouernment of that warre vvas giuen to Caſsiuellaunus, whoſe kingdome lay diuided from the maritimate States, with the riuer Thames, beginning at the ſea, & extending it ſelfe foure-ſcore mile into the Iland. This Caſsiuellaunus, made continuall warre vvith his neighbour States: but vpon the comming of the Romaines, they all forgot their home-bred quarrels, and caſt the whole gouernment vpon his ſhoulders, as the fitteſt to direct that warre.

The

The inner part of Britanie is inhabited, by such as memorie recordeth to bee borne in the Iland, and the maritimate coast by such as came out of Belgia, either to make incursions or inuasions; and after the war was ended, they continued in the possessions they had gained, and were called by the name of the Citties from whence they came. The Country is very populous, and well inhabited with houses, much like vnto them in Gallia. They haue great store of cattell, & vse brasse for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certaine rate. In the Mediterranean parts, there is found great quantity of Tyn, and in the maritimate parts, iron: their brasse was brought in by other Nations. They haue all sorts of trees that they haue in Gallia, excepting the Fig and the Beech. Their religion will not suffer them to eate either Hare, Hen, or Goose; notwithstanding, they haue of all sorts, as well for noueltie as varietie. The Country is more temperate, and not so cold as Gallia: the Iland lyieth triangle-wise, whereof one side confronteth Gallia, of which side that angle, wherin Kent is, pointeth to the East, and the other angle to the South: this side containeth about 500 mile. Another side lieth toward Spaine, and the West, that way where Ireland lieth, being an Iland halfe a big as England, and as farre distant from it as Gallia. In the midway betweene England and Ireland, lieth an Iland called Mona, besides many other smaller Ilands; of vvhich some write, that in Winter-time, for thirtie daies together, they haue continuall night: whereof we learned nothing by inquirie; onely we found by certain measures of water, that the nights in England were shorter thē in the Continent: the length of this side, according to the opinion of the inhabitants, containeth seauen hundred mile. The third side lieth to the North & the open sea, sauing that this angle doth somewhat point towards Germanie: this side is thought to containe eight hundred miles; and so the whole Iland containeth in circuit 2000 miles. Of all the inhabitants, they of Kent are most curteous and ciuill; all their Countrey bordering vpon the sea, & little differing from the fashion of Gallia. Most of the in-land people sowe no Corne, but liue with milke and flesh, clothed with skinnes, & hauing their faces painted with a blew colour, to the end they may seeme more terrible in fight: they haue the haire of their head long, hauing all other parts of their body shauen, sauing their vpper lip. Their wiues are common to tenne or twelue, especially, brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the children that are borne, are put vnto them, vnto whom the mother was first giuen in mariage.

OBSERVATION.

IN the descriptions of the ancient Britains, we may first obserue their pedegree, according to the Haraldry of that time: wherein we must vnderstand, that in those ages, the Nations of the world thought it no small honour, to deriue their descent from a certaine beginning, and to make either some of their Gods, or some man of famous memorie, the Father of that progenie, and founder of their State; that so they might promise a fortunate continuance to their gouernment, beeing first laid and established by so powerfull a meanes. But if this failed, they then bragged of antiquitie, and cast all their glory vpon the fertility of their soile, being so strong and fruit-

full, that it yeelded of it selfe such a people, as they were: and so wee read how the Athenians, forasmuch as they were ignorant frō whence they came, ware an Oaken leafe, in token that they were bred of the earth where they dwelled. And heereupon also grew the controuersie betweene the Egyptians and the Scythians, concerning antiquitie: wherin the Egyptians seemed to haue great aduantage, because of the fertilitie and heat of their country; whereas the Scythians inhabited a cold climate, vnfruitfull, and an enemy to generation. Of this sort were the Britaines, that inhabited the mediterranean part of the Iland: who, not knowing from whence they came, nor who first brought them thither, satisfied themselues with that common receiued opinion, that they were borne and bred of the earth. The sea-coast was posseſt by such as came out of the Continent, and retained the names of the Citties from whence they came, as a memoriall of their progenitors.

The forme of the Iland is very well described, and measured out, according to the scale of our moderne Geographers. For, concerning the difference of longitude between the Easterne angle of Kent, & the furthest point of Cornewall, they make it eight degrees; which in a manner iumpeth with Cæsars dimensuration: the other sides are somewhat longer: and therefore Tacitus, in the life of Aricola, compareth it to a Carpenters Axe, making that side which bordereth vpon France to resemble the edge, and the other two sides to incline by little and little, one towards another; and so make the Iland narrower at the top, according to the forme of that instrument. Hee setteth downe the whole compasse of the Iland, according to the manner of the ancient Geographers; who by the quantitie of the circuit, did vsually iudge of the content: not considering that the *Area* of euery figure dependeth as well of the quantitie of the angle, as the length of the side.

Concerning the temperature of Britanie, in regard of the cold Winters in France, we must vnderstand that Britanie hath euer been found of a more temperate constitution, in regard of sharp and cold winters, then any other countrie lying vnder the same parallell: whether the cause thereof may be imputed to the continuall motion of the sea about the Iland, which begetteth heate, as some haue imagined; or to the site therof, in regard of other Continents from whence the wind alwaies riseth, and carieth with it the nature of the Country by which it passeth: and so the Iland hauing no other Continent lying North to it, from whence the wind may rise, but all for the most part vpon the South, hath no such cold windes to distemper it, as other parts of Germanie, which are vnder the same parallell: but the Southerne wind, which is so frequent in Britanie, tempereth the ayre with a mild disposition, and so keepeth it warme; or whether it be some other vnknowne cause, our Philosophers rest vnsatisfied. But as touching Gallia, it may be said, that forasmuch as it beareth more to the South then this Iland doth, the aire thereof (by reason of the continuall heat) is of a farre purer disposition; and so pierceth more then this grosser aire of Britanie, and carieth the cold further into the pores; and so seemeth sharper, and of a farre colder disposition.

This Iland, which Cæsar nameth *Mona*, is known at this time by the name of

Man,

Man, and lieth between Cumberland and Ireland. Ptolemy calleth it *Monæda*. Tacitus calleth Anglesey by the name of *Mona*, peraduenture from the nomination of the Britaines, who called it *Tyr mon*, the land of Mon.

Concerning those places, where the night continueth in the midst of winter for 30 daies together, they must be sited 6. degrees beyond the circle Articke, and haue a day in summer of like continuance, according to the rules of Astronomy. In that he found the nights in Britanie shorter then in the Continent; we must vnderstand it to be onely in summer: for, the more oblique the horizon is, the more vneuen are the portions of the diurnall circles which it cutteth; and the neerer it commeth to a right horizon, the neerer it commeth to an equality of day and night: and hence it happeneth, that in summer time, the nights in France, are longer then heere in England; and in winter, shorter. The like we must vnderstand of all Southerne and Northerne Countries.

To conclude, I may not omit the ciuilitie of the Kentish men, and their curteous disposition, aboue the rest of the Britains, which must be imputed to that ordinary course which brought ciuility vnto all other Nations: of whom such as were first seated in their possessions, and entertained societie, were the first that brought in ciuill conuersation, and by little and little were purified, and so attained to the perfection of ciuill gouernment. So we find, that first Assyrians and Babilonians (as neerest to the Mountaines of Armenia where the Ark rested, and people first inhabited) reduced their States into Common-weales of Monarchies of exquisite gouernment, florishing with all manner of learning and knowledge; when as yet other Countries lay either waste, or ouerwhelmed with Barbarisme. From thence it flowed into Egypt; out of Egypt into Greece; out of Greece into Italie; out of Italie into Gallia; and from thence into England: where our Kentishmen first entertained it, as bordering vpon Fraunce; and frequented with Marchants of those Countries.

CHAP. V.

Diuers skirmishes between the Romans *and the Britaines.*

HE Caualrie of the enemy and their chariots, gaue a sharpe conflict to the Romaine horsemen, in their march: but so, that the Romaines got the better euery way, driuing them with great slaughter to the woods and hills, and loosing also some of their owne men, beeing too venturous in the pursuit. The Britaines, after some intermission of time, vvhen the Romaines little thought of them, and vvere busied in fortifying their Campe, came suddainely out of the woods, and charged vpon those that kept station before the Campe. Cæsar sent out two the chiefest cohorts of two legions, to second their fellowes. These tvvo cohorts, standing vvith a small alley betweene them, the other that vvere first charged, beeing terrified Cæsar.

vvith that strange kind of fight, boldly brake through the thickest of the enemie, and so retired in safetie to their fellowes. That day, Quintus Laberius Durus, a Tribune of the souldiers, was slaine. The Britaines were repelled with moe cohorts, which Cæsar sent to second the former. And, forasmuch as the fight happened in the view of all the Campe, it was plainly perceiued, that the legionarie souldiers, beeing neither able for the weight of their Armour, to follow the enemie as he retired, nor yet daring to goe farre from his Ensigne; was not a fitte aduersarie to contest this kind of enemy: and that the horsemen likewise fought with no lesse danger, inasmuch as the enemy would retire backe of purpose, and when they had drawne them a little from the legions, they would then light from their Chariots, and incounter them, with that aduantage which is betweene a footman and a horseman. Furthermore, they neuer fought thicke and close together, but thin, and in great distances, hauing stations of men to succour one another, to receiue the wearie, and to send out fresh supplies.

OBSERVATION.

VPon this occasion of their heauie Armour, I will describe a legionarie souldiour in his compleat furniture, that we may better iudge of their manner of warfare, and vnderstand wherein their greatest strength consisted. And first we are to learne, that their legionarie souldiers were called *Milites grauis armaturæ*, souldiers wearing heauy Armour, to distinguish them from the Velites, the Archers, Slingers, and other light armed men. Their offensiue Armes were a couple of Piles, or as some will, but one Pile, and a Spanish sword, short and strong, to strike rather with the point then with the edge. Their defensiue Armes were, a helmet, a corslet, and boots of brasse, with a large Target; which in some sort was offensiue, in regard of that *vmbonem* which stuck out in the midst thereof. The Pile is described at large in the first booke, and the Target in the second. The sword, as Polybius witnesseth, was short, two edged, very sharpe, and of a strong point: and therfore Liuie, in his 22 booke, saith, that The Galles vsed very long swords without points; but the Romaines had short swords, readier for vse: these they called Spanish swords, because they borrowed that fashion from the Spaniard. The old Romaines were so girt with their swords, as appeareth by Polybius, & their monuments in Marble, that from their left shoulder it hung vpon their right thigh, contrary to the vse of these times; which, as I haue noted before, was in regard of their target, which they caried on their left arme: this sword, was hung with a belt of leather, beset with studs, as Varro noteth, and these were their offensiue weapons.

Lib. 4.

Their Helmet was of brasse, adorned with three Ostrich feathers, of a cubite in length; by which, the souldiour appeared of a larger stature, and more terrible to the Enemy, as Polybius saith in his sixt booke. Their breast plate vvas either of Brasse or Iron, ioynted together after the manner of scales, or platted with little rings of Iron: their bootes were made of barres of brasse, from the foote

Plin. lib. 10.

foote vp to the knee. And thus were the legionary souldiers armed, to stand firme, rather then to vse any nimble motion, and to combine themselues into a body of that strength, which might not easily recoile, at the opposition of any confrontment: for, agilitie standeth indifferent to helpe either a retreit or a pursuit: and nimble-footed souldiers, are as ready to flie back, as to march forward; but a waightie bodie, keepeth a more regular motion, and is not hindered with a common counterbuffe: so that whensoeuer they came to firme buckeling, and felt the enemy stand stiffe before them, such was their practice, and exercise in continuall works, that they neuer fainted vnder any such taske, but the victorie went alwaies cleere on their side. But, if the enemy gaue way to their violence, and came not in but for aduantage, and then as speedily retired, before the counterbuffe were well discharged, then did their nimblenesse much help their weaknesse, and frustrate the greatest part of the Romaine discipline. This is also proued, in the ouerthrowe of Sabinus and Cotta, where Ambiorix finding the inconuenience of buckling at handy blowes, commanded his men to fight afar off; and if they were assaulted, to giue backe, and to come on againe as they saw occasion: which so wearied out the Romaines that they all fell vnder the execution of the Galles. Let this suffice therfore to shew, how vnapt the Romaines were to flie vpon any occasion, when their Armour was such, that it kept them from all starting motions, and made them sutable to the staied and well assured rules of their discipline, which were as certaine principles in the execution of a standing battaile; and therefore, not so fit either for a pursute, or a flight.

Concerning the vnequall combat betweene a horseman and a footeman, it may be thought strange, that a footman should haue such an aduantage against a horseman, beeing ouermatched, at least with a Sextuple proportion both of strength and agilitie: but we must vnderstand, that as the horse is much swifter in a long cariere; so in speedie and nimble turning at hand, wherein the substance of the combate consisteth, the footman farre exceedeth the horsman in aduantage; hauing a larger marke to hit by the Horse, then the other hath. Besides, the horseman ingageth both his valour, & his fortune in the good speed of his horse, his wounds and his death, do consequently pull the rider after, his feare or furie maketh his maister either desperate or slowe of performance, and what defect soeuer ariseth from the horse, must be answered out of the honour of the rider. And surely, it seemeth reasonable, that what thing soeuer draweth vs into the societie of so great a hazard, should as much as is possible, be contained in the compasse of our owne power.

The sword which we manage with our owne hand, affoordeth greater assurance then the Harquebuse, wherein there are many parts belonging to the action, as the powder, the stone, the spring, and such like; whereof, if the least faile of his part, we likewise faile of our fortune: but, how probable soeuer this seemeth, this is certaine, that in the course of the Romaine warres, the horse were euer defeated by the foote, as is manifestly prooued in the first of these bookes.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cæſar giueth the *Britaines* two *ſeuerall ouerthrowes.*

Cæſar.

THE next day, the Enemy made a ſtand vpon the hils afar off from the Campe, and ſhewed themſelues not ſo often; neither were they ſo buſie with our horſemen, as they were the day before: but about noone, whē Cæſar ſent out three legions, and all his Caualrie to get forrage, vnder the conduction of Caius Trebonius a Legate, they made a ſuddaine aſſault vpon the forragers, and fell in cloſe vvith the Enſignes and the legions. The Romaines charged very fiercely vpon them, & beate them backe: neither did they make an end of following them, vntill the horſmen truſting to the ſuccour of the legions which were behind them, put them all to flight, with the ſlaughter of a great number of them; neither did they giue them reſpite either to make head, to make a ſtand, or to forſake their chariots.

After this ouerthrow, all their Auxiliarie forces departed from them; neither did they afterward contend with the Romaines with any great power. Cæſar, vnderſtanding their determination, caried his Armie to the riuer Thames, and ſo to the confines of Caſsiuellaunus, which riuer was paſſable by foote but in one place onely, and that very hardly. At his comming, he found a great power of the Enemy to be imbattailed on the other ſide, and the banke fortified vvith many ſharpe ſtakes, and many other alſo were planted couertly vnder the water. Theſe things being diſcouered to the Romaines by the Captiues and fugitiues, Cæſar, putting his horſe before, cauſed the legions to follow ſuddainelie after: who notwithſtanding they had but their heads cleere aboue the water, went with that violence, that the enemie was not able to endure the charge, but left the banke, and betooke themſelues to flight.

OBSERVATION.

THis attempt of Cæſar, ſeemeth ſo ſtrange to Brancatio, that he runneth into ſtrange concluſions, concerning this matter: as firſt, that he that imitateth Cæſar, may doubt of his good fortunes: for, his proceeding in this point, was not directed by any order of war; and that a great Commaunder, hath nothing common with other Leaders: but eſpecially, he crieth out at the baſeneſſe of the Britaints, that would ſuffer themſelues ſo cowardly to be beaten. But if we looke into the circumſtances of the action, we ſhal find both Art and good direction therein: for, beeing aſſured by the fugitiues, that the riuer was paſſable in that place, and in that place onelie; he knew that he muſt either aduenture ouer there, or leaue Caſſiuellaunus for another Summer, which was a very ſtrong inducement to vrge him to that

that enterprise. The difficultie whereof, was much relieued by good direction, which consisted of two points: First, by sending ouer the horsemen in the front of the legions, who might better indure the charge of the enemie, then the footmen could, that were vp to the neck in water; and withall, to shelter the footmen from the furie of the Enemie.

Secondly, he sent them ouer with such speed, that they were on the other side of the water before the enemie could tell what they attempted: for, if hee had lingered in the seruice, and giuen the enemy leaue to find the aduantage which he had by experience, his men had neuer beene able to haue indured the hazard of so dangerous a seruice. It is hard to coniecture at the place where this seruice was performed; for, since the building of London bridge, manie foordes haue beene scoured with the current, and fall of the water, which before that time, caried not such a depth as now they doe.

CHAP. VII.

The conclusion of the *Brittish* warre: Cæsar *returneth into Gallia.*

Cassiuellaunus, hauing no courage to contend any longer, dismissed his greatest forces; and retaining onely foure thousand chariots, obserued their iourneyes, keeping the vvood Countries, and driuing men and cattell out of the fields into the woods, for feare of the Romans: & as their horse straied out either for forrage or bootie, he sent his chariots out of the woods by vnknowne waies, and put their horsemen to great perill: in regard whereof, the horsemen durst neuer aduenture further then the legions, neither was there any more spoile done in the Country, then that which the legionarie souldiers did of themselues. Cæsar.

In the meane time, the Trinobants, being almost the greatest State of all those Countries (from whom Mandubratius had fledde to Cæsar into Gallia, for that his father Imanuentius holding the kingdome, was slaine by Cassiuellaunus) sent Embassadours to Cæsar, to offer their submission, and to intreat that Mandubratius might be defended from the oppression of Cassiuellaunus, and sent vnto them to take the kingdome. Cæsar, hauing receiued from them fortie pledges, & Corne for his Armie, sent Mandubratius vnto them. The Trinobantes, beeing thus kept from the violence of the souldiers, the Cenimagni, Seguntiaci, Anacalites, Bibrocassi, yeelded themselues to Cæsar. By these he vnderstood, that Cassiuellaunus his towne was not farre off, fortified with woods and bogs, and well stored with men and cattell. The Britaines call a towne, a thicke wood, inclosed about with a ditch and a rampier, made for a place of retrait, when they stood in feare of incursions from the borderers. Thither marched Cæsar with his Army, and found it well fortified, both by Arte and Nature: and as hee assaulted it in two

two seuerall places, the enemy vnable to keepe it, cast himselfe out of the towne by a backe way: and so he tooke it. Where he found great store of cattell, and slew many of the Britaines.

While these things were a-dooing, Cassiuellaunus sent messengers into Kent, wherein there were foure seuerall Kings, Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximagulus, & Segonax: them he commanded with all the power they could make, to sette vpon the Campe where the Nauie was kept. The Kings comming to the place, vvere ouerthrowne by a sally which the Romaines made out vpon them, many of them beeing slaine, and Cingetorix taken prisoner. This battell concurring with the former losses, and especially moued thereunto with the reuolt of the forenamed Citties, Cassiuellaunus intreated peace of Cæsar, by Comius of Arras. Cæsar, being determined to winter in the Continent, for feare of suddaine commotions in Gallia, and that the Summer was now farre spent, and might easilie bee lingered out, he commaunded pledges to be brought vnto him, and set down what yeerely tribute the Britaines should pay to the Romans. The hostages beeing taken, hee carried backe his Armie to the sea, imbarked his men, and arriued safe with all his shippes vpon the coast of Gallia.

OBSERVATION.

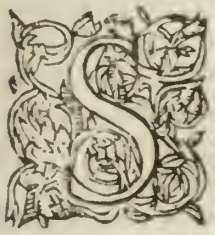
And thus ended the warre in Britanie, which affordeth little matter of discourse, being indeed but a scambling warre, as well in regard of the Britaines themselues; who after they had felt the strength of the Romane legions, would neuer aduenture to buckle with them in any standing battell, as also in regard that there were no such townes in Britanie, as are recorded to haue beene in Gallia, which might haue giuen great honour to the war, if there had been any such to haue been besieged, and taken-in by Cæsar.

And although Tacitus saith, that Britanie was rather viewed then subdued by Cæsar, beeing desirous to draw that honour to his father in law Agricola; yet we find heere, that the Trinobantes, which were more then either the skirt, or the hart of Britanie (for, our Historians doe vnderstand them to haue inhabited that part, which lieth as farre as Yorkshire & Lancashire) were brought vnder the Romaine Empire by Cæsar: who was the first that euer laid tribute vpon Britanie, in the behalfe of the people of Rome; or cast vpon them the heauie name of a subdued people.

TO

TO THE WORTHY KNIGHT, SIR ROBERT DRVRIE.

(***)



IR, my purpoſe was to haue concluded theſe diſcourſes, with the end of the Brittiſh warre; reſeruing the later part of this fiſt booke, for an entrance vnto ſuch obſeruations, as may be gathered from the ſixt & ſeauenth Commentaries, which I intend to make a ſecond part of this worke: but your deſire to ſee the errours of Sabinus and Cotta diſcouered, and the famous fight of Q. Cicero in his wintering Campe, hath brought them foorth ſomewhat before their time, annexing that to the firſt part, which was meant for the later. If my labour ſhall be found too weake to deſerue well of Militarie deſignes; yet I thinke it very well imploy'd, in that it pleaſeth you to giue it the reading, and ſo reſt

Readie to doe you ſeruice,

C. EDMVNDS.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæsar disposeth his legions into their *wintering Campes.*

Cæsar.
** Either Cābray, Amiens or S. Quintin.*

*AFter he had put his ships in harbour, & held a Councell of the Galles at * Samarobrina; forasmuch as that yeere, by reason of the drought, there was some scarcitie of Corne in Gallia; he was constrained to guarizon his Armie, and to disperse them into more Citties then hee had done the yeeres before. And first, he gaue one legion to Caius Fabius, to be ledde among the Morini; another to Q. Cicero, to bee caried to the Neruij: another to L. Roscius, to be conducted to the Essui; a fourth he commaunded to vvinter amongst the men of Rheimes, in the marches of the Treuiri vnder T. Labienus; three he placed in Belgia, with whom he sent Marcus Crassus, his Questor, L. Munatius Planus, and C. Trebonius, Legates; he sent one legion, that which hee had last inrolled, beyond the riuer Po in Italie, with fiue cohorts, vnto the Eburones: the greatest part of whose Country, lieth between the Maze & the Rhene; with them he sent Q. Titurius Sabinus, and Lucius Arunculeius Cotta. By distributing his legions in this maner, he thought to remedie the scarcitie of corne; and yet the guarizons of all these legions, excepting that which Roscius caried into a quiet and peaceable part, were contained within the space of one hundred mile: and vntill his legions were settled, and their wintering Campes fortified, he determined to abide in Gallia.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IHaue heard it oftentimes contradicted by some, that vnderstand not the weight of a multitude, when it was said, that an Armie keeping head continually in one part of a kingdome, was more burthensome to the common-wealth, in regard of the expence of victuals, then when it was dispersed into particular citties and families, before the time of the muster and inrolement: for (say they) in the generall account of the publique weale, it differeth nothing, whether a multitude of 30000 men be maintained with necessarie prouisions in one intire body together, or dispersed particularly throughout euery part of the Country: forasmuch as euerie man hath but a competent quantitie allotted vnto him, which he cannot want in what sort or condition of life soeuer he be ranged; neither doth the charge of a multitude grow in regard they are vnited together, but in regard they amount to such a multitude wheresoeuer. But such as looke into the difference with iudgement, shall finde a maruellous inequalitie, both in regard of the portion of victuals which is spent, and the meanes whereby it is prouided: for, first, we must vnderstand,

ſtand, that an Army lying continually in one place, falleth ſo heauie vpon that part, that it quickly conſumeth both the fatte and the fleſh (as they ſay) & leaueth nothing vnſpent, which that part can afford them; and without further ſupply of prouiſions, woulde in a ſmall time come to vtter deſtruction. This want then muſt be relieued by taking from the plentie of other bordering quarters, to furniſh the wants of ſo great a multitude: wherein there cannot be obſerued that proportion of moderate taking, to vittaile the Armie with a ſufficient competencie, but the partiall reſpect which the purueiers, and vittailers wil haue to their priuat commodity, will quickly make an inconuenience either in the country, from whence it is taken; or in the Armie, for which it is prouided; according as the error may beſt aduantage their particular, what diſcipline ſoeuer be eſtabliſhed in that behalfe: Whereas on the contrary part, when euerie particular man of that multitude ſhal be billetted in a ſeueral family, throghout all parts of the kingdom, the charge wil be ſo inſenſible, in regard of the expēce of the ſaid families, that the countrie wil neuer feele any inconuenience. And if euery houſholder that had receiued into his houſe one of the ſaid Army, ſhould giue a true account of that which riſeth aboue his ordinary expence; by the addition of one man, it would fall far ſhort of that treaſure, which is neceſſarily required, to maintaine the ſaide number of men vnited together into one bodie.

Neither doth the difference conſiſt in the quantity of vittailes, which euery man hath for his portion, whether they be diſperſed or vnited; but in the manner of prouiſion, and the means which is vſed to maintaine them: wherein euery maſter or ſteward of a family, endeuoureth to make his prouiſion at the beſt hand, & ſo to husband it, that it may ſerue for competencie, and not for ſuperfluitie; and by that means the generall plenty of the country is maintained, & the common-wealth floriſheth by well directed moderation. But in the victualling of an Army, there is no ſuch reſpect had, which may any way aduantage the publike good; for, there the gaine of the purueier riſeth by expence and ſuperfluous waſting, rather then by thrift and ſaning frugality: and ſo the common-wealth is weakened by the il husbanding of that great portion of vittaile, which is allowed for ſo great a multitude. And if they ſhould haue ſuch varietie of viands in an Armie, as they haue when they are in ſeuerall families, it were vnpoſſible it ſhould continue any tyme together. And therefore the Romanes, notwithſtanding the exactneſs of their diſcipline, could afford their Armies no other prouiſion but corne, and larde, as wel in regard of the commodity which that kinde of diet affoorded them in the courſe of their warres, as alſo for the good of that country, wherein they were reſident. And if it ſo fel out, that the extremity of the ſeaſon, or any other cauſe, had brought a dearth into the land, there was no readier way to help that inconuenience, then by diſperſing their Armies into diuers quarters; which Cæſar diſpoſed with that care, that they might be as neere together as they could.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

CONcerning the choice of their souldiers and their maner of inrolement, I had rather referre the Reader to Polybius, then enter into the particular discourse of that action; which was carried with such grauitie and religious ceremonies, as might best serue to possesse their minds of the waight and consequence of that businesse: but forasmuch as the largenesse of their Empire, and the necessitie of their occasions would not admit, that the enrolement should still be made at Rome amongst the citizens, as it appeareth by this legion which was inrolled beyond the riuer Po; it consequently followeth, that such Ceremonies, which were annexed to the place, were altogether omitted: and therefore I cannot speake of that which the old Romanes did in that part of their discipline, as a thing continued vnto Cæsars time. But he that desireth to see the maner of their choise, with such cõplements as might adde both a reuerent respect, and a Maiestie to the work; let him read Polybius of that argument.

CHAP. IX.

Ambiorix attempteth to surprise the Campe of *Sabinus and Cotta; and failing, practiseth* to take them by guile.

Cæsar.

FIfteene daies after the legions were settled in their wintering Camps, there began a sudden tumult and rebellion by the meanes of Ambiorix, and Catiunculus, who hauing receiued Sabinus and Cotta into their confines, & brought them in corne to the place, where they lay; at the inducemẽt of Induciomarus of Triers, they stird vp their people to rebellion: & suddenly surprising those that were gon abroad to get wood, came with a great power to assault the Camp. But when our men had tooke Arms, and were got vp vpon the rampier, and had ouermatched them in a skirmish of horse, which made a sally out of the Camp vpon the Galles; Ambiorix despairing of good success, withdrew his men from the assault; & then after their maner, they cried vnto vs, that some of our company should come & speak with thẽ: for, they had somwhat to discouer touching the publike state, wherby they hoped al controuersies might be ended. Wherupon Caius Carpineius a Roman horseman, and one of Titurius his familiar friends, and one Iunius a Spaniard, who diuers

diuers times before had beene sent by Cæsar to Ambiorix; were sent out to treat with them. Ambiorix first acknowledged himselfe much indebted to Cæsar; for, manie curtesies, in that by his meanes he was freed from a pension which he paied to the Aduatici; and for that both his own son, and his brothers sonne, whom the Aduatici had helde in prison vnder the name of hostages, were by Cæsar released and sent home againe. And touching the assault of the Camp, he had done nothing of himselfe, but by the impulsion of the State; among whom such was his cõdition, that the people had as great authority ouer him, as he himself had in regard of the people: who were likewise inforced to this warre, because they could not withstand the sudden insurrection of the Galles, whereof his small meanes might bee a sufficient argumeent. For, his experience was not so little, to thinke himself able with so smal a power to ouerthrow the people of Rome; but it was a general appointment throughout al Gallia, vpon this day to assault al Cæsars garrizons, to the end that one legion might not giue reliefe vnto another: Galles could not easilie denie the request of Galles, especially when it concerned their publicke libertie. Now hauing satisfied that duetie which he owed to his conntrey, hee had respect to Cæsar and his benefites; in regard wherof, he admonished them, and praied Titurius for the hospitality that had been between them, that hee would looke to the safetie of himselfe, and his soldiers. There were a great number of Germanes that had alreadie passed the Rhene, and would be heere within 2. dayes: and therfore let them aduise themselues, whether they thought it good before the next borderers perceiued it, to depart with their souldiers out of their wintering places, either to Cicero or Labienus, of whom the one was not past fifty mile off; and the other, a little further: for his owne part, he promised them this much, and confirmed it by oath, that they should haue safe passage through his territories; for, so hee should both doe a pleasaure to his countrey, in disburdening it of garrizons, and shew himselfe thankfull to Cæsar for his benefits. This speech being ended, Ambiorix departed, and Carpineius and Iunius made report thereof to the Legates.

OBSERVATION.

REander his counsell, to vse the foxes skinne where the Lions faileth, doth shewe, that the discourse of our reason is sooner corrupted with errour, then the powers of our bodie are ouercome with force. For, oftentimes the mind is so disquieted, with the extreamitie of perturbation, that neither the apprehension can take sound instructions, nor the iudgement determine of that which is most for our good: but according as any passion shall happen to raigne in our disposition; so are wee caried headlong to the ruine of our fortune, without sense of errour, or mistrust of wel-succeeding; where as the body continueth firme in his owne strength, and is subiect onely to a greater waight of power, by which it may bee subdued and ouerthrowen. It behoueth vs therefore to take good heede, that our surest holds bee not vnfastned by the subtiltie of the Foxe, when it

hath continued firme against the force of the lion : and that the treacherie of the spirit doe not disaduantage those meanes, which either our owne power or opportunitie, hath gained in our actions. Wherein a Commander cannot haue a better rule for his direction, then to beware, that violence of passion do not hinder the course of sound deliberation : and withall, to bee iealous of whatsoeuer an Enemie shall, eyther by speech or action, seeme to thrust vpon him, how colourable soeuer the reasons may be, which are alleadged to induce him thereunto. For first, if the minde be not confirmed by the vertue of her better faculties, to resist the motion of fruitlesse apprehensions, it may easily be seduced (eyther by feare or vaine imagination, diffident conceptions or ouer-easie credulitie, with manie other such disturbing powers) from that waie, which a good discretion, and an vnderstanding free from passion, would haue taken.

First therfore I holde it necessarie, to haue the consistorie of our iudgement well settled, with a firme resolution, and with the presence of the mind, before we enter into deliberation of such things, as are made happy vnto vs by good direction. And then this, amongst other circumstances, will giue some help to a good conclusion; when we consider how improbable it is, that an Enemie, whose chiefest care is to weaken his aduersarie, and bring him to ruine, should aduise him of anie thing that may concern his good; vnlesse the profit, which he himselfe shall thereby gather, do farre exceed that which the contrarie part may expect.

I grant that in Ciuill wars, where there are many friends on either partie, & haue the aduerse cause as deare vnto them as their owne; there are oftentimes manie aduertisements giuen, which proceed from a true and sincere affection, & may aduantage the partie whom it concerneth, as wel in preuenting any danger, as in the furtherance of their cause; and therefore are not altogether to be neglected, but to he waighed by circumstances, & accordingly to be respected; whereof we haue manie pregnant examples in the ciuill warres of France, and particularly in *Monsieur La Nou* his discourses : but where there are two Armies, different in nation, language and humour, contending for that which peculiarly belongeth vnto one of them; where care to keep that which is dearest vnto them, possesseth the one, and hope of gaine stirreth vp the other; there is commonly such an vniuersall hatred between them, that they are to looke for small aduantage by aduertisements from the Enemie: which if the Romans had well considered, this subtile Gall had not dispossest them of their strength, nor brought them to ruine.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

The Romans call a councell vpon this aduertisement, *and resolue to depart, and ioine themselues* to some other of the Legions.

THe Romans being troubled at the sodainnesse of the matter, albeit those things were spokē by an Enemy, yet they thought thē no way to be neglected; but especially it moued them, for that it was incredible that the Eburones, being base and of no reputation, durst of themselues make war against the people of Rome: and therefore they propounded the matter in a councell; wherein there grew a great controuersie among them: L. Arunculeius & most of the Tribunes, and Centurions of the first orders, thought it not good to conclude of any thing rashly, nor to depart out of their wintering Camps, without expresse commandment from Caesar; forasmuch as they were able to resist neuer so great a power yea euen of the Germans, hauing their garizons wel fortified: an argument wherof was, that they had valiantly withstood the first assault of the Enemy, & giuen them many wounds. Neither wanted they any victuals; & before that prouision which they had was spent, there would come succor from other guarizons & from Caesar. And to conclude, what was more dishonorable or sauoured of greater inconstancie, then to consult of their waightiest affairs, by the aduertisement of an Enemy? Titurius vrged vehemently to the contrarie, that it then would be too late for them to seeke a remedie, when a greater power of the Enemy, accompanied with the Germans, were assembled against them; or when anie blowe were giuen to any of the next wintering Campes: he tooke Caesar to be gone into Italy; for, otherwise the Eburones, would not haue come so proudly to the Campe. Let them not respect the authour, but the thing it selfe; the Rhene was not farre off, and hee knewe well that the ouerthrowe of Ariouistus, and their former victories, were greeuous to the Germanes. The Galles were vexed with the contumelies they had receiued, being brought in subiection to the Roman Empire, and hauing lost their former reputation in deeds of Arms. And to conclude, who would imagine that Ambiorix should enterprise such a matter, without any ground, or certainty thereof? but howsoeuer things stood, his counsel was sure, and could bring no harm: for, if there were no worse thing intended, they should but goe safelie to the next guarizons; or otherwise, if the Galles conspired with the Germans, their onely safetie consisted in celeritie. As for the counsell of Cotta, and such as were of the contrary opinion, what expectation could be had thereof? wherein if there were not present danger; yet assuredly famine was to be feared by long siege. The disputation being thus continued on either part, and Cotta with the Centurions of the first orders, earnestly repugning it; Doe as please you, since you will needes haue it so, sayth Sabinus; and that he spake with a loud voice, that a great part of the souldiers might well heare him: for, I am not hee that most feareth death among you;

Caesar.

let these be wise: and if any mischance happen vnto them, they shall aske account therof at thy hands, inasmuch as if thou wouldest let them, they might ioine thē-selues within 2. dayes to the next guarizons, & with them sustaine what chance soeuer their common destinie should allot them; and not perish with famine and sword, like a people cast off and abandoned from their fellowes. After these words, they began to rise out of the Councel; but holde was laide vpon them both; entreaty was made that they would not obstinately bring all vnto a desperate hazard; the matter was all one whether they went or staied, so that they all agreed vpon one thing; whereas in disagreeing, there was no likelihood of well doing: the disputation was prolonged vntill midnight; at length Cotta yeelded, and the sentence of Sabinus tooke place. And thereupon it was proclaimed, that they should set forth by the break of day: the rest of the night was spent in watching: euery souldier sought out what he had to carry with him, and what hee should be constrained to leaue behind him of such necessaries, as he had prepared for winter: all things were disposed in such sort, to make the souldiers belieue, that they could not stay without danger.

OBSERVATION.

BY the resolution in this disputation, it appeareth how little a graue and wise deliberation auaileth, when it is impugned with the violence of passion, according to the truth of my former obseruation; for, the matter was well reasoned by Cotta, and his positions were grounded vpon things certaine, and wel knowen to the whole Councel: and yet the feare of Sabinus was such, that it carried the conclusion by such supposed assertions as the qualitie of his passion had ratified for true principles; being grounded altogether vpon that which the Enemie had suggested, and not vpon any certaine knowledge of the truth: neither is it often seene, when a Councell disputeth vpon matters of such consequence, that their deliberations are altogether cleere from such troublesome motions, but that it will somwhat incline to the partialitie of a strong affection; so powerfull is passion in the gouernment of the soule, and so interessed in the other faculties. And this is one cause of the vncertainty of mans iudgement, from whence all contrarie and different opinions do arise. Neither is this so strange a matter, that a councell of warre should so much varie in case of deliberation, when-as manie especiall points of militarie discipline remaine yet vndecided; hauing the authoritie of the great Commaunders of all ages, to ratifie the trueth on either part; whereof I could alleage many examples. But concerning the issue and euent of our deliberations, what can be more truly said then that of the Poet?

Et malè consultis pretium est prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas, sequitur que merentes;
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur:
Scilicet est aliud quod nos cogat que regat que
Maius, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges.

Not-

Notwithstanding, forasmuch as our wisdom is not so subiect to fortune, but that it may comprehend within it self, the good direction of most of the occurrences, which fall within the course of our businesse; or if we must needes miscarrie, yet it somwhat helpeth our ill fortune to thinke, that we went vpon best probabilities; it shall not be amisse to set downe som rules for the better directing of a mature consultation. Wherein we are to vnderstand, that as all our knowledge ariseth from some of our senses, and our senses comprehend only particularities, which being caried vnto the apprehension, are disposed into formes and degrees, according as they either concur or disagree in their seuerall properties: from whence there arise intellectuall notions, and rules of Art; wherein the science of the said particulars consisteth: so he that intendeth to debate a matter, with sound deliberation, must descend from confused conceptions & a knowledge in general, to the exact distinction of particular parts, which are the occurrences to be directed, and the materiall substance of euery action: he therfore that can giue best direction, either by experience, or iudicious discourse, cōcerning such particularities as are incident to the matter propounded, can best aduise which is the safest way to auoid the opposition of cōtradicting natures. But to make this somwhat plainer, I wil alleage 2, exampls: the one moderne in case of consultation; the other ancient, and may seeme not so pertinent to this matter, in regard it is a meere Apologie: yet forasmuch as it freely censureth the quality of particular circumstances, it may giue great light to that which we seek after.

The moderne example is taken out of Guicherdin, from the warres which *Lewis* the French King had with the Pope and the Venetians, concerning the State of Ferrara & the Duchie of Millan: wherein there arose a controuersie among the French Captaines, whether it were better to go directly to seeke the Enemy, who albeit were lodged in a strong & secure place, yet there was hope, that with the vertue of Armes and importunity of artillerie, they might be dislodged, and driuen to a retreit: or otherwise, to take the waie either of Modina or Bolognia, that so the Enemy for feare of losing either of those townes, might quit their holde, and by that meanes Ferrara should be freede from the warre. Monsieur Chaumont the Generall of the French, inclined to the former aduise: But Triulce, a man of great authoritie and experience, hauing beene an executioner in 18. battailes, reasoned thus in particulars to the contrary. We debate (saith he) to go seek the Enemy to fight with him; and I haue alwaies heard great Captaines holde this as a firme principle; Not to attempt the fortune of a battell, vnlesse there be either an offer of an especiall aduantage, or otherwise, compulsion by necessitie. The rules of warre giue it to the Enemy that is the inuader, and hath vndertaken the conquest of Ferrara, To seeke to assaile and charge vs; but to vs, to whom it is sufficient to defende our selues, it cannot bee but impertinent to vndertake an action, contrary to all direction and discipline of war. I am of opinion, which is confirmed by euident reason, that there is no possibilitie to execute that deuise, but to our harmes & disaduantage: for, we cannot go to their Camp but by the side of a hil, a streight and narrow way, where all our forces cannot bee imployed; and yet they with *Lib. 9.*

ſmall numbers wil make reſiſtance, hauing the opportunitie of the place fauourable to their vertues: we muſt march by the riſing of a hill, one horſe after another; neither haue we any other way to draw our Artillery, our baggage, our carts and bridges, but by the ſtreight of the hill: and who doubteth not but in a way ſo narrow and combrous, euery artillerie, euery cart, or euery wheel that ſhall breake, will not ſtay the Army a whole houre at the leaſt? By which impediments euery contrary accident may put vs to diſorder. The Enemy is lodged in couert, prouided of victualls and forrage; and we muſt incampe all bare and naked, not carying with vs that which ſhould ſerue for our neceſſarie nouriture; but expect the things to come after, which in reaſon ought to goe with vs. To attempt new enterpriſes, whereof the victory is leſſe certaine then the perill, is contrary to the grauity and reputation of a Leader; and in actions of the war, thoſe enterpriſes are put to aduenture, that are done by will & not by reaſon. Many difficulties may compell vs to make our abode there, two or three dayes; yea, the ſnowes & rains ioined with the extreamity of the ſeaſon, may ſuffice to detain vs: how ſhall we then do for victuals & forrages? What ſhal we be able to do in the wars, wanting the things that ſhould giue vs ſtrēgth & ſuſtenance? what is he that cōſidereth not, how dangerous it is to go ſeek the Enemy in a ſtrong Camp, & to be driuen at one time to fight againſt them & againſt the diſcommodity of the place? If we compel them not to abandon their Campe, wee cannot but be inforced to retire; a matter of great difficultie in a countrey ſo wholly againſt vs, and where euery little disfauour will turn to our great diſaduantage, &c.

And thus proceeded that graue diſcourſe, in the diſcouerie of the particular occurrences, incident to that enterpriſe; which being laied open to their confuſed iudgements, did manifeſtly point at the great diſaduantages, which were to be vndergone, by that attempt.

Annal. 6. The other example is of more antiquitie, taken out of Tacitus, and concerneth the arraignment of certaine Senatours, for the friendſhip that had paſt between Seianus and them. Amongſt whom M. Terentius thus anſwered for himſelfe; according as it hath of late been publiſhed by tranſlation:

It would bee peraduenture leſſe behooueſull for my eſtate to acknowledge, then to denie the crime I am charged with: but hap what happe may, I will confeſſe that I haue been Seianus friend, and that I deſired ſo to to be, and that after I had obtained his friendſhip I was glad of it. I had ſeen him ioint officer with my father, in the gouernment of the pretorian cohort; and not long after, in managing the Citie affaires, and matters of warre: his kinſmen and allies were aduanced to honour: as euerie man was inward with Seianus, ſo he was graced by Cæſar: and contrariwiſe, ſuch as were not in his fauour, liued in feare, and diſtreſſed with pouertie. Neither doe I alleadge any man for an example of this; all of vs who were not priuie to his laſt attempts, with the danger of my only eſtate I will defend: not Seianus the Vulſinienſis, but a part of the Claudian and Iulian family, which by alliance he had entred into; thy ſonne in law Cæſar, thy companion in the Conſulſhip, and him who took vpon him thy charge of adminiſtring the Common-wealth, wee did reuerence

and

SABINVS AND COTTA

and honour. It is not our part to iudge of him, whom thou doest exalt aboue the rest, nor for what considerations: to thee the highest iudgement of things the gods haue giuen; and to vs the glory of obedience is left. Wee looke into those things which wee see before our eyes, whom thou doest inrich, whome thou doest aduance to honours, who haue greatest power of hurting or helping: which Seianus to haue had, no man will denie. The Princes hidden thoughts, or if he go about anie secret drift it is not lawfull to sound, and dangerous; neither shalt thou in the ende reach vnto them. Thinke not onely, Lords of the Senate, of Seianus last daie; but of sixteene yeares, in which we did likewise fawne vpon and court Satrius, and Pomponius; and to be known vnto his freed men and partners, was reckned for a high fauour. What then? shall this defence be generall, and not distinguished, but a confusion made of times past, and his later actions? No: but let it by iust boundes and tearms be diuided: let the treasons against the Common-wealth, the intentions of murdering the Emperour bee punished; but as for the friendships, dueties, pleasures and good turnes, the same end shall discharge and quit thee, O Cæsar, and vs.

The constancie of this Oration preuailed so much, that his Accusers were punished with exile. And thus wee see how particularities decide the controuersie, and make the waie plaine to good direction.

CHAP. XI.

The Romaines take their iourney towardes *the next legion; and are set vpon by* the GALLES.

AS soone as the day light appeared, they set foorth of their Camp (like men perswaded that the counsell had been giuen them not by an Enemy, but by Ambiorix an especiall friend) with a long tailed march, and as much baggage as they were able to carrie. The Galles vnderstanding of their iourny, by their noise and watching in the night; secretly in the woodes some two miles off layed an Ambuscado, in two seuerall places of aduantage, and there attended the comming of the Romans; and when the greatest part of the troupes were entred into a valley, sodainely they shewed themselues on both sides the vale, pressing hard vpon the rereward, and hindering the formost from going vp the hill; and so began to charge vpon the Romans in a place of as great disaduantage for them as could bee. Then at length Titurius, as one that had prouided for nothing before hand, began to tremble, ranne vp and downe, and disposed his cohorts, but so feareful- Cæsar.

fearefully and after ſucha faſhion, as if all things had gone againſt him, as it happeneth for the moſt part to ſuch, as are forced to conſult in the inſtant of execution.

OBSERVATION.

IT now plainly appeareth, by this negligent and ill ordered march, and the vnlooked for incounter which the Galles gaue them, that feare had ratified in the iudgement of Sabinus the ſmooth ſuggeſtiō of Ambiorix, with an approbation of a certaine truth; and layed that for a principle, which a diſcourſe free from paſſion would haue diſcerned to be but weake, and of no probabilitie: which ſo much the more amazed Titurius, by how much his apprehenſion had erred from the truth, and betraied good counſell to a courſe full of danger; which as Cæſar noteth, muſt needes fall vpon ſuch, as are then to ſeeke for direction when the buſineſſe requireth execution. I haue handled already the inconueniences of diſappointment; and therfore at this time will but bring it only into remembrance, that wee may take the greater care to preuent an accident of that nature: wherein, as the beſt remedie for an euill is to foreſee it, according to the ſaying, *Præuiſa pereunt mala*; ſo the greateſt miſchiefe in an euill, is when it commeth vnthought of, and beſides our expectation; for, then it falleth vpon vs with a ſupernaturall waight, and affrighteth the mind with a ſuperſtitious aſtoniſhment, as though the diuine powers had preuented our deſſignements, with an irremediable calamitie, and cut off our appointment with a contrarie decree: alalthough peraduenture the thing it ſelfe carrie no ſuch importance, but might be remedied, if we were but prepared with an opinion, that ſuch a thing might happen.

It were no ill counſell therefore, what reſolution ſoeuer bee taken, to make as full account of that which may fall out to croſſe our intentions, as that which is likely to happen from the direction of our chiefeſt proiects; and ſo we ſhall be ſure to haue a preſent minde in the middeſt of our occaſions, and feele no further danger, then that which the nature of the thing inforceth.

CHAP.

CAP. XII.

The Romans cast themselues into an Orbe; and are much discouraged.

BVt Cotta, who had before thought that these things might happen by the waie, and for that cause would not bee the author of the iourny, was not wanting in any thing that concerned their common safetie: for, both in calling vpon the souldiers and incouraging them, hee executed the place of a Commaunder; and in fighting, the dutie of a soldier. And when they found, that by reason of the length of their troup, they were not able in their owne persons to see all things done, and to giue direction in euery place; they caused it to be proclaimed, that they should all forsake their baggage, and cast themselues into an Orb: which direction, although in such a case be not to be reproued; yet it fell out ill fauouredly: for, it both abated the courage of the Romans, and gaue the Enemy greater incouragement, inasmuch as it seemed that that course was not taken, but vpon a great feare and in extreamity of perill. Moreouer, it hapned, as it could not otherwise choose, that the soldiers went from their Ensignes, to take from the cariages such things as were most deare vnto them: and there was nothing heard amongst them, but clamours and weepings. But the Barbarous Galles were not to learne how to carrie themselues: for, their Commanders caused it to be proclaimed, that no man should stir out of his place; for the preie was theirs, and all that the Romans had laide aparte, was reserued for them: and therefore let them suppose that all things consisted in the victory. The Romans were equall to the Galles, both in number of men and valour; and albeit they were destitute of good Captaines, and of good fortune, yet they reposed in their manhood all the hope of their safety: and as often as any cohort issued out, they failed not to make a great slaughter of the Enemy on that part.

Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

HAue alreadie handled the nature of an Orbe, with such properties as are incident to a circle; wherein I shewed the conueniencie of this figure, in regarde of safe and strong imbattailing: I will now adde thus much concerning the vse thereof, that as it is the best manner of imbattailing for a defensiue strength, and therfore neuer vsed but in extreamitie; so we must be very carefull, that the sodaine betaking of ourselues to such a refuge, doe not more dismaie the souldiers, then the aduantage of that imbattailing canne benefit them;

them. For, vnlesse a Leader be carefull to keepe his men in courage, that their hearts may bee free from despaire and amazement, what profit can there arise from any disposition or body soeuer, when the particular members shall bee senseleſſe of that duty, which belongeth vnto them? For, order is nothing but an assistance to courage, giuing means to manage our valour with aduantage. In the warre of Affricke wee reade, that Cæsars legions being incircled about with great multitudes of enemies, were forced to make an Orb; but he quickly turned it to a better vse, by aduancing the two Cornets two contrary waies; and so diuided the Enemy into two parts; and then beate them backe, to their great disaduantage.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Neede not stand vpon this order which the Galles heere took, concerning pillage, that no souldier should forsake his station, or disrank himself in hope of spoile; which is a thing that from the very infancie of warres hath often changed the fortune of the day, and solde the honour of a publike victory, for priuate lucre and petty pilfering. Amongst other examples, let that which Guichardine reporteth of the battell of Taro, suffice to warne a well directed Armie, as well by the good which Charles the eighth of that name, King of France, receiued at that time, as by the losse which the Italians felt by that disorder, not to seek after pillage vntill the victory be obtained.

Lib.20.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THe insufficiency of these Commanders, whereof Cæsar now complaineth as the onely want, which these Romans had to cleere themselues of this daunger; bringeth to our consideration that which former times haue made a questiō: which is, whether it were the vertue of the Roman Leaders, or the valour of their souldiers, that inlarged their Empire to that greatnesse, and made their people and Senate, Lords of the world? Polybius waighing the causes of a victory, which the Carthagineans gained of the Romans, by the counsell and good direction of one Zantippus a Grecian, hauing before that time receiued diuers ouerthrowes, during the time of those warres in Affricke; concluded, that it was more in the worthinesse of the Commanders, then in any exraordinarie vertue of the souldiers, that the Romans atchieued so many conquests. And besides the present example of Zantippus, he confirmed his opinion with the proceedings of Hannibal; who from the beginning of the second Punicke warre, stil gained of the Roman Empire, enlarging the territories of Carthage, and streightening the iurisdiction of mightie Rome, vntill it had got a Leader matchable to that subtle Carthagineian, and found a Scipio to confront their Hannibal. To this may be added that famous

famous battell betweene the olde Romans, and the last Latines; wherein both parties were equally ballanced, both in number and qualitie of their souldiers, hauing both the same Armes, the same vse of their weapons, and the same discipline, as if it had been in a Ciuill warre. Neither could Fortune tell by the presence of their Armies, where to bestow her fauour, or where to shew her disdaine; but that the worthinesse of the Roman Leaders, brought the oddes in the triall, and made Rome great with the ruine of the Latines. Whereby it appeareth, how much it importeth the whole fortune of the Armie, to haue a Leader worthy of the place which he holdeth: forasmuch as nothing doth make a greater difference of inequalitie betweene two equall Armies, then the wiedome and experience of a graue Commaunder, or the disabilitie of an vnskilfull Leader; which are so powerfull in their seuerall effects, that there is greater hope of a heard of Harts ledde by a Lion, then of so many Lions conducted by a Hare.

CHAP. XIII.

Ambiorix directeth the Galles how they might *best fight with aduantage, and frustrate* the weapons of the Romaine souldiers.

THE which thing when Ambiorix perceiued; he commanded his men to throwe their casting weapons a far off, and keepe themselues from comming neere at hand, and vvhere the Romans charged them, to giue way: & againe, as they saw them retire to their Ensignes, then to pursue them. Which commaundement was so diligently obserued by the Galles, that as oft as any cohort sallied out of the Orbe to giue an assault, the Enemie gaue backe as fast as they could; and in the meane time there was no helpe, but that part must be left naked and open to the inconuenience of casting weapons: and againe, as they retired to their place, they were circumuented, as well by them that had giuen place vnto them, as by such as stood next about them. And if they went about to keep their ground, they could neither helpe themselues by their manhood; nor standing thicke together, auoide the darts that such a multitude cast vpon them: and yet notwithstanding these inconueniences, besides the wounds which they had receiued, they stood still at their defence; & hauing so spent the greatest part of the day (for they had fought eight houres together) they committed nothing dishonourable, or vnwoorthie of themselues. Casar.

THE OBSERVATION.

I Haue ſpoken alreadie of the manner of the Roman fight, conſiſting altogether in good diſpoſition of imbattailing, and in firme ſtanding, and buckling at handy-blowes: as may appeare by this circumſtance, where Ambiorix forbiddeth his men to buckle with them, but to giue backe & follow on againe, as the lightneſſe of their Armes gaue them opportunitie. In like manner, in the firſt booke of the Ciuill wars, in the battell betweene Cæſar and Affranius, it appeareth, that Cæſar his ſouldiers were bound to keepe their array, not to leaue their Enſignes, nor without a waightie occaſion to forſake their ſtations appointed them: whereas the Affranians fought thin, and ſcattered heere and there; and if they were hard laid vnto, they thought it no diſhonour to retire and giue backe, as they had learned of the Portugals, and other Barbarous Nations.

CHAP. XIIII.

The Romans are ouerthrowne.

Cæſar.

THen T. Baluentius, who the yeere before had beene Primipile of that legion, a valiant man, and of great authoritie, had both his thighes darted through with a Iauelin; and Q. Lucanius, of the ſame order, valiantly fighting to ſuccour his ſonne, was ſlaine: and L. Cotta the Legate, as hee buſily incouraged all the Cohorts & Centuries, was wounded in the mouth with a ſling. Titurius mooued with theſe things, as he beheld Ambiorix afarre off incouraging his men, ſent C. Pompeius vnto him, to intreat him that he would ſpare him and his ſouldiers. Ambiorix anſwered, that if he were deſirous to treat, hee might: for, hee hoped to obtaine ſo much of the people, to ſaue the ſouldiers; but for himſelfe, he ſhould haue no harme at all: for the aſſurance whereof, he gaue him his faith. Titurius imparted the matter to Cotta, vvho abſolutely denied to goe to an armed enemie, and continued reſolute in that opinion. Titurius commanded ſuch Tribunes & Centurions that were preſent, to follow him; and when hee came neere to Ambiorix, beeing commaunded to caſt away his Armes, he obeyed, and willed thoſe that were with him, to doe the ſame. In the meane time, while they treated of the conditions, and Ambiorix began a ſolemne proteſtation of purpoſe, Titurius was by little & little incompaſſed about and ſlaine. Then, according to their cuſtome, they cried victory; and taking vp a houling, charged the Romaines with a freſh aſſault, and routed their troupes. There L. Cotta fighting valiantly, was ſlaine, with the moſt part of the ſouldiers with him. The remnant retired into their Campe, amongſt whom L. Petroſidius the Eagle-bearer, when hee ſawe himſelfe ouercharged with enemies, threw the Eagle within the Rampier, and fighting with

with a great courage, before the Campe, was slaine. The rest, with much adoe indured the assault vntill night, and in the night, beeing in despaire of all succour, slew themselues euery man: a few, that escaped from the battell, came by vnknowne waies through the woods, to Labienus, and certified him how all thinges had fallen out.

OBSERVATION.

AND thus haue we heard of the greatest losse, that euer fell at any one time vpon Cæsar his Armie, from the time that he was first Proconsull in Gallia, vnto the end of his Dictatorship. For in the two ouerthrowes at Dirrachium, he lost not aboue 1000 men, and in that at Gergouia, not so many: but heere, fifteene cohorts were cut in peeces, which amounted to the number of 7000 men, or thereabout. Which maketh cowardice, and ill direction the more hatefull, in regard that the great victorie, which his valour obtained in Pharsalia, cost him but the liues of two hundred men.

The resolution of such as returned to the Campe, witnesseth the exceeding valour of the Roman souldier, if a valiant Leader had had the managing thereof; or if Cotta alone had been absolute Commaunder, there had beene great hope of better fortune in the successe. But heere it happened as it commonlie doth, that where there are many that are equall sharers in the chiefe authoritie; the direction, for the most part followeth him that is more violent in opinion then the rest: which beeing a propertie rather of passion then of iudicious discourse, forceth a cōsent against the temperat opposition of a true discerning vnderstanding; and so consequently it falleth out, that one coward, hauing place and authoritie in the Councell, doth either infect or annihilate the sound deliberations of the rest of the Leaders: for, his timerousnesse flieth alwaies to extreamities, making him rash in consultation, peremptorie in opinion, & base in case of perill; all which are enemies to good direction, and the onely instruments of mischieuing fortune.

CHAP. XV.

Ambiorix hasteth to besiege *Cicero*, and stirreth *vp the Aduatici, the Nerui, and so* raiseth a great power.

AMbiorix tooke such spirits vnto him vpon this victory, that with his horsemen he went immediatly vnto the Aduatici, beeing the next borderers vpon his kingdome, vvithout intermission of night, commaunding his footmen to follow him. The Aduatici beeing stirred vp to Commotion, the next day after hee came to

the Neruij, exhorting them not to let slippe this occasion of taking to themselues perpetuall libertie, and reuenging them of the Romaines for the wrong they haa receiued. He told them that two Legates were alreadie slaine, and a great part of the Armie ouerthrowne: it was now no great matter, suddenly to surprise the legion that wintered with Cicero; to the performance whereof, hee offered himselfe to be their assistant. These remonstrances easily perswaded the Neruij, and therefore they dispatched speedy messengers to the Centrones, Grudij, & other people vnder their dominion, and raised very great forces; and vvith them they hasted to the Campe where Cicero wintered, before any inkling of the death of Titurius was brought vnto him.

OBSERVATION.

THe ambitious and working spirit of Ambiorix, that could attempt to raise the basenesse of a small and ignoble State, to so high a point of resolution, that they durst aduenture vpon the Romaine legions, beeing settled in the strength of their Empire, by the memorie of so many victories in Gallia; wanted now no meanes to make an ouerture to a vniuersall commotion, propounding libertie & reuenge to the Galles (two the sweetest conditions that can happen to a subdued people) if they would but stretch out their hands to take it, and follow that course which his example had proued sure and easie. Which may serue to shew, that hee that will attempt vpon doubtfull and vnsafe Principles, will take great aduantage from a probable entrance, and make a small beginning a sufficient meanes for his greatest dessignes.

CHAP. XVI.

Cicero defendeth his Campe from the surprise *of the Neruij, and preparath himselfe* against a Siege.

IT happened to Cicero also (as it could not otherwise chuse) that many of the souldiers, that vvere gone into the woods for timber and munition, were cut off by the sudden approach of the Enemies horsemen. These being circumuented, the Eburones, Neruij, and Aduatici, with all their confederates and clients, began to assault the Campe. The Romans betooke them speedily to their vveapons, and got vpon the rampier, with much adoe they held out that day: for, the Galles trusted much vpon celeritie; hoping, if they sped vvell in that action, to be victors euer after.

Cicero


CICERO BESIEGED

Cicero dispatched Letters vvith all speede to Cæsar, promising great rewards to him that should carie them: but all the waies were so fore-laid, that the Messengers were taken. In one night there was built in the Campe one hundred and twenty towers, of such timber as was brought in for fortification; and whatsoeuer wanted of the rest of the worke, was perfected.

The enemy the next day, with a farre greater power assaulted the Campe, and filled vp the ditch: the Romans made the like defence, as they had done the day before; the like was continued diuers daies after. The Romaines made no intermission of their work at any part of the night, nor gaue any rest either to the sick or the wounded. Whatsoeuer was needfull for the next daies assault, was prouided in a readinesse the night before; a great number of stakes hardened in the fire were prepared, and many murall piles were made; the towers were floored in their stories; Pinacles and Parapets were set vp of hurdles: and Cicero himselfe beeing sickly, and of a weake constitution, tooke not so much leasure as to rest himselfe in the night time: so that the souldiers of their owne accord, compeld him by intreatie, to spare himselfe.

OBSERVATION.

THis Q. Cicero, is said to be the brother of Marcus Cicero, the famous Oratour, & to him were the Letters sent which are found in his Epistles, directed *Quincto fratri.* In this action, his cariage deserued as great reputation, in the true censure of honour, as euer his brother did for his eloquence, *pro Rostris.* And if it had beene the others fortune to haue performed the like seruice, he would haue made it the greatest exploit that euer Roman had atchieued by Armes. Wherein particularlie may be commended, the diligence and industry which was vsed, in raising so many towers in so small a time; for prouiding the night before, such things as were necessarie for the next daies defence; for making so many stakes hardened in the end with fire, for the defence of the rampier; and for the store of these murall piles, which resembled the forme of the ordinarie pile, but were farre greater and waightier, in regard they were to be cast from the rampier; which gaue them such aduantage, by reason of the height, that being cast by a strong and well practiced arme, they were very effectuall and of great terrour.

CHAP. XVII.

The Neruij propound the ſame things to Cicero *which Ambiorix had done to Sabinus*; but are reiected.

Cæſar.

THen the Princes and chiefe Commaunders of the Neruij, which had any entrance of ſpeech, and cauſe of acquaintance with Cicero; ſignified their deſire to ſpeak with him: vvhich beeing granted, they propounded the ſame thinges they had vſed to deceiue Sabinus; all Gallia were in Arms; the Germans were come ouer the Rhene; Cæſar and the reſt were beſieged in their wintering Campes; Sabinus & his men were cut in peeces; notwithſtanding, they carried this mind to Cicero, that they refuſed nothing but their wintering among them; they might depart in ſafetie whither they would, without diſturbance or feare of danger. Cicero onely made this aunſwere: that It was not the cuſtome of the people of Rome, to take any article or condition from an armed Enemie; but, if they vvould lay their Armes aſide, let them vſe his furtherance in the matter, and ſend ſome to negotiat it with Cæſar; there was great hope, in regard of his iuſtice and equitie, that they ſhould not returne vnſatisfied.

THE OBSERVATION.

THe firſt attempt, which Ambiorix made vpon the Camp of Sabinus and Cotta, was but ſhort; but heere, what with the pride of the former victorie, and the great multitude of the aſſailants, they continued it longer, in hope to carrie it by aſſault: for, the firſt aſſault of a place, eſpecially, when it commeth by way of ſurpriſe, is of greater hope to the aſſailant, and of greater danger to the defendant, then ſuch as afterward are made in the ſequell of the warre: for, after the firſt brunt, the heat of the enemy is much abated, as wel through the nature of a hot deſire, which is moſt violent in the beginning, & afterward groweth cold & remiſſe, as alſo with the harmes and perill which they meet with in the incounter; and on the contrarie ſide, the defendants hauing withſtood the firſt furie, wherein there is moſt terrour and diſtruſt, grow more confident and better aſſured of their manhood, and in experience of their ſtrength, ſtand firme againſt any charge whatſoeuer.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The Neruij besiege Cicero, with a ditch and *a rampier, and worke meanes to set fire on* their Tents.

THe Neruij disappointed of this hope, caried a ditch & a rampier round about the Camp; the rampier was 11 foote high, and the ditch 15 foote deepe; which they had learned of the Romaines, partly by beeing conuersant among them certaine yeeres before, and partly by the prisoners and captiues which they had taken; but they had no iron tooles fit for that purpose, but were driuen to cut vp turfe with their swords, and gather earth with their hands, and carie it away with their Mantles and Gaberdines. Whereby may be gathered, what a multitude of men there were at the siege; for, in lesse then three houres, they finished the fortification of fifteene miles in circuit. The daies following, the enemy built towers to the height of the rampier, prepared great hookes and strong penthouses, or safeguards of boords and timber, according as the captiues had giuen them instruction. The seauenth day of the siege, beeing a verie windie day, they cast hot bullets of clay out of slings, and burning darts vpon the cabines of the Romans, which after the manner of the Galles, vvere thatched with strawe: these cabines were quickly sette on fire, which by the violence of the wind was caried ouer all the Campe. The enemy pressing forward with a great clamour, as though the victorie were alreadie gotten, began to bring their Turrets and Testudines to the rampier, and to scale it with ladders. But such was the valour of the Roman souldiers, that albeit they were scorched on all sides with fire, and ouer-charged with multitude of weapons, and saw all their wealth burned before their face; yet no man forsooke the rampier, or scarce looked backe at that which had happened, but they all fought valiantly, and vvith an exceeding courage. Cæsar.

OBSERVATION.

THis one example may serue, to shew the excellencie of the Roman discipline, and the wisedome of the first founders of that Art: for, they perceiuing that the fortune of warres consisted chiefelie in the mastering of particular occurrences, trained their souldiers in that forme of discipline, as might struggle with inconueniences, and strong oppositions of condradicting accidents; and so ouerwage all difficulties and hinderances, with a constant perseueration & a courage inuincible. For, the great attempting spirit of an ambitious Commander, that seeketh to ouertoppe the trophes of honor, with the memory of his exploits, will quickly perish by his own direction, if the instruments of execution be weaker, then the means which lead

leade him to his deſſignments. For, where the waight is greater then the ſtrength, the engine will ſooner breake, then lift it vp. Let a diſcreet Leader therefore ſo leuell his thoughts, that his reſolution may not exceed the abilitie of his particular meanes: but firſt let him be well aſſured what his ſouldiers can doe, before he reſolue what he will doe: or otherwiſe, let him ſo inable them by diſcipline and inſtructions, according to the example of the old Romans, that their worth may anſwere the height of his deſires, and follow his aſpiring mind, with a reſolution grounded vpon knowledge and valour; and ſo making their abilitie the ground of his deſſignes, he ſhall neuer faile of meanes to performe what he intendeth. The want of this conſideration, hath within theſe late yeeres, repaid our Commaunders in many parts of Chriſtendome, with loſſe and dishonour, when as they meaſuree the humour of their poore needie and vndiſciplined ſouldier, by the garbe of their ambitious thoughts, & ſo laid ſuch proiects of difficultie, as were verie vnſutable in the particularitie of occurrences, to that which their ſouldiers were fit to execute.

CHAP. XIX.

The æmulation betweene two Centurions, *Pulfio and Varenus, with their fortunes in* the incounter.

Cæſar.

HERE were in that legion two valiant men, Titus Pulfio, & L. Varenus, Centurions, comming on apace to the dignity of the firſt orders: theſe two were at continuall debate vvhich of them ſhould be preferred one before another, and euerie yeere contended for place of preferment, with much ſtrife & emulation. Pulfio, at a time that the fortification was very ſharply aſſaulted, called to Varenus, and asked him why he now ſtood doubtfull? or what other place hee did looke for to make triall of his manhood? This is the day, ſaith he, that ſhall decide our controuerſies. And when hee had ſpoken theſe words, he went out of the fortification; and where he ſaw the Enemie thickeſt, he fiercely ſet vpon them: then could not Varenus hold himſelfe within the rampier, but followed after in a reaſonable diſtance. Pulfio caſt his pile at the enemy, and ſtrooke one of the multitude through, that came running out againſt him. He being ſlaine, all caſt their weapons at him, giuing no reſpite or time of retrait. Pulfio had his target ſtrooke through, and the dart ſtuck faſt in his girdle. This chance turned aſide his ſcabberd, and hindered his right hand from pulling out his ſword; in which diſaduantage the enemy preſſed hard vpon him. Varenus came and reſcued him: immediatly the whole multitude, thinking Pulfio to bee ſlaine with the dart, turned to Varenus, who ſpeedily betooke him to his ſword, and came to handy-ſtroakes; and hauing ſlaine one, he put the reſt ſomewhat back. But as he followed ouerhaſtily vpon them, hee fell downe: him did Pulfio reſcue, beeing

beeing circumuented and in danger; and so both of them hauing slaine manie of the enemy, retired to their Campe in safetie, to their great honour. Thus Fortune caried as well the contention, as the incounter of them both, that being Enemies, they neuertheleſſe gaue helpe to saue each others life, in such sort, as it was not to be iudged which of them deserued greatest honour.

OBSERVATION.

CAesar inserteth this accident of the two Centurions, as worthie to be related amongst the deeds of Armes contained in these Commentaries: wherin we are first to obserue the grounds of this quarrell, which was their cōtinuall strife for place of preferment, which they sought after, by shewing their valour in time of danger, and approouing their worth by the greatnesse of their desert; a contention worthy the Roman discipline, and may serue for a patterne of true honour full of courage, accomplished with vertue. For these *Simultates*, which desire of honour had cast between them, brought forth emulation, which is the spur of vertue, far from enmitie or hatefull contention: for, the difference between these two qualities, is, that enmitie hunteth after destruction, and onely reioiceth in that which bringeth to our aduersary vtter ruine, dishonor, or ill atchieuement: but emulation contendeth only by well deseruing, to gaine the aduantage of another mans fame, that vseth the same meanes to attaine to the like end; and is alwaies mixed with loue, in regard of the affinitie of their affections, and the sympathy of their desires, not seeking the ouerthrow of their Competitor, but succouring him in time of danger, and defending him from foule and vnfortunate calamitie, that he may still continue to shew the greatnesse of his worth, by the opposition of inferiour actions, which are as a lesser scantling of desert, to measure the estimation of the others honour.

A vertue rare and vnknowne in these daies, and would hardly find subiects to be resident in, if she should offer her help in the course of our affaires, or sue to be entertained by the crooked dispositions of our times: for, we can no sooner conceiue the thoughts that breed emulation, but it turneth presently to hatred, which is followed to the vttermost of our malice, & resteth better satisfied with the miserable end of our opposed partner, then with thousand of Trophes deseruedly erected to our honor. Which maketh me wonder, when I looke into the difference of these and those ages; whether it were the discipline of that time, which brought forth such honest effects of vertue, to their glory and our ignominie, hauing learned better rules then were known vnto them; or whether the world weakened with age, want strength in these times to bring-foorth her creatures in that perfection, as it did in those daies; or what other cause hath made our worst affections so violent, and our better faculties so remisse & negligent, that vertue hath no part in vs but words of praise, our whole practise beeing consecrated to actions of reproach. The iniuries, murthers, scandalous cariages of one towards another, which in these daies are so readilie offered and

and so impatiently digested, will admit no satisfaction but priuate combate; which in the first Monarchies, was granted onely against strangers, and forraine enemies, as the onely obiects of Armes and wrath, and capable of that iustice, which the priuate sword should execute: for, they well perceiued, that these single battels, were as sparkles of ciuill discord, and intestine warres; although not so apparant in the generall view of their State, yet as odious in particular, and as dishonourable to good gouernment. And if there were a true record of such, as haue been either slaine or wounded within these fortie yeres, either in this kingdome, or in France, or in Germanie, by this licentious and brutish custome; I make no question, but they would amount to a number capable of that fearefull stile, which is attributed to Ciuill warres.

Neither is there any law, how rigorous or hard soeuer, that can giue reliefe to this disorder, but the restraint will draw on as great enormities, and as vntolerable in a good gouernment. Rotaris, King of the Lumbards, forbade his subiects this manner of combate: but shortly after, he was constrained to recall the Edict, for the auoiding of greater euils; although he protested the thing to be both inhumane and barbarous. The like Edict was published in France, by Philip the Faire; but was within two yeeres reuoked againe, at the instant request of his subiects, in regard of the murthers and assasinats committed in that kingdome.

The onely remedie that I find to take effect in this case, was that of late time, which the Prince of Melphe in Piemont, inuented to preuent this euill: for, perceiuing how ordinarie quarrels and bloodshed were in his Campe, he assigned a place betweene two bridges, for the performance of the *Duellum*, with this charge; that hee that had the worst, should alwaies be slaine, and cast from the bridge into the water: the danger ioyned with dishonour (which by this Decree attended such as vndertooke priuate combate) made the souldiers wiser in their cariage, and put an end to their sedition and ciuill discords. But that which is yet worst of all, is, that custome hath now made it so familiar, that euery trifle seemeth sufficient to call the matter to a priuate combate: a crosse looke calleth another mans honor in question; but the word Lye, is of as great consequence, as any stabbe or villanie whatsoeuer. Wherat we may wel wonder how it happeneth, that wee feele our selues so much exasperated at the reproach of that vice, which wee so ordinarilie commit: for, in the custome of these times, to cast vpon vs the lye, is the greatest iniurie that wordes can doe vnto vs; and yet there is nothing more frequent in our mouth. It may be a propertie in our nature, to stand chiefelie in the defence of that corruption vnto which we are most subiect.

I speake not this to qualifie the foulenesse of this vice: for, I hold a Lyer to be a monster in nature; one that contemneth GOD, and feareth man, as an ancient Father saith; but to shew the crookednesse of our disposition, in disdaining to acknowledge that faulte, which we so commonly commit. But I would faine learne, when honour first came to be measured with words: for, from the beginning it was not so. Cæsar was often called to his face theefe, and drunkard, without any further matter; and the libertie of inuectiues, which

great

great personages vsed one against another, as it beganne, so it ended with words. And so I think our lie might too; for, I take him that returneth the lie, and so letteth it rest, vntill further proofe, to haue as great aduantage in the reputation of honour, as the former, that first gaue the disgrace.

CHAP. XX.

Cicero findeth meanes to aduertise Cæsar of this *Accident; who hasting, raiseth the siege, and* putteth the Enemie to a great slaughter.

AS the siege grew daily hotter & sharper, and specially, for that the greatest part of the souldiours were laid vp vvith wounds, and the matter brought into a few mens hands that vvere able to make any defence; so they sent out Letters and Messengers the more often to Cæsar: of vvhom, some vvere taken, and in the sight of our souldiours, tortured to death. There was one within the place besieged, of the Nation of the Neruij, called Vertico, of honest parentage; vvho in the beginning of the siege had fledde to Cicero, and caried himselfe faithfully in that seruice: this man did Cicero chuse, perswading him with hope of libertie, and other great rewards, to carie Letters to Cæsar; vvhich he tooke, & hauing tied them vp in his Dart, trauelled as a Gall amongst the Galles, without any suspicion, & so came to Cæsar: Of vvhom he vnderstood, how dangerously Cicero and the legion vvas beset.

Cæsar, hauing receiued those Letters about the eleuenth houre of the day, dispatched presently a Messenger to M. Crassus, the Treasurer, in the country of the Bellonaci, twentie fiue miles off; commaunding the legion to set out at midnight, and speedily to come vnto him. Crassus set out and came along with the Messenger. He sent another Post to C. Fabius, the Legat, to bring that legion to the confines of the Atrebatij, through vvhich he was to passe: And writ in like manner to Labienus; that if it stood with the conueniencie of the State, hee should bring the legion to the territories of the Neruij: for, the rest of the Armie that vvere further off, he thought good not to expect. He drew foure hundred horse or therabouts, from the neerest vvintering Campes. And beeing aduertised about the third houre (by the fore-runners) of Crassus comming, hee marched that day twentie miles.

Hee made Crassus Gouernour of Samarobrine, & gaue him one legion for the defence thereof; in regard that the baggage of the vvhole Armie, the hostages of the Prouinces, the publique transactions and Letters, together vvith all the Corne vvhich hee had got for the prouision of the Winter, was left in that place. Fabius, according to his directions, without any delay, met him with the legion. Cambray.

Labienus, vnderſtanding of the death of Fabrius, and the ſlaughter of the Cohorts: and knowing alſo that the vvhole forces of the Treuiri vvere marching towards him; he doubted, that if his ſetting forward out of his vvinter ſtation, ſhould ſeeme as a ſtealing away, he ſhould not be able to vndergoe the charge of the enemy, whō a late victory had made inſolent: and therefore informed Cæſar by his Letters, what danger it would be to draw the legion from their vvintering Camp; relating what had happened amongſt the Eburones, and how that all the forces of the Treuiri, both horſe and foote, lay but three miles diſtant from his Campe.

Cæſar, allowing of theſe reaſons, howſoeuer his hope of three legions was fallen vnto two; yet his whole truſt was in celeritie, as the onely meanes of all their ſafeties: and ſo by great iourneis, came into the confines of the Neruij; where he vnderſtood by the Captiues, how matters paſſed with Cicero, and what danger he was in. At what time he perſwaded a certaine horſman of the Galles, by great rewards offered vnto him, to carrie a Letter to Cicero; which hee ſent writ in Greeke Characters, leaſt his purpoſes ſhould be diſcouered, if the Letter had been intercepted: aduiſing, that if he could not come to his preſence, hee ſhould tie it to the ſtring of a Dart, and ſo caſt it into the fortifications. Hee aduertiſed them by his Letter, that he was on the way with the legions, and would be there inſtantly to raiſe the ſiege. The Gall, fearing ſome danger, followed the directions, and caſt it into the workes by a Dart; which fell by chance vpon a turret, and there ſtuck two daies before it was perceiued: the third day, a ſouldiour finding it, tooke it downe, & brought it to Cicero; vvho read it publiquely in the aſſembly of the ſouldiours, and put them all into exceeding great ioy. And at the ſame time, the ſmoake of their fires began a farre off to be diſcouered: which put them out of all doubt of the approach of the legions.

The Galles, beeing aduertiſed thereof by their Diſcouerers, left the ſiege and made towards Cæſar with all their power; vvhich conſiſted of threeſcore thouſand men or there-bouts. Cicero, finding himſelfe at libertie, ſought out the ſame Vertico before mentioned, to carry Letters to Cæſar: aduiſing him to bee vvarie and diligent in his paſſage; ſignifying by thoſe Letters, that the Enemie had left the ſiege, and turned all his forces towards him. Which Leters, beeing brought vnto Cæſar about midnight, he certified his Partie of the contents thereof, and prepared them by incouragement to fight. The next day, as ſoone as it began to be light, he remoued his Campe; and hauing marched about foure miles, he diſcouered the multitude of the enemy, beyond a great Valley and a Riuer. It was a matter of exceeding danger to giue battell to ſo great a number, in a place of diſaduantage: yet, foraſmuch as he knew that Cicero was freed of the ſiege, he thought he might the better forbeare to make ſuch haſte: and therevpon ſate downe, and in as indifferent a place as he could chuſe, fortified his Campe. Which beeing of it ſelfe very little, as not hauing ſcarce ſeauen thouſand men, & thoſe without any cariages: yet he leſſened it as much as hee could, by narrowing the vſuall ſtreetes thereof; to the end he might the better defend it, if happely the enemie might be drawne to ingage himſelfe ſeriouſly in any attempt vpon the ſame. In the meane time, hauing ſent out Diſcouerers into all parts, he informed himſelfe

selfe which way he might most conueniently passe ouer the valley.

The same day, after small incounters of the Caualrie at the vvater, either partie contained themselues within their fortifications: the Galles, as expecting greater forces, which were not yet come; and Cæsar, that by a counterfet feare, he might draw the Enemy to the place where he was lodged on this side the valley, and so strike the battell before his Campe; and if he could not bring it so about, then vpon discouery of the waies, to passe the Valley and the Riuer vvith lesse danger. As it began to be day light, the Caualrie of the enemy came neere vnto the Campe, and began to skirmish with our horsemen. Cæsar, of set purpose, cõmaunded the horsmen to fall back, and to betake themselues into the Camp: and withall, to fortifie their Camp on all sides with a higher rampier, to stoppe vp the Gates; and in doing of these things, to cary themselues tumultuously, and vvith a fained show of great feare. With which inducemẽts, the enemy was so drawn on, that he brought ouer all his forces, and imbattailed them in an vnequall and disaduantageous place. Our men being drawne from the rampier (to make the matter more apparant) they were imboldened to come neerer, and to cast vveapons from all parts into our works: sending Herralds round about with Proclamation, That if any Gall or Roman would come ouer vnto thẽ before the third houre, he should be taken into their safe protection; but, after that time, there vvas no hope of any such reception. And they did so contemne our party, that wheras the Ports were shut vp for a shewe, with a single rowe of turfes, to the end they might appeare to be made vp in such manner that they could not be broken open; some of them began to breake downe the rampier with their handes, and others to fill vp the ditches.

Which Cæsar perceiuing, salied out at all the Ports at once; & sending out the Caualrie, put the enemy so suddainly to flight, that not one of them resisted by way of fighting: insomuch as he slew a great number of them, & put them all besides their Armes. But because he feared to follow them farre, in regard of the vvoods and bogs, that lay in their passage (beeing vnwilling to hazard himselfe vpon the least occasion of danger) he returned with all his forces in safety; and the selfe-same day came to Cicero. Where he admired the towers, the mantelets and works, which were begun and prepared by the enemie: and drawing out the legions, hee found that the tenth man had not escaped without wounds. By all which circumstances he vnderstood, with what danger & valour the busines had been caried. He cõmended Cicero & the legion, according to their merit; calleth out by name such Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiours, as by testimonie of Cicero, were found to haue deserued extraordinarily in that seruice; informed himselfe by the Captiues, of the certainty of Sabinus and Cottas misfortune. The next day, hee spake publiquely to the souldiours, opened the particulars of that matter, and then seasoned them with comfort and incouragement; shewing, that the losse which happened through the fault and temerity of a Legate, was to bee borne with better patience: and the rather, forasmuch as by the assistance of the immortall Gods, and by their owne vertue, the losse was redeemed, in such a fashion, as neither the enemy did long ioy it, nor themselues were long afflicted with griefe for the same.

OBSERVATION.

THe passages in this Chapter, are of great varietie, and do giue occasion of much discourse: but that which is most remarkable, is, that to exceed in forces and troopes of men, may be a meanes to bring a partie to an ouerthrow: for, an extraordinarie power doth alwaies beget an opinion sorting to their owne desires, and can hardly thinke of anie other end, then that which suteth with securitie and victorious successe; vvhich beeing crossed in any materiall circumstance, & put besides the course of their intendments, whereby they faile of what they expected, doth consequentlie draw all, the other way; and changeth hope into mishap: as it fared here with the Galles, vpon Cæsars suddaine salying out of his Campe.

CHAP. XXI.

The commotions of the States of Gallia. Induciomarus, *attempting great matters, was slaine,* and the Countrey quieted.

IN the meane time, the report of Cæsars victory was caried to Labienus, with incredible speed, through the Countrey of those of Rheimes: insomuch, as being fifty miles distant from that place where Cicero wintered, and that the ouerthrowe vvas giuen about three of the clock in the afternoone, there was a shout at the Campe gate before midnight; wherby the men of Rheimes congratulated Labienus for that victorie. The fame vvhereof beeing caried to the Treuiri; Induciomarus, that purposed the next day to besiege Labienus, fled in the night time, and caried all his forces backe to the Treuiri. Cæsar remaunded Fabius, with the legion, into their vvinter stations: He himselfe, with three legions, determined to winter about Samarobrine. And forasmuch as there were such commotions throughout all Gallia, himselfe resolued to abide with the Armie all the vvinter: for, vpon the newes of the ouerthrowe of Sabinus, almost all the States of Gallia, did enter into a consultation of war; sent Messengers and Embassadours into all parts, to make ouertures for future resolutions, and to vnderstand in what place the war might best be set on foote; holding their Conuenticles by night, in secret and desert places: in such manner, as there passed not a day, during all that winter, vvhich brought not some newe care or doubt concerning Cæsar, least he should be aduertised of these meetings and conspiracies, amongst these occurrences.

He had intelligence frõ L. Roscius the Legat, that great forces of those States and Citties of the Galles, that are called Armoricæ, were assembled together, to fight against him; and were come within eight miles of his Campe: but vnderstanding of Cæsars victorie, they fell backe, in such a fashion, as though they meant

Britannie.

meant to flie away. But Cæsar, hauing called vnto him the Princes and chiefe men of euery State; terrifying some, as seeming to vnderstand their complotments, and perswading others, kept a great part of Gallia in obedience. Howbeit, the Senones (a strong people, and of great authority amongst the Galles) went about by a publique Decree to kill Cauarinus, whō Cæsar had set to be king ouer them (vvhose brother Moritasgus, at Cæsars comming into Gallia, and whose ancestors formerly, were possessed of that kingdom): which he perceiuing, fledde away, and was prosecuted to the very borders, and so driuen as vvell out of his priuate house, as of his kingdome. And hauing sent Embassadours to Cæsar, to satisfie him herein; whereas hee cōmaunded the whole Senate to come vnto him, they refused to obay his warrant: so much it preuailed amongst barbarous people, that there vvere some found that durst auouch the vndertaking of a vvarre. Which made such an alteration in the minds of all men, that besides the Hedui, and the state of Rheimes, whom Cæsar had in great fauour and respect (the one for their ancient and perpetuall fidelitie to the people of Rome, and the other, for their late seruices in the war of Gallia) there was almost no State free from suspicion. Insomuch, as I knowe not vvell, whether it may not be wondered at or no; as well for many other reasons, as specially for that they greatly grieued, that they, who excelled all other Nations in deeds of Armes, had now lost their reputation so farre, as they were forced to beare the yoke of the people of Rome.

The Treuiri and Induciomarus, lost no time of all that Winter, but sent Commissioners beyond the Rheine, soliciting the Citties, and promising monies with confident assurance, that the greatest part of our Armie was already cut off; and that which was left, was but a small remainder of the same: and yet for all that, no people of the Germaines could be perswaded to passe the Rheine. For, hauing twice made triall to their cost, in the warre of Ariouistus, & in the passage of the * Teuchtheri, they vvould tempt Fortune no further. *Franckefort.*

Induciomarus, cast downe from his hope, did notwithstanding traine and gather forces, got horses from the bordering States, and with great rewards, drew vnto him banisht and condemned men, from all parts of Gallia; and did thereby get such an opinion throughout all that Continent, that Embassadeurs came flocking vnto him from all quarters, and sought his fauour both in publique and priuate. When he vnderstood that men made to him of their owne accord, and that on the other side, the Senones and Carnutes were instigated with a remembrance of their offences; and on the other side, the Neruij and Aduataci, made prouision of war against the Romaines, and that hee should not want voluntarie forces, if he did but once goe out of his confines; hee gaue order to call a Councell of Armes: which, according to the manner of the Galles, was alwaies the beginning of a war; beeing such, as constrained all the men that were of yeeres, by the common law of the Land, to assemble together in Armes: and hee that came last, was in the sight of all the rest, put to death with exquisite torture. In that Councell, he tooke order to proclaime Cingetorix the chiefe of the other faction, and his sonne in law (who, as we haue before declared, had followed Cæsar, and not left him in any of those seruices) a Traytor to the State, and that his goods should be confiscated.

That beeing done, he publiſhed in the Councell, that he was ſent for by the Senones and the Carnutes, and many other States of Gallia: vvhether he meant to go, through the territories of the inhabitants of Rhemes; & that he would harry and waſte their country. But firſt, his purpoſe was to take the Camp of Labienus, and accordingly gaue order what he would haue done. Labienus, being in a Camp exceedingly fortified, as well by Nature as by Art, did not feare any danger that might happen to himſelfe, or the legion; but rather ſtudied not to let paſſe any occaſion, to carry the matter handſomly, and to purpoſe. And therefore, being aduertiſed by Cingetorix and his allies, what ſpeech Induciomarus had deliuered in the Councell, he ſent Meſſengers to call the confining citties, and commaunded horſemen to be ſent vnto him by a certaine day.

In the meane time, Induciomarus rid vp and downe almoſt euery day, vvith all his caualrie vnder his campe; ſometimes to view the ſite thereof, otherwhile to parlee, or elſe to terrifie the ſouldier: & his horſmen, for the moſt part, would caſt their weapons within the rampier. Labienus kept all his men within the fortifications, and did what he could to make the enemy belieue that hee was ſore afraid. And, as Induciomarus came daily with greater contempt to the camp, one night, hauing taken in the caualry of the bordering citties, which he had formerly ſent for, he kept all his party (by good guarding) vvithin his campe, with ſuch diligence, that their reception could not poſsibly be bruted abroad, or caried to the Treuiri. In the meane time, Induciomarus, according to his wonted cuſtome, approched neere the campe, and there ſpent a great part of the day: the horſmen caſt their weapons, and with words of high reproach, called out our men to fight; vvithout any word giuen in aunſwere by them. And a little before the euening, as they diſperſed themſelues and departed; vpon a ſuddaine, Labienus let out all the caualry at two Ports; commanding them, that after the Enemy was put to flight (which he ſaw would neceſſarily happen) that euery one ſhould make after Induciomarus: and that no man ſhould ſo much as wound any other Enemie, before they ſaw him ſlaine; Being very vnwilling, to giue him time to eſcape, while the ſouldiours were ingaged with the reſt: and propounding great rewards to thē that ſlew him. Fortune made good that direction: for, as all made after one; Induciomarus was ſurpriſed in the foord of a Riuer, & ſlaine; & his head vvas brought backe into the campe: the horſemen returning, ſlew as many of the reſt as they could take. This thing beeing knowne, all the forces of the Eburones and Neruij, which were met together, departed home: and after that time, Cæſar had Gallia better ſettled in quietneſſe.

Liege.

OBSERVATION.

AS the misfortune which befell Sabinus and Cotta, put all Gallia into troubles and commotions; ſo the head of Induciomarus, reduced all into peace: According as it is ſaid of the Spaniard; that In ſome caſes, one man is worth a thouſand.

And thus endeth the fift Commentarie.

FINIS.

THE FIRST BOOKE OF Cæsars Commentaries of the *Ciuill Warres.*

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Commentarie containeth the Motions and Contentions at Rome, concerning Cæsars giuing vp his gouernment: The rent in the State, vpon the disagreement of the Senate: How either side bestirred themselues, to seize vpon the Provinces. Pompey got the East, and Cæsar the West part of the Empire; and defeated Afranius and Petreius in Spaine.

CHAP. I.

The Senates affection on Cæsars behalfe.

LETTERS beeing deliuered by Fabius, to the Consuls from C. Cæsar, it was hardly obtained by the extreame importunitie of the Tribunes, to get them read in the Senate: but to consult thereof, or to bring the Contents in question, would not be graunted. The Consuls propounded businesses concerning the state of the Cittie. L. Lentulus, Consull, protested his assistance should not be wanting, neither to the Senate nor to the Common-weale, if they would speake their mindes freely and boldly: but if they respected Cæsar, and had an eye to his fauour (as in former times they vsually had) he would then take a course for him selfe, and not regard the authoritie of the Senate; neither wanted hee meanes of entrance into Cæsars friendship and good acceptance. To the same effect spake Scipio, that Pompey was resolued to be ayding to the Common-weale, if the Senate would stand to him: but if they temporized, and dealt coldly, in vaine hereafter should they seeke ayde from him, albeit they instantly desired it. This speech of Scipios, seemed to come from

Pompeis owne mouth, he himſelfe being abſent, and the Senate at that time kept within the Cittie. Some others ſpake more temperately; as firſt, M. Marcellus, who thought it not convenient, that the Senate ſhould bring theſe things in queſtion, vntill they had made a levie of ſouldiers throughout all Italie, and inroled an Army; by whoſe protection, they might ſafely & freely determine what they thought fit: As alſo M. Calidius, who thought it requiſite, that Pompey ſhould goe to his Prouinces and Gouernments, to remoue all occaſions of taking Armes: For, Cæſar hauing two legions newly taken from him, feared that Pompey kept them neere about the cittie to his preiudice. And likewiſe M. Rufus, varying ſome few words, declared himſelfe of Calidius opinion. All theſe were bitterly reprooued by L: Lentulus the Conſull; who vtterly denied to publiſh what Calidius had ſentenced. Marcellus, feared with theſe menaces, retracted his opinion. And ſo, what with the clamor of the Conſull, the terrour of the preſent Armie, and the threatning vſed by Pompeys faction, moſt of the Senators were compelled againſt their will, to allow that which Scipio thought fit: which was, that by a certaine day, Cæſar ſhould diſſolue and diſmiſſe his Armie; which if he did refuſe to doe, that then he openly ſhewed himſelfe an Enemie to the Cõmonweale. M: Antonius, and L: Caſsius, Tribunes of the people, did oppoſe this decree. Their oppoſition was inſtantly ſpoken vnto; and many ſharpe & hard cenſures were giuen vpon the ſame: for, according as any one ſpake moſt bitterlie, and cruelly, ſo they were moſt highly commended by Cæſars Enemies.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS the former Commentaries doe carie in their front the enſignes of honour, diſplaying the militarie valour of the Romaine people, in the Continent of Gallia, and other Kingdomes of warlike Nations: ſo are theſe Relations branded in the forhead with a note of Infamie, and titled with the diteſull name of Ciuill warre; An odious and decried cauſe, ill befitting the integritie of that State, or the excellencie of the Actors, which are chieſe in this Tragedy; who neglecting all that might either enlarge the Empire, or repaire Romes honour for the loſſe of Craſſus, choſe rather to imbrew their ambitious ſwords in the blood of their owne Countrey: Eagle againſt Eagle, and Pile againſt Pile, in a warre which could chalenge no Triumph. If it be now demaunded as formerlie it was,

Pares Aquilas, et pila minantia pilis.
Bella geri placuit nullos habitura triumphos.
Luc. lib. 1.

Quis furor ô Ciues? quæ tanta licentia ferri?

Was it Pompeis Ambition, or Cæſars high Thoughts, that bereft the State of libertie, with the loſſe of ſo many Romaines? It were beſides the ſcope of theſe diſcourſes, to lay an imputation vpon either of thoſe Worthies; the one beeing chieſe Aſsiſtant to the Empire, when ſhe put off her Conſularie Government, and the other ſitting ſole at the helme, directing a courſe to fetch in many Cæſars. Onely this I may truely ſay with Tacitus; That Ciuil wars were neuer ſet on foote by iuſtifiable courſes. Yet for the Readers better direction, and for opening the truth of this ſtorie (which is more to be regarded then

Arma ciuilia neque parari, neque haberi, per bonas Artes poſſunt.
Tac. 1. Aunal.

then either Socrates or Platos friendship) it shall not be impertinent to fetch the causes of this warre a little higher in a word then these Commentaries doe afford them.

Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato: Magis amica veritas. Aristot. 1. Ethi.

The histories of that age do all intimate, that whē Rome had ennobled Pompey with her seruice, & stiled him by imployments with the title of Greatness, as a satisfaction for the iniuries done vnto his father; he (forgetting the rights of a State, which chalengeth the renowne of other mens labours, and suffereth no subiect to be Copartner therein, further then by approbation of seruice & obedience) assumed to himselfe the honour due to the Common-weale, and became proude of that which was none of his: in which conceit, the ambition of his spirit kept no measure, but over-valued his merits so far, that he thought himselfe rather a Soueraigne then a seruant; so easily are men bewitched when the fauour of a State hath once made them absolute, and put it selfe vnder the awe of priuate commaund. In this height of greatnesse & authoritie, he made way for Cæsar, his father in law; hauing a spirit as subiect to ambition, and as capable of publique dignities, as any one amongst all the Patrician Families: And vpon the ending of his first Consulship, in the yeere of Rome 695, obtained the gouernment of Gallia Transalpina, and likewise of that other Gallia which they called Cisalpina, containing the Countries that lie betweene the Alpes and the little Riuer Rubico, together with Slauonia, and foure legions of souldiers for the tearme of fiue yeares. At the expiration wherof, his charge was continued, by the like fauour and mediation of Pompey, and the assistance of Crassus, for fiue yeares longer, with a redoubling of his forces. But after that Crassus was slaine in the Parthian warre, and that Iulia, Cæsars daughter, whō Pompey had maried, was deceased (wherby Cæsar stood single, without any tie of alliance, or other counterpoise of a third partie, to hold them ballanced at the same weight as they stood while Crassus liued) Pompey, iealous of those victories and passages of Armes which Cæsar had atchiued by his valour, and impatient of any partner in point of Lordship; found meanes first to draw two legions from him, vnder colour of the Parthian warre; and afterwards, got a Decree of Senate, to send him a successor before his time was expired: and withall, to returne as a priuate person to Rome, to render an account of his Actions during his imployment. Which Cæsar taking as an assurance of his downefall, gaue huge summes of money to gaine Paulus Aemilius, one of the Consuls, and C: Curio, a Tribune of the people, to resist this Decree. Howbeit, the succeeding Consuls beeing both his enemies, and hauing no hope of repealing the same, hee intreated in the end, that hee might hold onely Gallia Cisalpina, and Illiricum with two legions, vntill hee should obtaine the Consulship; which was the effect of these Letters deliuered by Fabius. And beeing denied by Pompeys faction, in these partiall and tumultuous assemblies of the Senate, caused him to forfeit his loyaltie to the State, verifying the olde saying; That oftentimes an iniurie maketh way to a greater fortune.

Pomp. Mag.

Constantine was so iealous thereof, that he published an Edict, that the honour of all victories shold be attributed to him, although they were atchiued 100. leagues off.

Fonte cadit modico, paruisque impellitur vndis punicens Rabicon, et Gallica certus limes, ab Ausonys disterminat arua colonis. Lucan. li. 1.

Facta tribus dominis communis Roma.

Pompeius, Cæsar, et Crassus.

Nā sola futuri Crassus erat belli Medius mora. Nulla sancta societas, nec fides Regni. Ennius.

Nec quemquā, iam ferre potest, Cæsárue priorē, Pompeiúsue parem. Lucan. l. 1.

Arduaresh æc est, opibus non tradere mores. Martial.

Sæpe maiori fortunæ locum fecit iniuria. Seneca: Epist. 91.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

The Tribunes of the people.

CONcerning the oppoſition of the Tribunes, it is to bee vnderſtood, that the people eaten vp with vſurie, and other grieuous exactions, forſooke both the Cittie and the Campe, when the State had war with the Doſci and the Equi; and taking themſelues to a Mountaine neere vnto Rome, would not returne from thence, vntill the Senate had giuen order for their grieuances. In which tranſaction it was agreed, that there ſhould be Magiſtrates choſen out of the body of the people, to counterpoiſe the power of the Senate, and to reſtraine the boundleſſe authoritie of the Conſulls: which office, was reconed in the number of their holieſt things; neuer to be violated either in word or deed, but the offender ſhould redeeme it with the loſſe of his life. Their whole power conſiſted in letting & hindering. As, when either the Senate, or any one Senatour, went about a matter, which might be preiudiciall to the people in generall, or to any one of the cōmunaltie in particular; Then did the Tribunes interpoſe their authority, to fruſtrate and avert the ſame: which was auaileable, albeit the matter was gainesaid but by one Tribune onely. By which intervention, they kept the Senate in awfull moderation, and were alwaies profitable to the State, but when they happened vpon factious and turbulent perſons; howbeit, their power was bounded with the walls of Rome, and extended no further then the gates of the Cittie. Their doores were neuer ſhut, but ſtood open night and day, for a refuge to ſuch as ſhould flie to them for ſuccour: neither was it lawfull for them to bee abſent from Rome a whole day together. The robes of their Magiſtracie were of Purple; as Cicero intimateth in his oration *Pro Cluentio.* This Tribunitian power, began about the yeere of Rome 260; was ſuppreſt by Sylla; reſtored by Pompey; and vtterly taken away by the Emperour Conſtantine.

What kind of Common-wealth was this of Rome.

If it be demaunded what kind of Common-wealth this Romaine gouernment was; it is to be vnderſtood, that vpon the expulſion of their Kings, the ſoueraintie reſted in their Conſulls. For, as Liuie ſaith, there was nothing diminiſhed of kingly gouernment, ſaue onely for the better eſtabliſhing of libertie, that the Conſular dignitie was made Annuall. But that held not long, for Publicola imparted this ſouerainty to the Communaltie; making it lawfull to appeale from the Conſuls to the people. Whereby the Conſular ſouerainty was diſſolued, and the people tooke occaſion to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Fathers. Hence grew the reciprocall invectiues between the Senate and the Tribunes; and when the Conſull ſent a Seriant to the Tribune, the Tribune would ſend a Purſeuaunt to the Conſull. And ſo the Cōmon-wealth halted betweene an Ariſtocratie and a Democratie, vntill at length the voagg of the Communaltie, drew it to a perfit Democratie, and made their Acts of Senate of no value, vnleſſe they were ratified by the people: Howbeit, the Senate, affoording alwaies many famous and eminent Men, ſuch as hauing inlarged the boundes of their Empire, and kept on foote their auncient valour, and

Libertatis originem inde magis, quia annuū cōſulare Imperium factum eſt, quā quod diminutū quicquam ſit ex regia poteſtate, numeres. Liv. lib. 2.

His legibus diſſolutum eſt Imperiū conſulare. &c. Liv. lib. 4.

Lictor.

Viator.

and were the flower of that people, which Cyneas called a towne of kinges, were consequentlie so engaged in the businesses of the State, that matters were for the most part, carried as they stoode affected; as appeareth by this passage of Cæsar.

Cyneas interrogatus à Pyrrho qualis Roma esset: Respondit Regũ vrbem sibi videri. Iustin. l. 8.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, we may obserue, that violence and partialitie, are the bane of all consultations: especiallie, when the common good is shadowed vvith priuate respects. And albeit, the grauitie of the Romaine Senate, farre exceeded all that can be spoken of other Councells of State, rectifying the inordinate affections of any Catiline that would lift vp his head higher then his fellowes: yet heere it suffered equitie and indifferencie to bee suppressed with faction, giuing way to violence, which gouerneth all thinges vntowardlie; and with cordes of priuate hate, oftentimes draweth the Common-wealth into vtter desolation. For preuention whereof, the Athenians swore their Senatours, to make the common good the chiefest scope of all their counsels: Implying thereby that priuate respects are alwaies offensiue to publique ends; and the State euer suffereth, when fauour preuaileth against the common profit.

Faction in a Councell, is an enemy to the publicke good.

Nam malè cũcta ministrat impetus, et stimulat non raro priuati odij pertinacia in publicum exitium. Tac. 1. hist.

Tully, going about to direct a Councellor in this behalfe, onely wisheth a man to deliuer sincerely what hee thinketh of any matter, although hee happen to stand alone in his owne conceit: for, the issue of a businesse, dooth not so much concerne a Councellor, as to speake truely his opinion thereof. And to that end, the custome of the Romane Senate was, that the youngest & such as came last in place, should declare themselues first; that they might not bee forestalled in their opinions, nor put besides that they would haue spoken; together with the equalitie which it made of their voyces: for, thinges first spoken, doe alwaies sticke fastest in our apprehensions. And for that cause, Theodorus (a Greeke Tragedian) would neuer shew himselfe on the stage after any other Actor; as holding the first passages to affect most the Spectators. Notwithstanding which custome, it is reported, that Cæsar, in fauour of Pompey, after their new made alliance, would take his voice first, thereby to anticipate the opinion of others that should follow.

Athenienses Senator inrabat se præcipuè populo consulturũ. Demost. cõt. Naar. 1. Philippic.

Arist. 7. polit. 17.

Sueto. in vita Iulij Cæsaris.

The Emperours (as it seemeth) tooke what place they pleased; for, Tyberius in Marcellus cause said, that he would sentence openly, and vpon oath, that other men might doe the like. Wherevnto Cn: Piso replied; What place wilt thou take to declare thy selfe, Cæsar? for, if thou speake first, I knowe how to follow; if last, I am afeard I shall dissent from thy opinion. But that which is most blameable in matter of councell, is, when they come to the Senate house as to a prize of flatterie. VVherein L: Piso is deseruedly commended, for that hee neuer willinglie shewed himselfe of a seruile opinion; but when necessitie forced him, hee tempered it with wisedome. Neither is it the

Tacit. 1. Annal.

Tacit. 6. Annal.

Plutarch. the leaſt miſchief, that the condition of ſouueraintie is ſuch as will hardly indure reproofe; but muſt be diſguiſed, as Appolonius corrected Lyons, by beating dogges before them.

CHAP. II.

The Senate proceede againſt Cæſar, *with all eagerneſſe.*

HE Senate, riſing a little before night, were all ſent for to Pompey. He commended them for what they had done, and confirmed them for after reſolutions, reprehended ſuch as ſhewed themſelues indifferent, and ſtirred them vp to more forwardneſſe. Many which were of Pompeis former Armies were ſent for, vpon hope of reward & advauncement. Many of the two legions which lately came from Cæſar, were commaunded to attend; inſomuch, as the Cittie ſwarmed with ſouldiers. Againſt the election of new Magiſtrates: C. Curio called out the Tribunes of the people: All the Conſuls friends, the kinsfolks & allies of Pompey, and ſuch others as had any former enmity with Cæſar, were cōpelled into the Senate. By the preſence & opiniō of theſe Men, the weakeſt were terrified, the doubtfull confirmed, & the moſt part were cut off from giuing abſolute and free voyces. L: Piſo the Cenſor, and L: Roſcius the Prætor, offered themſelues to goe to Cæſar, to aduiſe him of theſe things; requiring but ſixe daies ſpace to returne an aunſwere. Others thought it fit, that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Cæſar, to giue him notice of the pleaſure of the Senate. To all theſe was oppoſed what the Conſull, Scipio, and Cato thought fit. Cato was incited through former enmitie, and ſpecially, by the repulſe of the Prætorſhip. Lentulus, out of a conſideration of his great debts, hoping to commaund an Armie, to gouerne Prouinces, and to receiue the liberall acknowledgements of Kings, whom he ſhould thereby procure, to be ſtiled with the Title of friends to the people of Rome; inſomuch, as he would not ſtick to boaſt in priuate, that hee was like to proue a ſecond Sylla, on whom, the ſoueraine commaund of the Empire would be conferred. Scipio was drawen on by the ſame hope, of hauing the gouernment of a Prouince, or the commaund of an Armie; which by reaſon of his alliance he thought to ſhare with Pompey (beeing otherwiſe affeard to be called into iuſtice) as alſo through flattery and oſtentation, both of himſelfe, and other great friends, which were able to ſway much, as well in the courſe of iuſtice, as in the Common-wealth.

Pompeius vt primū rempub. aggreſſus eſt, non quemquā animo parē tulit. Velleius Patercul.

Pompey, in his particular, was much prouoked by Cæſars enemies, and ſpecially, for that hee could indure no man to be his equall. Hee was alienated altogether from Cæſars friendſhippe, and had reconciled himſelfe to their common Enemies; the greateſt part of whom, were by his meanes gained to Cæſar; in

in the time of their alliance: as also by the dishonour which he had gotten by taking those two legions from their iourney towards Asia and Syria, and vsing thē for the advauncement of his owne particular: which things moued him to draw the matter to Armes. For these respects, all things were caried impetuouslie and confusedly; neither was there leasure giuen to Cæsars friends to advertise him thereof; nor yet to the Tribunes, to avoide the danger which was falling vpon them, or to vse their right of opposition which L: Sylla left vnto them: but within seauen daies after they were entred into their office, they were forced to shift for their safetie; notwithstanding that the most turbulent and seditious Tribunes of former times, were neuer put to looke into their affaires, or to giue account of their actions before the eight Month. In the end, they tooke themselues to that extreame and last Act of Senate, which was neuer thought vpon, but whē the cittie was vpon the point of burning, or in the most desperate estate of the Common-weale. That the Consuls, Prators, Tribunes of the people, and such as had beene Consuls, and were resiant neere about the cittie, should endeuour that the Common-weale might not be indangered. This Act was made the seauenth of the Ides of Ianuary: so that the fiue first daies, in which the Senate might sit, after that Lentulus was entred into the Consulship (excepting onelie two dayes for the generall assembly of the people) most heauie & cruell Decrees were made, against the authority of Cæsar, and against the Tribunes of the people, famous and worthy men; who there-vpon fledde presently out of the cittie. Cæsar beeing then at Rauenna, attended an aunswere to his easie and modest demaunds, if by any reasonable course matters might be drawne to a peaceable end.

Ne quid respub. detrimenti capiat.

Consecuti sunt dies Comitiales, per quos senatus haberi non poterat. Cic. L. fratri.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is the condition of humane nature, to make good that which once it hath auouched, although the matter be of small consequence in particular, & tendeth rather to infamie then to profit; neither will it easilie be reclaimed by motiues of reason, but is rather incited thereby *(per Antiperistasin)* to persist in wilfulnesse, then to harken to that which is more conuenient; especially, when either iealousie or reuenge doe implie an advantage: for, then partialitie keepeth no measure; but to iustifie an errour, runnes headlong into all extremities, and flieth to the last refuge of desperate and deplored cases, to make disordered passions seeme good discretion. Which euidently appeareth by Pompeis faction, in resoluing of that desperate Act of Senate, which was neuer thought of but in most eminent danger. For, as in foule weather at sea, when a shippe rideth in a dangerous road, and through the violence of the tempest, is vpon the point of shipwrack, the Mariners are wont to cast out a sheete Anker as their last refuge: so had Rome anciently recourse to this Decree, at such times as the Common-wealth was in eminent and extreame calamitie; whether it were by enemies abroad, or by serpents in their bosome at home. Liuie speaking of the warre of

Vt gratia oneri, sic vltio in quæstu habetur. Tac.

Suprema lex Salus respub.

of the Equi, faith; The Senators were ſo affrighted, that following the forme of the Decree which was alwaies reſerued for caſes of extreamitie, they ordained, that *Poſthumius* (one of the Conſuls) ſhould take care that the Common-wealth might not be endangered. The like was vſed in ciuill and inteſtine ſeditions: as, when Manlius Capitolinus aſpired to a Tyranny: and as likewiſe in the tumults of the Gracchij, the conſpiracie of Catiline, & other times of like danger. For, albeit the Conſuls had all ſoueraine authoritie, as well in warre as in peace; yet neuertheleſſe, there were certaine reſerued caſes wherein they had no power, without expreſſe order from the Senate, and aſſent from the people: as, to leuie an Armie to make war, to take money out of the Treaſury; whereas vpon ſuch a Decree, they were inabled to diſpoſe of all buſineſſes of State, without further mouing of the Senate or people: which Tully noteth in his Orations againſt Anthonie. I thinke it fit (ſaith hee) that the whole ſtate of the Common-weale be left vnto the Conſuls, and that they be ſuffered to defend the ſame; and to take care that the Common-weale be not indangered.

Lib. 3.

Plutar: in the life of Cicero.

5. Philipp. *Conſulibus totã rempub. cõmendendam cenſeo, ijsque permittẽdum vt rempub. deſendant, prouideántque ne quid detrimenti reſpub: accipiat.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I May not omit (for the better vnderſtanding of this noble Hiſtorie) to ſay ſomewhat of the Perſons here mentioned: and firſt of Fabius, as deſcended of the nobleſt and moſt auncient Family of the Patrician Order; beeing able of themſelues to maintaine warre a long time againſt the Veij, a ſtrong & warlike towne, vntil at length they were al vnfortunately ſlaine by an ambuſhment: which Ouid mentioneth, where he ſaith;

Fabius.

2. *De Faſtis.*

Hæc fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus arvis,
Tercentum Fabij ter cecidere duo.

Onely there remained of that houſe, a child then kept at Rome: which in tract of time, multiplied into ſixe great Families, all which had their turne in the higheſt charges and dignities of the Common-weale; amongſt whom, hee that ſupplanted Hanniball by temporizing, & therby got the ſurname of Maximus, was moſt famous, as Ennius witneſſeth;

Fab: Max.

Vnus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit rem:
Non ponebat enim rumores ante ſalutem.
Ergo póſtque magiſque viri nunc gloria claret.

But C: Fabius, here mentioned, neuer attained to any place of Magiſtracie, other then ſuch commaunds as he held in the warres vnder Cæſar.

Lentulus.

Lentulus the Conſull was of the houſe of the Cornelians, from whom are ſaid to come xvi. Conſuls. He was from the beginning a mortall enemy to Cæſar, and ſo continued to his death, which fell vnto him in Egipt, by commaundement of King Ptolomey, after Pompey was ſlaine.

Scipio.

Scipio was father in law to Pompey, after the death of Iulia, Cæſars daughter; and by that meanes, obtained the gouernment of Aſia. In the beginning of

of the Ciuil war, he brought good succors to assist his son in law, as it folows in the third Cōmentary: & vpon the ouerthrowe at Pharsalia he fled into Affrick, where he renewed the war, & becam chief Commander of the remaining party against Cæsar; but being in the end defeated, he made towards Spaine: and fearing by the way least he should fall into his enemies hands, he slew himselfe.

Marcellus. Marcellus was of the ancient Family of the Claudians, which came originally of the Sabines; on his behalfe there is an Oration extant of Tullies, intituled, *Pro Marcello*. He was afterwards slaine by one Chilo.

M. Anto. M. Antonius is famous in all the Romaine histories, for attaining in a small time to so great a height in that gouernment; for, in all the warres of Gallia, he was but a Treasurer vnder Cæsar, which was the least of all publique places of charge: In the beginning of the ciuill wars, hee was made Tribune of the people; and within lesse then eight yeeres after, came to bee fellow partner with Octauius Cæsar in the gouernment of the Empire. And if Cleopatras beautie had not blinded him, he might haue easily through the fauour of the souldiers supplanted his Competitor, and seized vpon the Monarchie.

Cassius. The name of Cassius was ominous for trouble to the state of Rome, & their ends were as vnfortunate. This L: Cassius, for his part, after the great troubles he had stirred vp in Spaine, was drowned in the mouth of the Riuer Eber.

Piso. Piso was made Censor in the Consulship of L: Paulus and Claudius Marcellus, hauing himselfe been Consull eight yeeres before, in the yere of Rome 695, succeeding Cæsar, and Bibulus; and was the man against whom Tullie penned that Oration which is extant *in Pisonem*. Touching the office of Censor, it is to be vnderstood, that about the yeere of Rome 310, the Consuls beeing distracted with multiplicitie of forraine businesse, omitted the Censure or assesment of the Cittie for some yeeres together: wherevpon it was afterwards thought fit, that there should be a peculiar officer appointed for that seruice, and to be called Censor; forasmuch as euery man was to be taxed, rankt and valued, according to his opinion & censure. The first part of their office consisted in an account or valuation of the number, age, order, dignity, & possession of the Romane citizens: for it was very material for the State to know the number of their people, to the end they might be informed of their owne strength, and so shape their course accordingly, either in vndertaking warres, transplanting Colonies, or in making prouision of victualls in time of peace. It was also as requisite to know euery mans age, whereby they grew capable of honour & offices, according to that of Ouid;

To know the number of Cittizens.

Their age.

finitaque certis
Legibus est ætas, vnde petatur honos.

De Fast.

M: Antonius commaunded, that the names of the Romaine children should be brought into the Treasurie within 30 daies after they were borne; according to which custome, Francis the French king published an Edict, *Anno* 1539, that euery parish should keepe a Register of burials and christenings: which since that time is vsed in England.

Halicarnasseus. lib. 4. Gotofred ad L. ætatem 3. §. De Cens.

Their calling.

The distinction of conditions and states, ranging euery man in his proper order, is as necessary in the Common-weale, and as woorthy of the Censors notice,

Maiorũ primus quisquis fuit ille tuorum, aut Pastor fuit, aut illud quod dicere noli.

Their ability.

notice as any thing beſides. Neither may the aſſeſment of mens abilities bee omitted: which was ordained that euery man might beare a part in the ſeruice of the State. In which reſpect, Seruius Tullus is commended, for rating men according to their wealth; whereas before that time euery man paid alike: for, men are taken to bee intereſſed in the Common-weale according to their meanes. The laſt and baſeſt ſort of Cittizens, were named *Capite cenſi*, and were ſet in the Subſidie at 375 peeces of money. Such as were not aſſeſſed, had no voice in the Common-weale.

Florus l.1.ca.6.

Gell. lib. 16. cap. 10. æris.

The ſecond and chiefeſt part of this office, was in reforming maners, as the ground-plot and foundation of euery Common-wealth; to which end they had power to inquire into euery mans life. If any one had plaid the ill husband, and neglected his Farme, or left his Vine vntrimmed, the Cenſors tooke notice of it. If a Romaine knight kept his horſe leane, it was a matter for them to looke into. They depoſed, or brought in, new Senators. They reviewed all degrees and conditions of men: advaunced this man from a meane Tribe to a more honourable, and pulled another downe. They had the care of buildings, repairing of high waies, with other publique works; and were reputed of the beſt rank of Magiſtrates in Rome. L. Roſcius had formerly bin one of Cæſars Legates in Gallia: as appeareth in the fift Commentary, *Tertiam in Eſſuos. L. Roſcio.* The Prætor was Iudge in cauſes of controuerſie, & differences between partie and party; and was as the Caddy amongſt the Turkes.

Poli. lib. 6.

L. Roſcius.

CHAP. III.

The Senate prepareth for warre.

Pompey hauing a charge of an Armie, could not enter into the Cittie prohibited by diuers lawes.

HE next day after, the Senate aſſembled out of the Cittie: where Pompey (according to ſuch inſtructions as he had formerly giuen to Scipio) extolled their conſtancy & magnanimity; acquainted them with his forces, conſiſting of ten legions in Armes; and further aſſured them, he knew of a certaine, that Cæſars ſouldiers were alienated from him, and would not be drawne either to defend or follow him. And vpon the aſſurance of theſe remonſtrances, other motions were entertained: As firſt, that a leuie ſhold be made throughout all Italy. That Fauſtus Sulla ſhould foorth-with be ſent as Proprætor into Mauritania. That mony ſhold he deliuered out of the Treaſurie to Pompey. That king Iuba might haue the title of friend & confederate to the people of Rome; which Marcellus contradicting, ſtopt the paſſage thereof for that time. Philippus, Tribune of the people, countermaunded Fauſtus commiſsion: other matters were paſſed by Act. The two Conſular, and the other Prætorian Prouinces, vvere giuen to priuate men that had no office of Magiſtracie. Syria fell to Scipio, and Gallia to L: Domitius. Phillippus and Marcellus, were purpoſely omitted, and no lottes caſt for their imployment. Into the other Prouinces vvere ſent Prætors, vvithout any conſent or approbation of the

Fauſt. Sulla.

Rex Iuba, ſocius et amicus.

Gallia & Syria were two conſularie Prouinces.

Quorum nemo ſtultior eſt quã L: Domitius. Cic. ad Atticũ.

the people, as formerly had beene accustomed: and hauing performed their ordinary vowes, they put on their Military garments, and so tooke their iourney. The Consuls (which before that time was neuer seene) went out of the Cittie, & had their Seriants priuatly within the Cittie, and in the Capitoll, against all order and ancient custome. A leuie was made ouer all Italie: Armes and furniture was commaunded: Money was required from Municipall townes, and taken out of Temples and religious places. All diuine and humane Rights were confounded.

Paludati exeunt.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THe neglect of Ceremonies and formes in matter of State, is the ruine and abolishment of a Common-weale. For, if it hold generallie true which Philosophers say; That the forme giueth being to whatsoeuer subsisteth, and that euery thing hath his name from his fashion and making: then it must necessarily follow, that the life and perfection of a State, dependeth wholly of the forme; which cannot be neglected but with hazard of confusion. For, complements and solemnities, are neither *Nimia* nor *Minima* (as some haue imagined) either superfluities, which may bee spared, or trifles of small consequence. But, as the flesh couereth the hollow deformitie of the bones, and beautifieth the body with naturall graces: so are ceremonies, which ancient custome hath made reuerent, the perfection and life of any Common-weale; and doe couer the nakednesse of publique actions, which otherwise wold not be distinguished from priuate businesses. And therfore the neglect of such ceremonies, as were vsually obserued to ennoble their actions, was as iniurious to the safety of the Empire, and as euident a demonstration of faction and disloyaltie; as the allotment of Prouinces to priuate persons, or whatsoeuer else they broached, contrarie to the fundamentall rights of the publique Weale.

The vse of Ceremonies. *Forma dat nomē et esse. Arist.*

Nimia nec Minima.

Ciuitatis legibus conseruatis, salua quoque populi dominatio. Aeskin. in Ctesiphont.

Concerning which, it is to be vnderstood, that no man was capable of those gouernments, but such as had borne the chiefest offices and places of charge. For, their manner was, that cōmonly vpon the expiration of their offices, the Consuls and Prætors did either cast lots for the Prouinces, which they called *Sortiri prouincias*, or did otherwise agree amongst thēselues how they should be disposed: and that they tearmed, *Comparare Prouincias*. Liuie toucheth both the one & the other; *Principio insequentis anni cùm Consules noui de Provincijs retulissent, primoquoq; tempore, aut cōparare inter eos Italiam et Macedoniam, aut sortiri placuit.* Howbeit, sometimes the people (whose assent was alwaies necessary) interposed their authoriie, & disposed the same as they thought expedient. But such as had neuer borne office of charge in the State, were no way capable of those dignities, nor thought fit to commaund abroad, hauing neuer shewed their sufficiencie at home.

The maner of disposing of the Prouinces and gouernments.

Sortiri Prouincias, comparare Prouincias. Lib. 43.

For the maner of their setting forward out of Rome, after they were assigned to imployments, it appeareth by infinite examples of histories, that they first went into the Capitoll, & there made publick sacrifices & solemn vowes, either

The maner of their setting forward to their gouernments.

to build a Temple, or to doe ſome other worke woorthy good fortune, if their deſignes were happily atchiued; which they called *Vota nuncupari.* And hee that had made ſuch a vow, ſtood *voti reus* vntill his buſines ſorted to an iſſue: and after he had attained his deſire, he was *voti damnatus*, vntill he had aquitted himſelfe of his promiſe.

Vota nuncupari. Voti reus. Macrob. li. 3. cap. 2. Saturnal. Paludati.

Touching their habite expreſſed in this phraſe, *Paludati exeunt*, it appeareth, as well by auncient Sculptures, as Medallies, that *Paludamentum*, was a cloake vſed and worne by men of warre, whether they commaunded in chieſe, or as Lieutenants and Centurions; and was tied with a knot vpon their left ſhoulder. Feſtus calleth all militarie garments, *Paludamenta.* And Varro giuing a reaſon of that name, ſaith; *Paluda à Paludamentis, ſunt hæc inſignia et ornamenta Militaria: Ideo ad bellum, cùm exit Imperator, ac Lictores mutant veſtem, et ſigna incinuerunt, Paludatus dicitur proficiſci: quæ, propterea quod conſpiciuntur, qui ea habent, et Palam fiunt, Paludamenta dicta.* The colour of this cloake, was either purple or white. And therefore it was held a preſage of ill fortune, when at Carres, a Cittie in Meſopotamia, one gaue Craſſus a black cloake in ſteed of a white, as hee went to loſe the battaile to the Parthians.

Lib. 6. de lingua Lat.

Valerius, li. 1. cap. 6.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe Romaines, not contented with the ſpacious circuit of the ſunne, bounding their Empire with the Eaſt and the Weſt, but for want of Regions and Countreys, ſearching the vaſtnes and depth of the ſea; did ſildome acknowledge any other ſoueraintie, or leaue a partie worthy their amitie, in any remote angle of the then knowne world. But if any Prince had been ſo fortunate, as to gaine the fauour and eſtimation of a friend or a confederate to the State, it was vpon ſpeciall and deſerued reſpects, or at the inſtance of their Generalls abroad, enforcing the woorthines of ſuch Potentates, and the aduantage they might bring to the ſeruice of the Empire. Which appeareth by that of Liuie, concerning Vermina, king Syphax ſonne; that no man was at any time acknowledged either a king or a friend by the Senate and people of Rome, vnleſſe firſt he had right well deſerued of the Common-weale.

Rex Iuba ſocius & amicus. Raptores orbis, poſtquã cunctis vaſtantibus deſuere Terræ, & Mare ſcrutãtur quos nec oriens nec occidens ſatiauerit. Tacit. Neminem eſſe Regem ſolitum & amicũ á Senatu Populoq; Rom: appellari: niſi qui optimè de Rep. bene meritus eſſet. lib. 1. decad. 4. Sequenti die &c. lib. 10. dec. 3.

The manner of this acknowledgement, is likewiſe particularly expreſſed by Liuie, in another place ſpeaking of Scipio. The day following (ſaith hee) to put king Maſsiniſſa out of his griefe and melancholie, hee aſcended vp to his Tribunall, and hauing called an aſſembly of the ſouldiers, preſented him before them; where he firſt honoured him with the appellation of king, accompanied with many faire praiſes: and then gaue him a crowne of gold, a cuppe of gold, a chaire of State, a ſcepter of Iuorie, and a long robe of Purple. To which agreeth that of Cæſar: That Ariouiſtus was by the Senate ſtiled by the name of King and Friend, and preſented with great and rich gifts; which happened but to few, and was onely giuen by the Romaines to men of great deſert. Howbeit,

Lib. 1. de bell: Gallico.

beit, such as had gouernments and imployments abroad, did oftentimes make profit of giuing this honour: whereof Cæsar taxeth Lentulus in the former chapter. And in this sense was king Iuba brought in question, to bee called by the Senate, a Friend and Associate to the State of Rome.

Et Spe Apellandorum Regum.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

TOuching the franchises and liberties of the townes of Italy, and others in the dominions of the Romaine Empire, called *Municipia*; it is to be noted, that according to Gellius, those were called *Municipes*, that beeing gouerned by their owne lawes, and their owne Magistrates, were neuertheleſſe indowed with the freedome of Rome. And therefore Adrianus maruailed, that the Italicenses and Vticenses, did rather desire to bee Coloni, and so tied to the obedience of forraine & strange lawes, then to liue in a Municipall state, vnder their owne Rights and Customes; and as Festus addeth, with the vse of their peculiar rites for matter of religion, such as they anciently vsed, before they were priuiledged with the immunities of Rome.

Municipes.

Lib. 6. cap. 13

Lib. 11.

For the better vnderstanding whereof, we are to obserue, that there were degrees and differences of Municipall townes; for some had voices with the Romane people, in all their elections and suffragies: and some others had none at all. For, Gellius in the same place, saith, that the Cerites obtained the freedom of the Cittie, for preseruing the holy things of Rome, in the time of the warre with the Galles, but without voice in elections. And thence grew the name of *Cerites Tabulæ*, wherein the Censors inroled such, as were by them for some iust cause depriued of their voices. And the Tusculani, beeing at first receiued into the liberties of the Cittie, according to the admission of the Cerites, were afterward, by the free grace of the people, made capable of giuing voyces.

Cum suffragio Municipium } *Sine suffragio.*

Cerites Tabulæ. Liuie lib. 6.

The meanes of obtaining this freedome, was first and specially by Birth: wherin it was required (as may be gathered by Appius Oration) that both the Parents, as well the mother as the father, should be free themselues. How beit, Vlpian writeth, that the sonne may challenge the freedome of the State, wherin his father liued and was free. So that the father being of Campania, & the mother of Puteolis, he iudgeth the sonne to belong to Campania: According to that of Canuleius; That the children inherite the condition of the father, as the head of the Family, and the better rule to direct in this behalfe. Neuertheleſſe, Adrianus made an Act of Senate in fauour of Issue; That if the wife were a cittizen of Rome, and the husband a Latine, the children should be Romaine Cittizens. And the Emperour Iustinian, caused it likewise to be decreed, that the mother beeing a free woman, and the father a bond-man, the son should be free. Such as were thus borne free, were called *Ciues originarij*.

Liuie lib. 3.

Liuie lib. 3.

Ciues originarij.

The second meanes of obtaining this freedome, was by Manumission, or setting bond-men at libertie: for in Rome, all men freed from bondage were taken for Cittizens; and yet rankt in the last and meanest order of the people.

The third meanes, was by gift, or coaptation; and ſo Romulus at firſt inlarged and augmented Rome; Theſeus, Athens; Alexander Magnus, Alexandria, ſited at the out-lets of Nilus; and Richard the firſt, London; by taking all ſuch ſtrangers into the freedome of the Cittie, as had inhabited there for tenne yeeres together. The Emperours were profuſe in giuing this honour. Cicero floutes Cæſar, for taking whole nations into the freedome of the Citty; and Anthony gaue it to all that liued in the Romaine Empire. Wherevpon, as Vlpian witneſſeth, Rome was called *Communis Patria*. Popular ſtates were more ſparing in this kind; as may be deemed by the aunſwere of one of the Corinthian Embaſſadours, to Alexander. Wee neuer gaue the freedome of our Cittie (ſaith he) to any man but to thy ſelfe and Hercules. And vntill Herodotus time, the Lacedemonians had neuer admitted any, but onely Tiſamenus and his brother.

Polido: Virg.

1. Philip.

Seneca 1. de benef. cap. 13. Herod. lib. 9.

The priuiledges of this freedome were great; for, the Cittizens of Rome were held to be *Maieſtate plenos*. Is the beſt man of Gallia (ſaith Tully) to be compared with the meaneſt Cittizen of Rome? And hence came that law, requiring, that the life of a Cittizen ſhould not bee brought in queſtion, but by the generall aſſembly of the people. Verres hauing condemned one Coſsanus, a Romaine Cittizen in Sicilia, Tully vrgeth it as a matter vnſufferable: *Facinus eſt (inquit) vinciri Ciuem Romanum, ſcelus verberari, prope parricidium necari, quid dicam in crucem agi?* with many the like examples: beſides the poſsibilitie they were in, if their ſufficiencie were anſwerable accordinglie, to become great in the State; and conſequently, Commaunders of the Empire.

An quiſquam ampliſſimus Galliæ, cum infimo Ciue Romano comparãdus eſt? Cicero pro M. Font. De capite Ciuis niſi per maximũ commitiatũ olloſque quos cenſores in partibus populi locaſſint, ne ferunto. Cic. 3. de legib.

CHAP. IIII.

Cæſar taſteth the affection of the Souldiers.

Aeſar vnderſtanding of theſe things, called the ſouldiers together, and acquainted them with all the iniuries which his Enemies from time to time had done vnto him; complaining that Pompey was by their practice and meanes alienated frõ him, and drawne through enuy of his good fortune, to partialize againſt him; notwithſtanding that he had alwaies affected his honour, and endeuoured the aduauncement of his renowne and dignitie: Lamenting likewiſe the preſident which this time had brought into the State; that the Tribunes authoritie ſhould be oppoſed and ſuppreſſed by Armes, which former ages had by force of Armes reeſtabliſhed. For, Sylla hauing ſtript the Tribuneſhip, naked of all rights and prerogatiues, yet left it the freedome of oppoſition: But Pompey, who would ſeeme to reſtore it to the dignity frõ which it was fallen, did take away that power which was onely left vnto it. The Senate neuer reſolued of that Act, That the Magiſtrates ſhould take a courſe for the ſafetie of the Common-weale, whereby the people were neceſſarily ſummoned to Armes;

Bellorũ ergo ſocij qui mille pericula mortis, mecum, ait experti, decimo iam vincitis anno. &c. Lucan lib. 1.

Armes; but in times of pernicious lawes, vpon the violence of the Tribunes, or the mutinie and secession of the people, vvhen the Temples & high places of the Cittie were taken and held against the State: which disloyalties of former ages, were expiated and purged by the fortune and diaster of the Saturnines and the Gracchi. But at this present, there was no such matter attempted, so much as in thought: no law published; no practice with the people; no tumult; no departure out of the Cittie. And therefore adhorted them; that forasmuch as vnder his leading and commaund, for nine yeres together they had most happily caried the gouernment, fought many prosperous and victorious battels, settled all Gallia and Germanie in peace; they would now in the end, take his honor into their protection, and defend it against the malice of his aduersaries. The souldiers of the xiij. legion which were present (for them onely had hee called out in the beginning of the troubles, and the other legions were not as yet come) cried out instantly, That they were readie to vndertake his defence against such wrongs, and to keepe the Tribunes of the people from iniurie.

Whereof *Lex Agraria* was the chiefest.

Plutarch saith, he had thē but 500. foote, and 300. horse on that side the Alpes: which amounteth to the iust number of a legion.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS Publique-weales and Societies are chiefely supported and maintained by iustice: so likewise, such as liue in the ciuill communitie of the same, and inioy the benefit of a well qualified gouernment, doe take themselues interessed in the maintenaunce of iustice, and cannot indure the tyrannie of wrongs; vnlesse happely (as euery man is partiall in his owne cause) they be the authors thereof themselues. The first dutie of iustice, which is, *Ne cui quis noceat*, did Cæsar make the theame of his Oration to the souldiers; aggrauating his particular iniuries, by opening and enforcing the malice of his Aduersaries: and making the State a partie in his sufferings, through the oppression and defacing of the Tribuneship; which in times of libertie, and iust proceeding, was sacred and inviolable.

Cic: 1. officio.

Nihil iustius quā propulsare iniuriam. Xenophon Cyrop. lib. 1.

Iustitiæ primum munus est ne cui quis noceat. Cic. lib. 1. de officijs.

These remonstrances were apprehended by the souldiers, as matters specially cōcerning their dutie; holding thēselues, either bound to redresse them, or otherwise to be guiltie of betraying their parents, coūtry, cōpanions & friends. Some report, that one Lælius, a Primipile of Cæsars Armie, making aunswere to this speech, gaue assurance of the souldiers good affection; which the rest approued with a generall acclamation. Howbeit, the argument lay couched in a Sophisme, pretending Cæsars right, but concluding the ruine of the State.

Qui non defendit nec obsistit si potest iniuriæ, tam est in vitio, quā si parentes, aut amicos, aut patriam, aut socios deserat. Cic. lib. 1. offi.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, we may obserue, that as discord and dissension, renting asunder the bonds of ciuill communitie, are the bane of florishing and opulent Cities, and make the greatest Empires examples of Mortalitie: so by the same rule of discourse, it is also true, that the mutuall

Opulentis ciuitatibus venenū seditio, magna imperia mortalia reddidit. Liv: lib. 2.

Non Exercitus neque Theſauri præſidia regni ſunt, verum amici. Saluſt. in bello Iugurth. Lib. de amicitia.

mutuall reſpects of well qualified friendſhip, are as expedient, both for the faſtening of the ioynts of a publique State, & for keeping the particular parts in due temper and proportion, as either treaſure, or Armies, or any other thing required therevnto. Hence it is that Cicero ſaith, that wee haue as much vſe of friendſhip, as of fire and water: and that he that ſhould goe about to take it from among men, did indeauour (as it were) to take the ſunne out of the heauen; which by heate, light, and influence, giueth life vnto the world. And as men are eminent in place and authoritie, and haue vſe of many wheeles for the motion of their ſeuerall occaſions; ſo haue they the more neede of amitie and correſpondencie, to ſecond the multiplicitie of their deſires, and to put on their buſineſſes to their wiſhed ends.

Vt quiſq; maximè opibus principatu, et poteſtate excellit, ita amicis maximè indiget. Ariſt. Ethic. 8.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar taketh Arminium, receiueth and aunſwereth meſſages from Pompey.

Rimini.

L. Cæſar.

Cæſar hauing ſounded the minds of the ſouldiers, went directly with that legion to Arminium: and there met with the Tribunes of the people that were fled vnto him, ſent for the reſt of their legions from their wintering Campes, and gaue order they ſhould follow him. Thither came young L: Cæſar, whoſe father was a Legate in Cæſars Campe. And after ſome ſpeech of the occaſion of his comming, acquainted Cæſar, that Pompey had giuen him a meſſage in charge to be deliuered vnto him: which was, that he deſired to cleare himſelf to Cæſar, leaſt he might peradventure take thoſe things to be done in ſcorne of him, which were commaunded onely for the ſeruice of the State; the good whereof he alwaies preferred before any priuate reſpect: and that Cæſar likewiſe was tied in honour to lay aſide his indignation and affection for the Common-wealths ſake: and not to be ſo tranſported with anger and diſdaine of his Adverſaries, as he ſeemed to be; leaſt in hoping to bee auenged of them, he ſhould hurt the publique weale of his Country. Hee added ſomewhat more of the ſame ſubiect, together with excuſes on Pompeys behalfe. Almoſt the ſelfe ſame diſcourſe, and of the ſelfe ſame things, Roſcius the Prætor dealt with Cæſar, and ſaid that hee had receiued them in charge from Pompey: which although they ſeemed no way to ſatisfie or remooue the iniuries and wrongs complained of; yet hauing got fit men, by whom that which he wiſhed might bee imparted to Pompey, he praied thē both, for that they had brought vnto him what Pompey required, they would not thinke it much to returne his deſires to Pompey; if happily with ſo little labour they might accord ſo great differences, and free all Italy from feare and danger. That he had euer held the dignitie of the Common-weale in high regard, and dearer then his owne life. He greeued much, that

that a benefit giuen him by the people of Rome, should be spightfully wrested frō him by his aduersaries; that six months of his gouernment were to be cut off, & so he to be callea home to the Cittie: notwithstanding the people had commaunded at the last creation of Magistrates, that there should regard be had of him, although absent. Neuertheleſſe, for the Common-wealths sake hee could be content to vndergoe the losse of that honour. And hauing writ to the Senate that all men might quit their Armies, he was so far from gaining the same, that contrariwise a levie was therevpon made throughout all Italy; and the two legions which were drawne from him, vnder a pretence of the Parthian warre, were still retained about the Cittie, which was likewise in Armes. And to what tended all this, but his destruction? And yet notwithstanding, hee was content to condiscend to all things, and to indure all inconveniences, for the cause of the Publique weale. Let Pompey goe to his gouernment and Prouinces; let both the Armies be discharged; let all men in Italy lay downe their Armes; let the Citty be freed of feare; the assemblies of the people left to their auncient libertie; and the whole gouernment of the State remitted to the Senate and people of Rome. For the better accomplishment whereof, vnder well advised and secure conditions, let an oath be taken for due keeping of the same: or otherwise, let Pompey approache neerer vnto him; or suffer Cæsar to come neerer to him, that these controuersies might happely receiue an end by conference.

Roscius, hauing this message, went to Capua, accompanied with L. Cæsar; where finding the Consuls and Pompey, he deliuered vnto them Cæsars propositions. They hauing consulted of the matter, made an aunswere in writing, and returned it by them to Cæsar, wherof this was the effect; That he should returne into Gallia, quit Arminiū, & dismisse his Army: which if he did, Pompey would then goe into Spaine; In the meane time, vntill assurance were giuen that Cæsar wold perform as much as he promised, the Consuls & Pompey wold not forbeare to levy souldiers. The condition was too vnequall, to require Cæsar to leaue Arminium, and to returne into his Prouince; and Pompey to hold Prouinces & legions belonging to other men: to haue Cæsar dismisse his Armie, and he to raise new troopes; to promise simply to goe to his gouernment, but to assigne no day for his departure: insomuch, that if hee had not gone vntill Cæsars time of gouernment had expired, he could not haue been blamed for falsifying his promise. But forasmuch as they appointed no time for a conference, nor made any shew of comming neerer, there could no hope be conceiued of peace.

Capua. *Cicero, lib. 7. ad Atticum, epist.* 13, saith; that this aunswer was made at Thianū, in the territories of L'auour, the 25 of Ianuary.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CAesar, lying at Ravenna, within his gouernment of Gallia, and vnderstanding how matters past at Rome, according as Plutarch reporteth, commaunded diuers of his Centurions to goe before to Arminium, without any other armour then their swords; and to possesse themselues thereof with as little tumult as they could. And then leauing the troopes about him to be commaunded by Hortensius, he continued a whole day together in publique sight of all men, to behold the fencing of the *Plutarch: in vita Cæsaris.*

Sword-players. At night hee bathed his body, and then kept companie with ſuch as he had bidden to ſupper; and after a while roſe from the table, wiſhing euery man to keepe his place, for he would inſtantly come againe. Howbeit, hauing ſecretly commaunded ſome of his followers to attend him, in ſuch maner as might giue leaſt ſuſpicion, hee himſelfe tooke a Coach which he had hired; and making ſhew of going a contrary way, turned ſuddenly towardes Arminium. When hee came to the little riuer Rubicon, which diuided his gouernment from the reſt of Italie, he ſtood confounded through remorſe of his deſperate deſsigne, and wiſt not whither it were better to returne or goe on: but in the end, laying aſide all doubtfull cogitations, he reſolued vpon a deſperate Adage, importing as much as *Fall back, fall edge.* And paſsing ouer the Riuer, neuer ſtaied running with his Coach, vntill he came within the Cittie of Arminium: Where he met Curio & Antonius, Tribunes of the people; and ſhewed them to the ſouldiers, as they were driuen to flie out of Rome, diſguiſed like ſlaues in a Carriers cart.

Multa videri volumus velle, ſed nolumus. Seneca, epiſt. 96

Let it lie vpon the Dice.

Bonum eſt dum adhuc ſtat nauis in portu, præcauere tempeſtatē futuram; et non eo tempore, quo in medias irrueris procellas, trepidare. Ioſep. de bello Iud. l. 2.

It is ſaid, that the night before he paſſed ouer this Riuer, hee dreamed that he lay with his mother in an vnnaturall ſenſe; but of that, hee himſelfe maketh no mention. This Cittie of Arminium, is now called Rimini, and ſtandeth in Romania, vpon the Adriatick ſea, in the Popes dominion. The Riuer Rubicon, was anciently the bounds of Gallia; ouer which, Auguſtus cauſed a faire bridge to be built, with this inſcription;

IVSSV. MANDATV-VE. P.R. COS. IMP. MILI. TIRO. COMMILITO. MANIPVLARIS-VE. CENT. TVRMÆ-VE. LEGIONARI-VE. ARMAT. QVISQVIS. ES. HIC. SISTITO. VEXILLVM. SINITO. NEC CITRA. HVNC. AMNEM. RVBICONEM. DVCTVM. COMMEATVM. EXERCITVM-VE. TRADVCITO. SI. QVIS. HVIVSCE. IVSSIONIS. ERGO. ADVERSVS. FECIT. FECERIT-VE. ADIVDICATVS. ESTO. HOSTIS. P.R. AC. SI. CONTRA. PATRIAM. ARMA. TVLERIT. SACROSQVE. PENATES. E. PENETRALIBVS. ASPORTAVERIT. SANCIO. PLEBISCI. SENATVS-VE. CONSVLT. VLTRA. HOS. FINES. ARMA. PROFERRE. LICEAT. NEMINI.

S. P. Q. R.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IF this manner of proceeding be brought into diſpute, and the reaſon required why Cæſar kept not himſelfe in the prouince of Gallia, where he might haue held his gouernment according to his owne deſire, or otherwiſe haue drawne his adverſaries to buckle with the ſtrength of thoſe conquering Legions; and ſo brought the buſineſſe to a ſhort end, with as great probabilitie of good ſucceſſe, as by any hazard of vndertaking: It is to bee vnderſtoode, that in cauſes of this nature, which ſildome admitte anie treatie of accorde, hee that ſtriketh firſt, and hath the advantage

advantage of the forehand, is well entered into the way of victorie: for, the rule is of old, that if an enemy hath a designe in hand, it is farre more safe to begin first, and by way of preuention, to giue the onset on him, rather then to shew a readinesse of resisting his assaults. For, if blowes (of necessitie) must be way-makers to peace, it were a mistaking to be either wanting or behind hand therin; besides the gaine which attendeth this advantage. For, hee that stands affected to deny what is iust, and of right due, doth neuertheleſſe grant all things which the sword requireth; and will not sticke to supply all vniust refusals, with as great an ouer-plus of what may be demaunded. For which cause, Cæsar staid not the comming of his whole Army; but began with those forces which were ready at hand: and so preuenting all intendements, hee put his aduersaries to such a straight, that they quitted Italie for feare, and left Rome (with what soeuer was sacred or precious therein) to the mercy of them whom they had adiudged enemies to their Countrey.

Magis terrorem incutit, vt invadere volenti prior occurras, quã vt te repugnaturum significes. Thucyd. lib. 6.

Arma tenenti omnia dat, qui iusta negat. Lucan. lib. 1.

CHAP. VI.

¶ Cæsar taketh diuers Municipall *Townes*.

FOR which regard, he sent M. Antonius with fiue cohorts to Arctium: but he himselfe staid at Arminium with two legions, and there intended to inroll new troopes; and with seuerall cohorts, tocke Pisaurum, Fanum, and Ancona. In the meane while, being advertised that Thermus, the Prætor, did hold Tignium, with fiue cohorts, and fortified the place, and that all the inhabitants were well inclined towards him; hee sent Curio thither with three cohorts, which he had at Pisaurum and Arminium. Vpon notice of whose comming, Thermus (doubting of the affection of the towne) drew his cohorts forth of the Cittie, and fled. The souldiers by the way went from him, and repaired home-ward. Curio was there receiued with the great contentment and satisfaction of all men. Vpon notice whereof, Cæsar conceiuing hope of the fauourable affections of the Municipall townes, brought the cohorts of the 13 legion out of their guarizons, and marched towardes Auximum; a towne held by Atius, with certaine cohorts which hee had brought thither with him: and hauing sent out diuers Senatours, made a levie of men thoroughout all the Countrey of Picenum.

Cæsar.
Halfe a legion beeing about 2500 men.
Pisaurum. *Pesarò.* Ital.
Fanum.
Ancona.
Tignium.
Auximum.
Atius Varus
Picenum.

Cæsars comming beeing knowne, the Decuriones of Auximum repaired to Atius Varus, accompanied with great troopes of people; told him that the matter concernea not him at all: for, neither themselues, nor the rest of the Municipall townes, would shut their gates against such a Commaunder as Cæsar was, that by great and worthy seruice had so well deserued of the Common-wealth:

and therefore advised him to consider what might ensue thereof, and the danger which might befall him in particular. Varus, beeing throughly wakened at this warning, drew out the Guarison which he had brought in, and so fled away: and being overtaken by a few of Cæsars first troopes, was compelled to make a stand; and there giuing battell, was forsaken of his men. Some of the souldiers went home, and the rest came to Cæsar. Amongst them was taken L. Puppius, Centurion of a Primipile order, which place he had formerly held in Pompeys Army. Cæsar commended Atius souldiers; sent Puppius away; gaue thanks to them of Auximum; and assured them of a mindfull acknowledgement on his behalfe for this seruice.

L. Puppius.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Mongst other things which serue to inable our iudgements, and do make men wise to good fortune: that which is gathered from similitude or likenesse of qualitie, is not the vnsurest ground of our discourse; but oftentimes giueth more light to guide our passage, thorough the doubtfulnes of great enterprises, then any other help of reason: for, he that will attend an overture from euery particular, and tarry for circumstances to accomplish all his purposes, & make no vse of instances to better his advantage, shall neuer wade farre in businesses of moment, nor atchieue that which he desireth. Which Cæsar well obserued: for, vpon the accidentall discouerie of the disposition of one towne, hee thereby tooke occasion to make triall how the rest stood affected: and either found them or made them answerable to his hopes.

Pesarò. Ital. *Plut. Anto.* Concerning these places taken by Cæsar, it is to be vnderstood, that *Pisaurum* is sited on the Adriatick sea, and belongeth to the Dutchie of Vrbine; a towne famous of old, by reason of the prodigious opening of the earth, and swallowing vp the inhabitants before the battell of Actium, some few yeeres after it was thus taken by Cæsar.

Fanò. Ital. *Fanum* was so called of a faire Temple which was there built to Fortune. *Tacit. Annal.* 10. *Exercitus Vespasiani ad Fanum Fortunæ iter sistit.* It is a small towne on the same sea, and belongeth to the Pope.

Ancona. *Ancona* is a famous towne vpon the Adriaticke sea, sited vpon a boaw-like promontorie, which taketh in the sea betweene two forlands; and so maketh one of the fairest Hauens of all Italie, as well for largenes as for safetie. From whence riseth that common saying, expressing the rarenesse and singularity of three things; *Vnus Petrus in Roma*, noting the beauty of Saint Peters Church; *Vna Turris in Cremona*, the excellent workmanship of a steeple there: And *vnus Portus in Ancona*, which is this Hauen. The Emperour Traian, to giue it more shelter, and keepe it from the furie of the wind, raised the top of the Promontorie in fashion of a halfe moone, with a mount made of great Marble stones: and made it Theater wise, with descents and degrees to goe to the sea; together with an Arke triumphall in memorie thereof. The towne is now vnder the Pope.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THis word *Decurio* hath a double vnderſtanding: for, Romulus hauing 3000 foote, and 300 horſe, diuided them into three Tribes, & euery Tribe into ten Curies, containing 100 foote men and tenne horſmen. Whereby Marcellinus concludeth, that *Decuriones, et Centuriones à numero cui in Militia præerant dicebantur.* But Vegetius is more particular in this point. A Companie of footmen (ſaith he) was called a *Centurie* or *Maniple*: and a troope of horſe was called *Turma*, of *Ter-denos*, contayning 30 men, whereof the Captaine was named *Decurio*. In which ſenſe Cæſar ſpeaketh; *Ea res per fugitiuos L. Aemylij Decurionis equitum Gallorum hoſtibus nunciatur.* But in this place it hath another ſignification: for, the Romaines, when they ſent any Cittizens to people and inhabite a place, they choſe out euery tenth man; ſuch as were found moſt able, and of beſt ſufficiencie, to make and eſtabliſh a publique Councell: whom they called *Decuriones*; according as Pomponius and other Ciuilians vnderſtand it. So that theſe *Decuriones* were the Senate of that place.

Decuriones.

Lib. 2. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. de bell. Gallico.

CHAP. VII.

Lentulus flieth in great feare out of Rome. *Cæſar commeth to Corſinium.*

Cæſar.

THeſe things beeing reported at Rome, the Cittie was ſuddenly ſtrooke into ſuch a terrour, that when Lentulus the Conſull came to open the Treaſurie, and to deliuer out money to Pompey according to the Act of Senate, he fled out of the Cittie, & left the inner chamber of the Treaſurie open. For, it was reported (although vntruly) that Cæſar was neere approching, & that his Caualrie was hard at hand. Marcellus, the other Conſul, together with moſt of the other Magiſtrates, followed after. Pompey, departing the day before, was gone to thoſe legions which he had taken from Cæſar, & had left in Apulia to winter. In the meane while, the inrolement of ſouldiers ceaſed within the Cittie. No place ſeemed ſecure betweene that and Capua. There they began firſt to aſſemble and aſſure themſelues; impreſting for ſouldiers, ſuch as by Iulius law were ſent thither to inhabite. And the Fencers which were there trained and exerciſed by Cæſar, for the entertainement of the people of Rome, were by Lentulus brought out, ſet at libertie, mounted vpon horſes, & cõmaunded to follow him. But afterwards, vpõ adviſe of his friends (euery mans iudgement diſallowing thereof) he diſperſed them heere and there throughout Campania, for their better ſafetie and keeping.

Sanctiore Aerario.

Capua.

Lex Iulia.

Picenum.

Cingulum.

Asculum.

L. Hirrus.
Camerinum
Domitius Aeneobarb.
Corfinium.
Albania
Marsia.
Pelignia.

2500 men.

Cæsar, dislodging from Auximum, marched throughout all the Countrey of Picenum, and was most willingly receiued by all the Præfectures of those Regions, and relieued with all necessaries which his souldiers stood in need of; insomuch as Commissioners were sent vnto him from Cingulum, a towne which Labienus had founded, and built from the ground at his owne charges, promising to obay whatsoeuer he commaunded: wherevpon he required souldiers, & they sent them accordingly. In the meane time, the twelfth legion overtooke Cæsar, and with these two hee marched directly to Asculum, a towne which Lentulus Spinther held with ten Cohorts: who, vnderstanding of Cæsars approche, left the place; and labouring to carry the troopes with him, was forsaken by the greatest part of the souldiers: and so marching with a few, happened by chaunce vpon Vibullius Rufus, sent of purpose by Pompey into the Countrey of Picenum, to confirme and settle the people. Vibullius, being aduertised how matters went there, tooke the souldiers, and so dismissed him of his charge: gathering likewise from the confining Regions, what cohorts hee could get from Pompeis former inrolements; and amongst others, entertained L: Hirrus, flying with sixe cohorts out of Camerinum, whereof he had the keeping. These being all put together, made 13 cohorts; and by long marches, he made towards Domitius Aeneobarbus, who was at Corfinium, telling him that Cæsar was at hand with two legions. Domitius had raised twenty cohorts, out of Albania, Marsia, and Pelignia, adiacent Countreys. Asculum beeing taken in, and Lentulus driuen out, Cæsar made inquirie after the souldiers that had left Lentulus, and commaunded them to bee inrolled for him. And after one daies aboade for the prouision of Corne, he marched towards Corfinium. Vpon his approche thither, Domitius sent 5 cohorts out of the towne, to breake downe the bridge of the Riuer, which was about three miles off. The vauntgard of Cæsars Armie, incountering with Domitius souldiers, draue them from the bridge, & forced them to retrait into the towne; wherby Cæsar past ouer his legions, made a stand before the towne, & incamped himselfe vnder the walles.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Sempre é congiunto in vn medesimo suggetto. l' Insolentia con la Timiditá. Lib. 2.

IT is well obserued by Guichardine, that Insolencie & Timiditie are neuer found asunder, but doe alwaies accompany one another in the same subiect; for, the minde beeing the center of all such motions, doth according to euery mans nature, giue the like scope to passions of contrariety, and extend them both to an equidistant circumference: as, if courage shall happen to dilate it selfe to Insolencie, then is doubtfulnesse in like manner inlarged to Cowardice; & will imbase mens thoughts as lowe, as they did rise in height by insulting. For which cause it is aduised by such as treat of Morality, that men be well warie in admitting dilatation of passions, or in suffering them to flie out beyond the compasse of reason, which containeth the measure of Equabilitie, commended by Cicero, to be obserued throughout the whole course of mans life. Lentulus the Consull may be an instance of

De Officijs.

this

this weakenes, and learne others moderation by shunning his intemperancie. For, in question of qualifying the rage of these broiles, & sorting of things to a peaceable end, his arrogancie was incompatible with tearmes of agreement, and overswaide the Senate with heedlesse impetuositie. And againe, when his authoritie, and Consular grauitie should haue settled the distracted Cōmons, and made good his first resolution, his over-hastie flying out of the Cittie, did rather induce the people to belieue, that there was no safetie within those wals, not for so small a time, as might serue to haue shut the Treasurie at his heeles; and so became as abiect, as before hee shewed himselfe insolent.

Concerning these words *(Aperto sanctiore Aerario)* it is to be noted, that *Aerarium* was their publique Treasurie; and by the appointment of Valerius Publicola, was made within the Temple of Saturne: whereof diuers men make diuers coniectures. Macrobius saith, that as long as Saturne continued in Italie, there was no theft committed in all the countrey: and therefore his Temple was thought the safest place to keepe money in. Plutarch thinketh rather, that the making of the Treasurie in that place, did allude to the integritie of the time wherein Saturne raigned; for, avarice and deceit was not then known amongst them. S. Cyprian is of an opinion, that Saturne first taught Italie the vse and coynage of money; and therefore they gaue the keeping thereof to his Dietie. Howsoeuer; it is manifest, that not onely the publique Treasure was there kept, but also their Records, Chartes, Ordinances and Edicts: together with such bookes as were for their immeasurable greatnes, called *Libri Elephantini*; contayning all their Acts of Senate and deedes of Armes, atchieued by the Commaunders abroad, as also their militarie Ensignes which they fetched alwaies from thence when they went into the field: and there likewise did such Embassadours as came to Rome, enregister their names, as Plutarch affirmeth.

Aerarium. Plutar. in vita Publicolæ. Aerarium populus Romanus in æde Saturni habuit. Festus.

Libri Elephantini.

Signa ex Aerario prompta feruntur ad Dictatorem. Liv. lib. 4.

It was called *Aerariū* of *Aes*, signifying Brass; for that the first money vsed by the Romaines was of that metall, vntill the yeere of Rome 485, as Pliny witnesseth; when they began first to coyne peeces of siluer marked with the letter X. whereof they tooke the appellation of *Denarium*, as valuing ten asses of brass, which before they vsed for their coyne; and euery of the saide asses waied 12 ounces. Touching their order obserued in their Treasurie, for their disposing and laying vp of their moneys, we must vnderstand, that as bodies politique require necessarie and ordinarie treasure to be imploied in such manner, as may best concurre with the publique honour and weale of the same: so there must be speciall care to prouide against vnusuall and extraordinarie casualties, which are not remooued but by speedy and effectuall remedies. According to which prouidence the Romaines disposed of their treasure, and tooke the twentith part of their receit, which they called *Aurum vicessimarium*, and reserued it apart in an inner chamber; where it lay so priuiledged, that it was a capitall crime to touch it, but in extreame and desperate necessity: as in time of warre with the Galles, or in a sedition and tumult of the people. Liuie affirmeth as much, where he saith, *Cætera expedientibus quæ ad bellum opus erant consulibus, aurū vicessimariū, quod in sanctiore Aerario ad vltimos casus seruaretur, promi placuit, prompta ad quatuor Millia pondo Auri.* THE

Lib. 3. cap. 33.

Aurum vicessimarium.

Lib. 24.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SVch as affect offices and dignities in a State, muſt euer haue meanes to court *Souerainty*, according as may beſt ſute with her *Politia*, either as ſhe is eſpouſed to a Monarch, or left in truſt to a Multitude. Hence it was, that the Romaines to gaine the fauour of the people, & to make way for their owne ends, were very ſumptuous in ſetting foorth ſhewes and ſpectacles, of diuers ſorts and faſhions; and ſpecially of Gladiators or Fencers, as beſt fitting a Romaine diſpoſition, & more pleaſing then others of any kind. *Equidem* (ſaith Tully) *exiſtimo, nullum tempus eſſe frequentioris populi, quàm illud Gladiatorum, neque concionis vllius, neque verò vllorum Commitiorum.* And in another place; *Id autẽ ſpectaculi genus erat, quod omni frequentia, atque omni hominum genere celebratur, quo multitudo maximè delectatur.*

Pro Roſcio.

Their manner was to keepe great numbers of theſe Fencers, in ſome conuenient and healthfull townes of Italie, as at Rauenna, & Capua (which were as Seminaries of theſe people) and there to traine them vp in the feate of fencing, vntill they had occaſion to vſe them in their ſhewes, either at their triumphall entries into the Citty vpon their victories, or at the funerall ſolemnitie of ſome perſonage of memorie; or otherwiſe at their feaſts and iollities.

And therefore they were called, *Buſtuarij à buſtis.*

Quin etiam exhilarare viris conuiuia cæde
Mos olim, et miſcere epulis ſpectacula dira.

Sil. Italicus.

They fought commonly man to man, at all aduantage, and were ſildome excuſed, vntill one of the two lay dead vpon the place. Neither was hee then quitted that had ſlaine his companion, but ſtood liable to vndertake another, and ſo a third, vntill he had foiled ſixe or ſeauen Combattants. And if his hap were to preuaile ſo often, he was then honoured with a Garland wound about with ribands of wooll, which they called *Lemniſci*, and receiued of the Prætor a great knotted ſtaffe, called *Rudis*: which he afterward carried about with him as an enſigne of libertie. Theſe bloudy ſpectacles continued vnto the time of Conſtantine the great; and were by him prohibited, as likewiſe alſo by Arcadius and Honorius; and vtterly aboliſhed after the raigne of Theoderick, king of the Gothes. Let him that would looke further into the faſhion of theſe ſhewes, read what Lipſius hath written cõcerning the ſame. That which I obſerue heerein, is, the vſe which the State made heereof: for, howſoeuer theſe ſights and ſolemnities were ſette forth for the compaſsing of priuate ends; yet neuertheleſſe, the Common-weale drew benefit from the ſame. For, a multitude beeing of a fickle and mutable nature, are no way ſo well ſettled with contentment of the time, or kept from nouelties and innouations, as with publick ſhewes and entertainements: which are as ſtaies to their affections, that they ſwarue not from the gouernment by which they liue in ciuill conſociation. So we read how the Grecians inſtituted, as popular entertainements, their Olympian, Nemean, Iſtmean, and Pythian Games; The Romaines, their Apollinary, Secular, Gladiatory, and Hunting ſhewes, with Tragedies and Comedies: and all

Lemniſci. Spectatum ſati et donatum, iam rude. Horac.

The Romanes neuer vſed theſe Gladiators in any military ſeruice, but onely in Ciuill warres. *Ac deforme inſuper auxilium, duo millia Gladiatorum: ſed per ciuilia arma ſeueris ducibus vſurpatũ. Tac. hiſto. 1.*

all for the satisfaction of the people. Wherein, howsoeuer the Grecians seem more iudicious, for inventing such Games as might both exercise and entertaine the people, yet the Romaines failed not of the end aymed at in these spectacles; which was, to inure them to bloud and slaughter, and to make thē dreadlesse in cases of horrour.

But, to leaue all shewes of this nature, as either too little for earnest, or too much for pastime; it shall suffice to note, that these publique entertainements are so farre expedient as they consist of pleasure and comlinesse: for, as their chiefest end is to pleasure and content the people; so their manner must be directed by lawfulnesse and honestie. In which respect, a Tragedy is more commendable then a Comedy; forasmuch as few comicall arguments doe sympathise with honestie.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

TO be great, and of a large proportion, doth not take away casualties of inconuenience; nor can it giue a priuiledge, to free thinges from distemperature: tall men are as subiect to Feauers, as others of lesser stature; and great Empires as easily disturbed, as the states of pettie Princes.

O faciles dare summa Deos, eademque tueri difficiles! — *Lucan. lib. 1.*

It is easier to attaine the end of high desires, then to keepe it being got: and better is the assurance of seeking, then of possessing. The Romaine people that had over-awed the world with Armes, & left no kingdom vnfoiled with the fear of their legions, were as much dismaied at a subiects disloialtie, as was possible for a meane State to be amuzed vpon an alarum of any danger. And that Citty which suffered no enemie to approche neer her confines, but in the condition of a Captiue, was not trusted as able to giue her owne people safety. — *Parare, et quærere arduũ: tueri difficilius. Liv. lib. 37.*

sic turba per Vrbem
Præcipiti lymphata gradu, velut vnica rebus
Spes foret afflictis patrios excedere muros,
Inconsulta ruit. — *Lucan. lib. 1.*

The aduantage is, that kingdomes of great commaund, haue great helps in cases of disturbance; but are otherwise as subiect to apprehensiōs of distrust, as those of lesser power to resist.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Cæſar goeth on with the ſiege of Corſinium, *and taketh it.*

*DOMITIVS, being thus ingaged, ſent out skilfull men of the Countrey, with promiſe of great reward to carie Letters to Pompey, intreating and praying, that he would come and relieue him; for, Cæſar, by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſages, might with two Armies bee eaſily ſhut vp: which opportunitie if he neglected, himſelfe, with aboue 30 cohorts of ſouldiers, beſides a great number of Senators and Romaine Knights, were in danger of running a hard fortune. In the meane time, hee exhorted his men to courage and reſolution; placed his * Artillery on the walles; aſsigned euery man his quarter to bee made good; promiſed in publique aſſembly of the ſouldiers, foure akers a peece to each man out of his owne lands and poſseſsions: and the like rateable parts to the Centurions and Enocates. Meane-while, it was told Cæſar, that the inhabitants of Sulmo, a towne diſtant ſeauen miles from Corſinium, were deſirous to receiue his commaunds, but that they were reſtrained by Q. Lucretius, a Senatour, & Atius Pelignius, that kept the towne with a garrizon of ſeauen cohorts. Whereupon, he ſent thither M. Antonius with fiue cohorts of the ſeauenth legion: whoſe Enſignes were no ſooner diſcouered by thoſe of the towne, but the inhabitants and ſouldiers came all out, to gratulate and welcome Antonius. Lucretius and Atius conuaied themſelues ouer the wall. Atius beeing taken and brought to Antony, deſired to be ſent to Cæſar. Antonie returning the ſame day, brought Atius & the ſouldiers that were found in Sulmo, to Cæſar; whom he tooke to his Army, and ſent Atius away in ſafetie.*

Cæſar, the three firſt daies, made great workes to fortifie his Campe; cauſed ſtore of corne to be brought from the townes next about him; and there determined to ſtay the cõming of the reſt of his forces. Within the ſpace of thoſe three daies, the eight legion came vnto him, with 22 cohorts newly inrolled in Gallia, together with CCC. horſe, which the King of Noricum had ſent vnto him. Vpon the arriual of which forces, he made ſecond Camp on the other ſide of the towne, and appointed Curio to commaund it. The reſt of the time was ſpent in compaſſing the towne with a Rampier and with Caſtells: the greateſt part of which worke beeing finiſhed, it chaunced at the ſame time, that ſuch as were ſent to Pompey, returned. The Letters beeing read, Domitius diſſembling the truth, gaue out in the counſell of warre, that Pompey would come ſpeedily to ſuccour them: and therefore wiſhed that no man ſhould be diſmaied, but to prepare ſuch things as were of vſe for the defence of the towne; and hee himſelfe conferring ſecretly with ſome of his familiar friends, conſulted how he might eſcape away. But foreſmuch as his lookes agreed not with his words, and that his cariage ſeemed more troubled and timorous then vſuall, & likewiſe his ſecret conferences, as

15000 men, or there-about.

* Tormenta.

Sulmo.

Duces rebus afflictis hilaritatẽ de induſtria ſimulant. Seneca, ad Poly.

as also his avoiding of publique councells and assemblies, as much as hee could, the matter coulde bee no longer dissembled. For, Pompey had writ backe, that hee woulde not hazard the cause, by drawing it into such tearmes of extremitie: neither was Domitius ingaged in the keeping of Corfinium by his advice or consent; & therefore, if by any meanes he could, he should quit the place, and bring the forces vnto him: But the siege was so straight, and the workes did so begird the towne, that there was no hope of effecting it. Domitius purpose being knowne abroad, the souldiers within the towne, about the beginning of the euening forsooke their stations, and drew themselues apart, and thereupon had conference with the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions to this effect: That they were besieged by Cæsar, and the fortifications almost finished; their Generall Domitian (in hope and confidence of whom they were engaged in that place) setting aside all matters whatsoeuer, was bethinking himselfe how hee might escape and flie away: and in regard thereof, they were not to neglect their owne safetie. The Marsi at first began to differ from the rest, vpon that point; possest themselues of that part of the towne which seemed to be strongest: and such a dissension thereby grew amongst them, that they had almost gone to blowes. Howbeit, vnderstanding a while after (by messengers which past to and fro betweene them) of Domitius purpose to flie away, wherefor formerly they were ignorant, they agreed together, and with one consent brought Domitius out into open publique; and sent some to Cæsar, to let him know, they were ready to open the gates to receiue his commaundements, and to deliuer Domitius aliue into his hands. Vpon advertisement whereof (albeit Cæsar found it a matter of great consequence, to gaine the towne with as much speed as he could, and to take the souldiers into his Campe, least eyther by large promises and gifts, or by entertayning other purposes, or otherwise through false bruits or deuised messages, their mindes might happely be altered, as oftentimes in the course of war, great and eminent chances & alterations do happen in a smal moment of time; yet for that he feared least the night time might giue occasion to the souldiers vpō their entrance to sack & pilfer the towne) hee cōmending those that came vnto him, sent them back againe, & willed that the gates & the walles should be kept with a good guard. He himselfe disposed the souldiers vpon the worke, which hee had begun; not by certaine spaces and distances, as he had accustomed the dayes before, but by continuall watches and stations, one touching another round about all the fortifications. Moreouer, he sent the Tribunes & Captaines of the horse about, and willed them to haue a care that there might be no eruptions or sallies, and that they should looke to the priuate slippings out of particular men. Neither was there any man so heauie or dull, that suffered his eyes to be shut that night; for, so great was the expectation of what would ensue, that no man thought of any other thing, then of what would happen to the Corfinians, to Domitian, to Lentulus and the rest. About the fourth watch of the night, Lentulus Spinther spake from the wall to our souldiers that had the watch, and signified that hee would willingly haue leaue to come to Cæsar: which being graunted, he was sent out of the towne, attended with some of Domitians souldiers, who left him not vntill he came in sight of Cæsar. With him he dealt concerning his life, & praied him

Lentulus Spinther.

him to pardon him; put him in mind of their former familiarity; acknowledged the fauours receiued from Cæsar, which were very great; namely, that by his meanes, he was chosen into the Colledge of Priests; that vpon the going out of his Prætorship, he obtained the prouince of Spaine; and in his suit to be Consull, hee was much assisted by him.

Collegium Pontificum.

Cæsar, interrupting his speech, told him, that hee came not from his gouernment to hurt any man; but to defend himselfe from the iniuries of his aduersaries; to restore the Tribunes of the people to their dignitie, that were thrust out and expelled the Cittie; and to put himselfe and the people of Rome into liberty, which were oppreſt with the partialities of a few factious persons. Lentulus, being reassured vpon this aunswere, prayed leaue to returne into the towne; and the rather, that this which he had obtained touching his owne safety, might giue hope to the rest: amongst whom, some were so affrighted, that hee doubted they would fall into some desperate course; and hauing obtained leaue, hee departed. Cæsar, as soone as it was day, commaunded all the Senators and Senators children, together with the Tribunes of the souldiers, and the Romaine Knights, to be brought out vnto him. Of Senatours, there were L. Domitius, P. Lentulus Spinther, Vibullius Rufus, Sex: Quintilius Varus, the Treasurer, L. Rubius; besides Domitians sonne, and many other young men: with a great number of Romaine Kinghts and Decurions, whom Domitian had called out of the Municipall Townes. These beeing all brought forth vnto him, were protected from the insolencies and iniuries of the souldiers. Moreouer, he spake a few words vnto thē, concerning the ill requitall on their behalfe, for the great benefites hee had done vnto them: and so sent them all away in peace.

The gold which Domitian had laid vp in the publique Treasury, being brought vnto him by the two chiefe Magistrates or Bailiefes of Corfinium, he redeliuered to Domitian; least hee should seeme more continent in taking away mens liues, then their moneys: although he knew, that this money was part of the publique treasure, and deliuered out by Pompey to pay souldiers. He commaunded Domitians partie to be sworne his souldiers. And that day remouing his Camp, went a full daies march through the confines of the Marmurci, Frentani, & Larinati, and came into Apulia.

Duumviri.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

AS it is true, that a friend is not solie tied to the respects of right; but doth giue more advantage by offices of good indeuour, then by that which dutie requireth: so is it dangerous for a man to put his sickle further into a harueſt, then happely may deserue thankes of the owner. Neither can it be cleered from imputation of follie, to care an other mans busines, with hazard and perill of our own fortune. Howbeit, the Current & drift of things, doth oftentimes so ingage both our persons and affections, either in the maine action it selfe, or in some circumstances of the same, that we cannot avoid the hazard of rebuke, if our indeuours doe not sort with

Latius patet officiorum quàm iuris Regula.

Stultitiæ videtur, alienam rē suo periculo curare. Salust. de bello Iugurth.

with his liking that is to approoue them. VVhereof Domitius may be an instance; who, taking Corfinium on the behalfe of the State, was neuertheleſſe disavowed in his merit, and consequentlie, brought into extreamitie of danger, for his over-forwardnes in the seruice of his Country. Such libertie hath soueraintie, either to take or leaue, when the euent shal not rise answerable to a good meaning.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

WHen a partie is fallen into an exigent, it hath no better remedie for reliefe then that of the Comick, *Redimas te captum quàm queas minimo*; which is not vnderstood, that we should cleere the head, and leaue the rest of the members to misfortune: for, that were to draw a double mischiefe on the whole bodie. But the head is to escape with as little preiudice to the other parts, as by wisedome and vertue may be gained; and so much the rather, least in seeking to purchase safetie with hazard of the other members, it draw the whole destruction vpon it selfe; as it fell out with Domitius: Who, going about to flie out of the towne, and to leaue such forces as by his meanes were imbarked in that cause, was iustly made the sacrifice of their peace. Sulla deserued better to be followed by men of adventure: for, beeing mooued to escape himselfe away by night, and to leaue his troopes to such fortune as Iugurth vpon advantage should put vpon them; answered, *Etiamsi certa pestis adesset, mansurum potius, quàm proditis quos ducebat, turpi fuga, incertæ ac forsitan paulò pòst morbo interituræ vitæ parceret*. And therefore, if a Commaunder shall at any time goe about to betray his forces, with hope of his owne safetie, the issue will bring out either his dishonour, or his confusion.

Salust. de bello Iugurth.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

SVch as vndertake great desigues, doe likewise proiect the meanes of archieuing the same, & doe propound vnto themselues such principles to be obserued, as they take to be speciall way-makers to the fortune they reach at; from which grounds they sildome or neuer swarue. As appeareth by this of Cæsar; who aymingat the souerainty of that Empire, and knowing no way so direct to leade him therevnto, as to clime vp by the steps of Mildnes, and to make his Aduersaries debtors to his clemency, he left aside his Maximes of war, to hold firme that principle; and did forbeare to gaine a towne of great importance, with that speed which occasiõ & opportunitie did affoord him, and to take the troopes into his Campe, for the preuention of such chaunces and changes, as doe happen in a small moment of time; least his souldiers entering into the towne, after the shutting of the euening, might take leaue of the night time to make forfeiture of his mercie.

It ſhall therefore be well-beſeeming the wiſedome of a Leader, to haue alwaies reſpect to the principles of his Meanes, and to diſtinguiſh between that which is fit and that which is more fit, in the natiue cariage of his buſineſs.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

Collegium Pontificum.

CONcerning this *Colligium Pontificum*, the Colledge of Prieſtes; we are to note, that Numa, the founder of the Romaine Commonweale, for the preventing of partialities and factions in that State, which at that time conſiſted of two Nations or Tribes, did breake the whole bodie into manie ſmall parts and fractions, making his diuiſion by Artes and Occupations; whereby he ordained, that all Minſtrels or Trumpeters ſhould bee incorporated into one Brotherhood: and that in like manner, Goldſmithes, Carpenters, Diers, Shoomakers, Coriers, Tawyers, Belfounders, Potters, & all other trades & Sciences, ſhould haue their peculiar body or Fraternitie; appointing them feaſts, aſſemblies, and ſeruices, according to the worthineſs of each myſterie, as Plutarch hath obſerued in the life of Numa.

Plutarch in the life of Numa.

Valerius Maximus maketh mention of the Colledge of Pipers or Minſtrels. And Plinie, in like manner, mentioneth the Colledge of Copperſmithes. Cicero taketh notice of the colledge or companie of Marchants, which hee calleth *Collegium Mercurialium*; for that of old time, the nimble tongued Mercurie was belieued in, as the Guider and Protector of Marchants. The priuiledges & cuſtomes where-with theſe Fraternities were endowed, are ſet downe by Caius, the Ciuilian. There are certaine Colledges at Rome, ſaith hee, incorporated by Act of Senate, and eſtabliſhed with good ordinances and conſtitutions, hauing certaine things in common, in imitation of the publique weale: And as Scenola further noteth, with power to make lawes, for the better gouernment of ſuch Colledges and Societies; ſo the ſame be not contrary to the fundamentall lawes of the State. After the ſame manner, the Prieſtes had their peculiar Colledge or corporation; & at the firſt inſtitution were but foure in number, and all of Patrician families, vnto the yeere of Rome 454: at what time there were foure of the Commons choſen, and added to the former number; whom Sulla increaſed to 15, as Dio: witneſſeth. And theſe were called *Collegiũ Pontificũ*, wherof this *Pontifex Maximus* was preſident: one of the abſoluteſt dignities of Rome; as being for tearme of life, and of greateſt and diuine authority. Which generall diſtribution of the Romaines into trades and myſteries, doth not vnfitly bring into remẽbrance, that which is vſuall amongſt the Turks, who by their law, are al bound to be of an occupatiõ; not excepting the Grand Signior himſelfe. For, hee that now vpholdes the Ottoman familie, by the name of *Sultan Acmet*, is a profeſſed maker of rings, which the Turkes doe weare on their thumbe when they ſhoote, to let the ſtring go eaſily without hurting them: and his father Mahomet was a Fletcher, and made arrowes. In like manner, all his Courtiers are of trades and occupations; and euery man is called by the title of his Art: as, he that was lately Viſier Baſſa to the preſent Sultan, was called by the name of *Natcaſh Baſha*; the Viſier Painter, beeing indeed the

Cap. de inſtitutis Lib. 34. cap. 1. Lib. 2. Epiſt. ad Qu. fratrẽ. Epiſt. 5.

In L. 1. §.

L. Pater filiũ. §.

Lib. 36.

Acometus the great Turke.
Fruterer Baſha.
Nailer, or parer of nailes, Baſha.
Buſtangi Baſhaw, Gardener

the Sultans Painter; neither are they ashamed to acknowledge as much: for, opening Letters which were sent into Turkie out of Christendome, that were limmed about the Margin, said, he could paint as well as that himselfe.

THE FIFT OBSERVATION.

THE fift thing which I obserue out of these passages at Corfinium, is the restoring back of such moneys to Domitian, as were brought vnto Cæsar by the Officers of the towne, and which he knew to be of the publique treasure of the State. Which howsoeuer may seeme admirable to the hearers of these times, wherein there is but this one rule for matter of money, *Vnde habet quærit nemo, sed oportet habere*: Yet such as wil lay a sure foundation of honour, and thriue in the courses which they follow, must not be ignorant, that there is nothing more requisite to gaine opinion & reputation in the carriage of any publique busines, then to bee cleare of the least suspicion of couetousnes. Neither is there any meanes that will sooner win a multitude, to beliene in those thinges which are set abroach by publique Authoritie, then those two virgin vertues, Abstinence & Continencie: especially when they are found in Princes and chiese Cõmaunders, that can other wise iustifie their actions with soueraintie & vncontrolement. Nor on the other side, did euer Apollo giue out truer Oracle then that, which saide; that there was no meanes to ruine Sparta but by Auarice.

Caput autem est in omni procuratione negotij, et muneris Publici, vt auaritiæ pellatur etiam minima suspicio. Nulla autem re, conciliare facilius benevolentiam multitudinis possũt ij qui reipub. præsunt, quam abstinentia et continentia. Cicero.

Cic. lib. 1. Offici.

In which sense, C. Pontius, the Samnite, wished, that the Gods had reserued him to times wherein the Romaines would haue beene corrupted with gifts: for, then he would soone haue seene an end of their Cõmon-weale. And certainely, that Empire could neuer haue towred so high, nor continued firme so many ages, had not her foundation been laid by men of admirable temper in this kind: Such as was Paulus Aemilius; who hauing sacked Macedonia, and brought as much wealth into the publique Treasurie, as gaue an end to Tributes and Subsidies, was no way the richer (but in honour) for all that hee had taken. And such also was Scipio Africanus; that of all the wealth of Carthage, brought nothing into his priuate house, but a high and triumphant Name, as a merit of his vertues and deedes of Armes: Leauing behind him this Oracle, as a document to following times; That couetous Captaines are good to none but to the Enemie. And to conclude, such was M. Curius, who hauing triumphed of the Samnites, the Sabines, and Pyrrhus, refused a great mass of Gold, which was offered him by the Samnites: esteeming it more honourable, to commaund them that had Gold, then to haue Gold of his owne. Howbeit, such is the frailetie of humaine nature, that for the most part, men haue alwaies suffered their desire of money, to increase with their wealth, although it were to their ruine and destruction. VVhich Cæsar well discerned, as appeareth by that which he writ to Oppius, touching this accident: *Hæc noua sit vincendi ratio, vt misericordia et liberalitate nos muniamus.*

Imperatores muneribus hiantes, Hostibus sunt perutiles. Appian. de bell. Hispan.

Cic. Cato Maior.

THE SIXT OBSERVATION.

VPon occaſion of Cæſars calling vnto him, out of the towne, *Senatores, ſenatorumque filios, Equiteſque Romanos*, it ſhal not ſeeme impertinent, to note the degrees and conditions of ſtate whereof the Romaine people conſiſted. For the better clearing wherof, it is to be vnderſtood, that by that notable tranſaction at Comitium, between Romulus and Tatius, it was agreed; that both thoſe Nations ſhould dwell togeather at Romulus towne, which after his name, ſhould bee called Rome: and that the inhabitants thereof, ſhould be named *Quirites*, after the name of Tatius Cittie. Howbeit, ſpeciallie they were diuided into three Tribes, whereof they which were of Romulus partie, were calléd after his name, *Ramnenſes*; thoſe that came with Tatius, *Tatienſes*; and the third Tribe *Lucerences*, of *Lucus*, a Groue: foraſmuch as they beeing neither of Romulus retinew, nor yet of the Sabines, were neuertheleſſe met together at that place, from diuers parts, as at a Groue where commonly aſſemblies were made to offer ſacrifice, and to performe their heatheniſh ſolemnities.

Plutarch. in vita Romuli.

Each of theſe Tribes were diuided by Romulus into ten Curiæ; and ſo made the number of 30 Curiæ. And out of each of theſe Curiæ, he choſe 3 perſons, ſuch as by their preſence and ſufficiencie, ſeemed fitteſt, and moſt woorthy; which amounted to ninetie. To whom, out of euery Tribe hee further added three, and one more of his owne chooſing, to make the number vp a hundred; whom he eſtabliſhed as his Councel or Senate: by whoſe aduiſe he reſolued of all matters of conſequence, either concerning peace or warre, as Dioniſius Halicarnaſſeus noteth. Howbeit, Plutarch ſaith, they were ſildome aſſembled but to vnderſtand the Kings pleaſure: and had no other preheminence in the Common-weale, ſauing they were the firſt that did knowe what was purpoſed. Howſoeuer; they were ſtiled by the name of *Senatores, quaſi ſeniores*, as thereby qualified to be admitted to Counſell: and in the ſame ſenſe they were called *Patres*.

Senatus.

Lib. 2.

The Senate beeing thus eſtabliſhed, Romulus ſelected out of euery of thoſe Curiæ ten young men, and ſo made vp the number of three hundred for a guard to his perſon: who for their readineſſe and nimbleneſſe were called *Celeres*, all mounted on horſebacke: whence grew their *Ordo Equeſtris*, or band of Romaine knights, which were the meane betweene the Senate and the people; and as a Seminarie to ſupply the Senate; for, out of them were the Senators taken. The reſt, that were not of theſe two Orders, were comprehended vnder the name of the Commons, or Populacy. Whereby it appeareth, that Rome conſiſted of three eſtates; Senators, Knights, and the Commons, according to that of Auſonius;

Celeres or Equites: ordo Equeſtris.

Plebs or populus

Martia Roma triplex; Equitatu, Plebe, Senatu.

Touching the number of Senators, it is further to be noted, that Tarquinius Priſcus, to gaine the fauor of the people, tooke 100 of the Commons, & added them to the Senate, who were called *Senatores minorum Gentiũ*. And Brutus hauing

Senatores minoriũ Gentium.

hauing reduced it to a Common-weale, made thē vp three hundred out of the band of Knights; and from that time they were called *Patres conscripti*. Neither were they at all times limitted in that number: for, the seditious *Gracchi* added 300 more vnto them: and Iulius Cæsar admitted vnto the Senate all manner of persons. In which regard, Augustus (as Suetonius saith) *Senatorū affluentem numerum, deformi, et incondita turba (erant enim super mille, et quidam indignissimi) ad modum pristinum et splendorem redegit.*

Patres cōscripti.

Suetonius, 35.

Concerning a competencie of wealth, to make a man capable of the place of a Senator; we may obserue, that in the raigne of Seruius, the King, hee that was worth a thousand asses (which are about 300 pound sterling) was eligible. But the ritches of the Empire increasing, a Senators wealth was rated at nine thousand pound, according to Suetonius; *Senatorum sensum ampliauit, ac pro octingentorum milliū summa duodecies H·S taxauit, suppleuitque non habentibus.* The wealth of a Romaine Knight, was rated at three hundred three score, or there abouts.

Suetonius, 41.

This Corfinium, was the chiefe towne of the Pelignians, and stoode in the center of Italie, where all the confederate people assembled when they consulted of warre against the Romaines, for their right of Burgesshippe, or freedome of the Cittie, which was then denied them: which war was called *Bellū sociale, Marsicum*, and *Italicum*. There is now nothing remaining of that towne but the ruines, as a marke of the place where it anciently stood vpon a Plaine, commonly called Pentina, or Sant Peligno.

Corfinium. Strabo, lib. 6.

CHAP. IX.

Pompey goeth to Brundusium: Cæsar maketh *meanes to treate with him.*

Cæsar.

Pompey, vnderstanding of these things which had past at Corfinium, departed from Luceria, and went to Canusium, and from thence to Brundusium; causing all the power hee could to be raised by new musters and inrolements, arming shepheards and slaues, and mounting them on horsebacke; of whō he made some 300 horse. In the meane time, L. Manlius, the Prætor, fled from Alba with sixe cohorts; and Rutilius Rupus, Prætor, fled from Taracina with three cohorts: who descrying a farre off the Caualrie of Cæsar, commaunded by Binius Curius, forsaking the Prætor, turned their Ensignes towards Curius, and ioyned with him. In like manner, the daies following, diuers other cohorts came in as they marched, some to the foote troopes, and some to the horse. Cn: Magius of Cremona, maister of the workes, and of the munition in Pompeys Army, was taken on the way, and brought backe to Cæsar: whom he sent backe againe to Pompey, with commission to treat with him to this effect; For-

Nocerum.

aſmuch as there had yet happened no opportunity of meeting or conference, hee was now determined to ſeek him at Brunduſium; for, it much imported the Cõmon-weale, and euery mans ſafety in particular, that they two might confer together. Neither could thinges bee ſo well handled, vpon ſo great a diſtance of way, where the articles of treatie muſt be caried to and fro by a third partie, as when they met face to face to conclude of the conditions.

This meſſage being firſt giuen, he came to Brunduſium with ſixe legions, foure legions of old ſouldiers, and the other raiſed by new inrolements, or made vp as he came along the Countrey: for, he had preſently diſpatched Domitians cohorts from Corfinium into Sicily. At his comming, he found the Conſuls gone ouer to Dyrrachium, with the greateſt part of the Armie, and Pompey remaining at Brunduſium with twentie cohorts. Neither could hee certainely bee informed, whither he remained at Brunduſium to make good the towne, whereby he might the eaſier be maiſter of the Adriatick ſea, and commaund both the vtter parts of Italy, and the Regions of Greece, and ſo to keepe the warre on foote on the one ſide and on the other; or whether he ſtaied there for want of ſhipping. Howſoeuer; he would not endure, that Pompey ſhould thinke hee could not be forced to quit Italie; and therefore reſolued to ſtop vp the mouth of the Hauen, & to take away the vſe thereof, which he went about in this manner: Where the mouth of the Hauen was narroweſt, hee raiſed great mounts of earth on either ſide neere vnto the ſhore; for, there the Sea was ſhallow: but going further into the deepe, where no ſuch mounts could be raiſed, hee placed double flottes of wood, right againſt the ſame mounts, of thirtie foote ſquare; and at the corners caſt out foure Ankers to faſten them. Theſe flottes beeing thus placed, hee then added other flottes of the ſame ſcantling, and couered them with bavin and earth, to the end men might come readily vpon them to defend them. Hee armed them in front and on each ſide, with hurdles and gabions; and on euery fourth flotte, made a towre of two ſtories high, the better to defend them from violence of ſhipping, and from burning.

Cæſar beſieged Pompey at Brunduſiũ, the 23 of Feb ru. *Ann: vrbis cõd.* 704.

Againſt this worke, Pompey ſent out great ſhips of burthen, which he found in the Hauen, armed with towers of three ſtories high, full of munition, & all ſort of weapons, to hinder and diſturbe the ſame. So that euery day they fought a farre off each with other, with ſlings, arrowes, and other caſting weapons. Which buſineſs Cæſar ſo carried, as being willing not to let fall the conditions of peace, if happely it might be effected. And albeit hee greatly wondered that Magius, whom hee had ſent to Pompey, did not returne againe; and that this Treatie ſo often attempted, did hinder much his deſignes: yet hee thought it fitte by all meanes to perſeuer therein: and therefore ſent Caninius Renilus, one of his Legates, and an inward friend, and neere allied to Scribonius Libo, to ſpeake with him, commaunded him to perſwade Libo to mediate a reconciliation, and that Cæſar himſelfe might ſpeake with Pompey. It might be, that therevpon, both of them would yeelde to lay downe their Armes vpon equall conditions: the greateſt part of which honour would redound to Libo, if by his interceſsion the war might take an end.

Pompeys ſon maried Libo his daughter.

Libo, hauing heard Caninius, went ſtraight to Pompey; and within awhile returning,

returning, told him: That forasmuch as the Consuls were absent, there could be nothing done touching an agreement. Where-vpon, Cæsar resolued to let fall the matter of Treatie, which hee had so often attempted, and to prepare for warre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis accident of taking Cn: Magius, hath made knowne an officer of great place and vse in the Romaine Armie, of whom otherwise their Histories make little mention. For, howsoeuer there is found in these Commentaries, many particular descriptions of admirable and incredible workes; such as may seem to be made rather by Giants & Cyclops, then any labour of man; yet there is no mention of any *Præfectus Fabrûm*, or Maister of the workes in any of Cæsars Armies. Howbeit, Vegetius, expressing their singular care to haue in abundance all manner of prouisions requisite for an Armie, saith; That to euery legion did belong Carpenters, Bricklaiers, Smithes, Painters, & other Artizans, skilfull and fit to build lodgings for their wintering Campes; to make Engines and deuises for warre; such as were their portatiue, or ambulatorie towres, targets, morions, corslets, bowes, arrowes, darts, and piles: or whatsoeuer else might serue, either for offence or defence. Which Artificers were all knowne by the name of *Fabri*; and he that was Chiefe, and had the commaund of them, was called *Præfectus Fabrûm*. And in like manner, Plutarch sheweth, that there was such an officer; as also, that the place was giuen by the Generall; where hee saith, that Vibius a Sicilian, refused to lodge Cicero, as hee passed to exile, thorough Lucania; although that in his Consulshippe hee had bestowed vpon him the place of *Præfectus Fabrûm*. And albeit Cæsar maketh no mention of any such officer; yet Catullus dooth it for him, in such biting Trimetres as will not be forgotten:

Præfectus Fabrûm.

Lib. 2. cap. 11.

Plutarch in the life of Cicero.

Quis hoc potest videre, quis potest pati
Nisi impudicus, et vorax et Helluo,
Mamurram habere, quod comata Gallia
Habebat et vltima Britannia?

Of which Mamurra, Plinie thus writeth; Cornelius Nepos, saith hee, writeth, that Mamurra, a Romaine knight, borne at Formia, and Maister of the workes vnder Cæsar, in Gallia, was the first that couered all the walles of his house, which he built in Mount Cælius, with leaues of Marble. Neither let any man disdaine the Author as a meane person; for, this is that Mamurra, whom Catullus dooth note in his verses; vvhose house vvas farre more stately then Catullus did expresse, by saying hee had gotten all the wealth of Gallia Comata. For, the saide Cornelius affirmeth, that hee was the first in Rome that

Lib. 36. cap. 6.

that made the pillars of his houſe of ſolide Marble, euen hewen out of the quarries of Cariſtus, or Luna: Thus farre goeth Pliny. Out of which may be noted, that exorbitancie in gaining, doth produce the like courſe in ſpending; and howſoeuer ſuch commings in may be cloſe and ſecret, yet the iſſuings out will proclaime it in profuſe and lauiſhing manner: and therefore, ſuch as commaund in theſe places, and haue ſuch meanes to inrich themſelues, had neede to be cleane fingered. Cæſar writing to Oppius, mentioneth the taking of this man, as a thing of ſome note. *Cn: Magium, Pompei Præfectum deprehendi ſcilicet, meo inſtituto vſus ſum, et eum ſtatim miſſum feci: iam duo Præfecti fabrum, in meam poteſtatem venerunt, et à me miſsi ſunt.* Concerning the vſe of theſe manuall Artes, and the prerogatiue they haue in well ordered States; it is to be noted, that without theſe, no Cittie can conueniently be built, fortified, or furniſhed with Armes. And therevpon ſuch Artizans, haue alwaies chalenged a place of chiefe regard in the Common-weale. Whence it was, that Vliſſes ſcorned not *ſe fabrum profiteri.*

Epiſt. ad Attic. lib. 9. Epiſt. 8.

Odiſs. Homer. 23.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE *Maxime proprium* of warre, is oppoſition; and that vniuerſall, rather then any other kind of repugnancie: for, there is no ſympathiſing condition betweene two enemie Armies, otherwiſe then by mutuall exchange of *velle et nolle*, throughout the whole courſe of their intendements; as may be here obſerued vpon Cæſars arriuall at Brunduſium. For, finding Pompey to remaine there after the departure of the Conſuls, and not certainely informed of the reaſon of his ſtay; leaſt he ſhould think he could not be forced to quit Italy, Cæſar went about to thruſt him out headlong: or otherwiſe, if his purpoſe were to follow after the Conſuls to Dyrrachium, Cæſars deſsigne then was to ſhut him in, and ſo to haue followed the rule of contradiction, by which ſouldiers are directed in their atchieuements.

Concerning the ſite of Brunduſium, which hath euer been famous for the commodiouſneſſe of the Hauen, and the vſuall port where the Romaines tooke ſhipping for Greece; being but a hundred Italian miles diſtant from Apollonia in Epirus: We are to note, that the towne ſtandeth vpon a Langet of earth, extended into the Hauen Peninſule-like from the maine land, reſembling the neck and head of a Stagge, and in that regard is called Brunduſium, of βρέντη, which ſignifieth a Stagge: which Langet hath many crooked guts, or inlets of of the Sea, capable of great ſhipping; beſides the two maine Ports on either ſide of the towne, which with the reſt of the Hauen, make the ſafeſt and faireſt roade of that part of the world. The mouth of the Hauen where Cæſar made his flottes, is very ſtraight; and oppoſite therevnto, ſome three miles diſtant into the Sea, ſtandeth a ſmall Iland, to abate the violence and rage of the waues. Now, to beſiege Brunduſium, it was requiſite to take away the vſe and benefit of the Hauen: which Cæſar attempted with ſuch rare and artificiall works (of mounts where the Sea was ſhallowe, and of flottes where the water

Brũduſium quidam Poetæ breuitatis cauſa Brendam dixerunt. Feſtus.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water was deepe; and those made firme with earth, and fenced with hurdles & turrets) that the Reader may discerne it, by the description, to bee a Maisterpeece of excellent invention.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

IT is truly said of old; That peace is not deare at any rate. Which Antiochus well vnderstood, when he bought it of the Romaines for twelue thousand Attick talents, and 540000 bushels of wheate: Esteeming it as the soueraine happinesse of mans fortune; and an extraordinarie effect of those intelligent spirits, which guide the motions of the celestiall spheres, to keepe the elements in a disagreeing concord, and the feete of men in the pathes of tranquillitie. Hence it is, that such as are instruments of so great a good, and shall thereby happen to redeeme a Nation from horror and confusion, haue in all ages been crowned with honor & renowne, as the due rewarde of a Mediatour of Peace. And therefore Cæsar, perswading Libo to negotiate a cessation of Armes, and to worke in Pompey a disposition to an agreement, propounded the honour which attended this seruice, and the merit of that endeuour which brought backe peace into the Empire. *Liui. lib. 8. Dec. 4.*

CHAP. X.

Pompey leaueth Brundusium, and shippeth *himselfe for Greece.*

THE worke beeing halfe perfected, and nine daies labour bestowed vpon it; the shippes that had transported the Consuls and the other part of the Armie, returned from Dyrrachium to Brundusium: and therevpon, Pompey beganne to fitt himselfe for a departure; Beeing induced therevnto, either by the workes which Cæsar had begunne, or by a resolution formerly taken to quit Italie. And the better to retard Cæsars prosecution (least vpon his issuing out, the souldiers should enter the towne) he mured vp the gates, and stopt the enterances of the streets and passages; sunke ditches and trenches crosse the waies, & therin stuck sharp piles & stakes; and couering the same with slight hurdles, leuelled it with thin & light earth: leauing onely two waies free, which went vnto the Hauen, which he hedged in with a strong Palisado of huge sharpe Piles. *Cæsar.*

These things beeing thus prepared, he commaunded the souldiers to get a shipboard, without noise or tumult; and left vpon the walles, and in the towers here and there, some of the readiest Slingers and Archers, to bee called away vpon a warning

warning ſigne, when the reſt of the ſouldiers were all ſhipped; appointing Gallies to take them in, at an eaſie and ſafe place. The inhabitants of Brunduſium, oppreſſed with the iniuries and contumelies of Pompeys ſouldiers, did fauor Cæſars partie; and vnderſtanding of this departure, whilſt they were running vp and downe, and buſied about getting aboard, gaue notice thereof from the tops of their houſes. Which beeing perceiued, Cæſar (not to omit any opportunitie of atchieuing his purpoſe) commaunded ladders to bee prepared, and the ſouldiers to take Armes. Pompey a little before night weied Anker: and the ſouldiers keeping guard on the wall, vpon the watch-word giuen, were all called frõ their ſtations, and by knowne paſſages repaired to the ſhippes. Cæſars ſouldiers with Ladders got vpon the wall: but beeing admoniſhed by them of Brunduſium, to take heed of the blind ditch, they ſtood ſtill. At laſt, they were brought a great compaſſe about, and ſo came to the Hauen; and with skiffes and boates, ſeized two ſhips with ſouldiers, which ſtuck by chaunce vpon the Mounts which Cæſar had made.

Cæcum vallum.

OBSERVATIONS.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

FOraſmuch as this manner of Pompeyes departure from Brunduſium, and the ſlight he vſed to imbarke himſelfe and his Armie without danger of Cæſars entering the towne, is commended for one of the beſt ſtratagems of warre that euer he vſed; Let vs a little conſider the parts thereof, which preſent thẽſelues of two ſorts: the one conſiſting of the workes he made, to hinder and retard Cæſars entrance, if happelie hee ſhould haue knowledge of his departure: and the other, in the cleanlie conuaiance of his men aboard, without noiſe or tumult; & the ſemblance hee made of keeping the towne, by continuing watch vpon the walles, to the end there might be no knowledge taken thereof. The workes were of three ſorts. For, firſt hee mured and ſtopped vp the ends and enterances of ſtreets and lanes, which might giue acceſſe to a purſuing enemie. And to that end alſo, hee ſunk ditches, or trenches, croſſe the waies and paſſages: which he ſtuck full of ſharp ſtakes and Galthrops, and couered them with light and thin hurdles, that the Enemie might not eſpy them; And thirdly, hedged in the waies leading to the Port, with a ſtrong Palizado of huge ſharp piles: And ſo vſed both the Lions and the Foxes skin, to auoid the danger which might haue fallen vpon him, if Cæſar happely had found meanes to attache them, as they were incombered in getting to their ſhips, and diſpoſing themſelues to flie away. Which beeing an occaſion that might haue giuen him great aduantage, was in this manner careſullie preuented by Pompey. Howbeit, this his quitting Brunduſium, is cenſured but for a faultie reſolution handſomlie caried: for, Cicero dooth much blame him for abandoning Italie; calling it a Themiſtoclean policie, to perſwade his partie to forſake their Countrey, and to leaue the beſt of their pleaſures, and the weakeſt of each ſexe, to ſuch miſerie and deſolation, as moued pittie in thoſe that conſidered but the condition of the dogges, and brute beaſtes;

Cice. Epiſt. ad Atticum.

beastes; as it fell out at Athens, when Themistocles perswaded the Athenians to leaue their towne and Countrey, and betake themselues wholly to sea, to fight against Xerxes.

CHAP. XI.

Cæsar dispatcheth forces into Sardinia and Sicilie. *Catos endeuour to keepe Sicily for* Pompey.

Albeit Cæsar well knew, that it much imported a speedy end of the busines, to get shippes and passe the Seas after Pompey, before hee could ioyne himselfe with the forces of the transmarine parts; yet doubting the lets, and the long time before it could be effected, for that Pompey had taken with him all the shipping he could get, and therby left him for the present no meanes to follow after: it remained that hee attended shipping to be brought from remote parts; as, out of Gallia, from Ancona and the Streights: which at that time of the yeere, would require a long and troublesome passage. In the meane time, he thought it no way fit, that Pompeys old Army, & the two Prouinces of Spaine, should be settled and assured; (one of them being deepelie ingaged to Pompey for many great and ample benefits) or that they should haue time to raise new troopes, especially of horse; or that Gallia or Italie should bee solicited or wrought from him in his absence: And therefore for the present, resolued to desist from making any further pursute after Pompey, and to goe into Spaine; giuing order to the Duumviri *of all the Municipall townes, to prouide shipping, and send it to Brundusium. He sent Valerius, a Legate, into Sardinia, with one legion; and Curio, the Proprætor, into Sicily with three legions; commaunding him, after he had possessed Sicily, to transport his Armie into Affrica. Marcus Cotta gouerned Sardinia, and M. Cato Sicily. Tubero should by lotte haue held Affrica.*

Caesar.

Bailieffes.

The Caralitani, vnderstanding that Valerius was to be sent vnto them, before he had left Italy, of their own accord thrust Cotta out of the towne. Cotta amused thereat, and perceiuing withall, that the whole Prouince gaue consent vnto it, fled presently out of Sardinia into Affrica. Cato prepared and new trimmed the Gallies in Sicily, giuing order to the townes to build new, and prosecuting his direction with great diligence: Moreouer, by his Legats, mustered and inrolled Cittizens of Rome, in Lucania and Brutia, requiring rateable numbers of horse and foote from the townes in Sicilie. Which thinges beeing almost accomplished, vnderstanding of Curio his comming, he complained in publique how he was abandoned and betraied by Pompey; who, without any prouidence or preparation, had ingaged himselfe in an vnnecessary warre: and yet beeing demaunded

ded by himſelfe, and the reſt in the Senate, anſwered confidently, that hee was prouided of all neceſſaries fit for warre: And after he had thus publiquely complained, fled out of the Prouince. By which meanes, Valerius found Sardinia, and Curio Sicily, voide of gouernment, and there brought their Armies.

Tubero, arriuing in Affrica, found Atius Varus commaunding the Prouince: who (as wee haue formerly ſhewed) hauing loſt his cohorts at Auximum, fled forth-with into Affrica; and of his owne authorite, poſſeſſed himſelfe of the Prouince, which he found without a Gouernour. He got together by new inrolements, two compleat legions, which hee raiſed by his knowledge and experience of the people of that Country, by reaſon hee had gouerned that Prouince as Prætor ſome few yeeres before. Tubero, arriuing with his fleet at Vtica, was by Varus kept out of the towne and the Hauen; neither would he ſuffer him to ſet his ſonne aſhore, which was ſicke, but compelled him to wey Anker and depart.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Plutarch in the life of Pompey

THis Chapter maketh the firſt period of this warre, as it is taken from the beginning of theſe Ciuill broiles, vnto Pompeys forſaking Italie, which was begun and ended in the ſpace of 60 daies: and alſo openeth the gate to ſecond reſolutions, which are proſecuted, as the ſequell of the Hiſtorie will manifeſt: Containing likewiſe the reaſons, why Cæſar made not preſent purſute after Pompey, as the hinges of the ſucceeding war, and the true cauſes of the conſequents of the ſame. In the cõſideration whereof, albeit Cæſar vnderſtood the advantage of him that proſecuteth a receding enemie, and the hopes which might be thereby conceiued of a ſpeedie end of that warre; yet hauing no ready meanes to accompliſh his deſire, thought it better to prevent ſuch inconveniences as might happely haue fallen out vpon the ſame: and ſo to keepe his partie in a progreſſe of their actiue thoughts, by clearing and aſſuring that Weſterne part of the Empire, which Pompey had left vnto him by his departure; rather then to leaue an enemie on his back, or to admit a cooling and languiſhment of their reſolutions, through expectation of ſhipping, to follow that courſe which otherwiſe had beene without exception.

Tueri quæſita difficilius eſt, quàm acquirere; quoniam in acquirendo, ignauia poſſidentis ſæpe plus conſert quã propria virtus: tueri autem quæſita, ſine propria virtute nemo poteſt. D. Toſilæ Zonoras.

In the cariage whereof, we may obſerue, that as vpon the firſt breaking out of theſe troubles, they ſcambled for the townes of Italie, & ſought to ſtrengthen their parties, by ſuch as had no voice in the grand Chapter of the Senate, but onely inioyed the benefit of Municipall rights; ſo now beeing parted aſunder, and the contagion of this inteſtine euill ſpred abroad, and grown to more ripeneſs, they made like haſte to faſten vpon the remoter Prouinces, wherein Cæſar had the better portion. For, in his ſhare, were contained Italia, Gallia, Britannia, Hiſpania, Sicilia; which beeing the prime Countreys of Europe, were conſequently the flowre of that Empire, for that Europe hath euer been taken for the principall and chieieſt part of the world.

Europa prima et præſtãtiſſima mundi pars. Appian. Europa altrix victoris omnium gentium populi longeque terrarũ pulcherrima. Plin. lib. 3. c. 1.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obſerue, in Cato, the effects of a Stoicall or formall ſpirit, which are more valuable in the enſignes of peace, then in the difficulties of warre. For, how ſoeuer hee made ſhew of beſtirring himſelfe, in rigging and trimming vp the Gallies of his Prouince, commaunding more to be built, raiſing new troopes of horſe & foote, and proſecuting his commaunds with purpoſe of an exact account: yet in the end, vnderſtanding of Curio his comming, ſpent his furie in complayning of his friends, and laying the cauſe of thoſe garboiles vpon him, whom by election and conſent he had formerly ſet vp, to make head againſt ſuch, as otherwiſe may be ſuppoſed would haue contained themſelues in a better meaſure of moderation.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar goeth to Rome; and, calling a Senate, com-*plaineth of the iniuries done vnto him.*

THeſe things beeing ended, that the ſouldiers might for the reſidue of the time bee a little eaſed and refreſhed, Cæſar brought them backe into the next Municipall townes; hee himſelfe went directlie to the Cittie: and haning called a Senate, he laieth open the iniuries and wrongs offered vnto him by his Adverſaries; ſheweth them, that he neuer ſought honour in the State by extraordinary meanes, onely hee looked to haue enioyed the full time of his Conſulſhip, and there-with to haue been contented: which was no more then any Cittizen might ſtand for. The Tribunes of the people had required, that conſideration might be had of him in his abſence, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of his enemies, and Cato his bitter reſiſtance; ſpending the time after his old manner, with long and tedious ſpeeches: which if Pompey (beeing Conſull) had diſliked, why did he ſuffer that to paſſe which was enacted? But if then he did allow and like of it, what reaſon had he to hinder him from inioying a benefit which the people of Rome had beſtowed vpon him? From that, hee fell to ſpeake of his patience: which appeared, in that of his owne accord, hee mooued that either party might quit their forces; which might haue bin very preiudiciall to his honour and dignitie: Declared what had beene the malice and bitterneſs of his Aduerſaries; who refuſed to doe that themſelues, which they required of another man: chooſing rather to imbroile and confound the whole State, then to forgoe the commaund of an Armie: Spake at large as well of the wrong done vnto him, by taking the two legions from him, as alſo for their hard and inſolent dealing, in putting the Tribunes of the people by their place and authoritie.

He forgot not likewiſe to relate the conditions which he propounded; the conference which he deſired, and would not be graunted. In regard whereof, hee praied and required, that they would take the charge of the Common-weale, and giue a helping hand to him for the gouernment thereof. But, if they ſhould vpon any doubt or miſtruſt, refuſe to ioyne with him, hee would not much importune them, but would take it into his owne handes; and in the meane time, let Commiſsioners bee ſent to Pompey to treat of peace. Neither did hee reſpect what Pompey a little before had ſaide in the Senate (That to whom ſoeuer Embaſſadours were ſent, to ſuch ſeemed to be aſcribed Authoritie and Preheminence; as, on the contrary part, ſuch as ſent thē, manifeſted an apprehenſion of feare); for, theſe were arguments of puſillanimitie. For his part, as he had gone beyond him in deedes of Armes and noble acts; ſo would hee in like manner, endeuour to excell him in iuſtice and equitie.

The Senators were well pleaſed that Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent: but there was no man found that would go; euery man refuſing in particular, for feare of Pompey: who, vpon his departure from Rome, had ſaide in the Senate, That hee would hold him that ſtaied at Rome, in the ſame condition with them that were in Cæſars Campe. So that three daies were ſpent in debate and excuſes; L: Metellus, Tribune of the people, beeing drawne by Cæſars aduerſaries, to protract the time, and to hinder any matter which Cæſar ſhould propound vnto them.

L. Metellus.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrſt, wee may obſerue, how irkeſome it is to humane nature, for him that hath taſted the ſweetneſſe of authoritie, to forgoe the raines of commaund, and againe to inrolle his name in the liſt of common dutie; deſcending from the throne of ſoueraintie, to the condition of obedience, & to loſe his eminencie in reſpectleſs equalitie: eſpecially, if the honour be Militarie, and of Martiall nature. For, that faſteneth on vs with a ſtronger hold, then any other power; beeing leſſe capable of moderation, and waited on with the eyes and expectation of preſent and future ages. Whereby, men growe deſperatly iealous of the opinion of the world, and cannot indure to quit themſelues of that care, although they haue attained to the ful time of their deliuerance: but to be ſupplanted in the midſt of ſo glorious a race, or to be pulled out of the ſeate of Magiſtracie, by an abortiue miſcariage, is able to inrage an ambitious ſpirit, ſo farre beyond the bounds of modeſtie, that it will not ſpare any endeuor, to confound the greateſt Empire, with irrecouerable calamities.

Fælicitatis et moderationis diuiduum, Contubernium.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

SEcondly, wee may obſerue the diſpoſition of thoſe Senators, that by their ſtaying at Rome, became neutrall in that Faction; and there-vpon, refuſed either to take Cæſars commaundes, or to preſent themſelues to Pompey, as Mediators of peace. Plutarch hath two reaſons why the Senators would vndertake no ſuch matter of Commiſsion as was required by Cæſar. The firſt is this which is heere expreſſed; euery man fearing the diſpleaſure of Pompey, who at his depatture from Rome, had proteſted to hold them for enemies that went not along with him: where-as Cæſar cenſured their forbearance with better advantage to himſelfe; and tooke their neutralitie as an argument of becomming his followers. The other reaſon which Plutarch auoucheth, is the opinion which the Senators had of Cæſars double dealing; as not carying his hart in his mouth, but pretending that which he neuer meant. For, they could not be perſwaded that his end was a ceſſation of Armes, or ſuch a peace with Pompey as ſhould haue kept on foot their auncient libertie; but ſought rather pretexts of good meaning, to colour his deſsigne of making Rome his ſeruant. How-ſoeuer; wee may not omit what is reported to haue happened betweene him and Metellus, more then hee himſelfe ſpeaketh of. For, going about to take Money out of the Treaſurie, hee was there ſtoutly reſiſted by this Metellus, of whom hee complaineth; alleadging the Lawes and Acts of the State, forbidding any man to touch that Money, but in ſuch times of extreamitie as vvere therein expreſſed.

Denunciante Pompeio pro hoſtibus ſe habiturum qui reipub. defuiſſent; ipſe medios et neutrius partis, ſuorum ſibi numero, futuros pronunciauit. Suetonius. 75. Cicero. 10. Epiſt. ad Atticũ. Plutarch. Lucan. Appian. Florus.

To which, Cæſar anſwered; That thoſe Lawes were onely made for time of peace: but now, Armes and warre required an other courſe of proceeding. Neuertheleſſe, Metellus would not ſuffer him to breake open the doores, vntill Cæſar aduiſed him to be gone if he loued his life; for, it was eaſier for him to diſpatch him then to ſpeake it: and ſo entered and caried away the Treaſure. VVhere-vpon, groweth that of Florus; *Cenſum et patrimonium populi Romani, antè rapuit quàm Imperium.*

Non niſi per noſtrum vobis peruſſa patebunt templa latus, nullaſque feres, ſine ſanguine ſacro, ſparſas, raptor opes. Lucan. lib. 3. Dignũ te Cæſaris ira, nullus honor faciet. Idem eodem.

And Appian, deriding the ſcrupuloſitie of the auncient Romaines, that would not touch that Treaſure but in extreamitie of warre againſt the Celtes or Galles, ſaith; that Cæſar might lawfullie take it, for that hee had vanquiſhed and ſubdued the Galles; vvhereby the Romaines had no further cauſe to feare them.

CHAP. XIII.

Cæſar leaueth the Cittie, goeth into Gallia, *and treateth with the Marſellians.*

Aeſar, perceiuing their reſolution, after hee had ſpent there ſome few daies (that he might not loſe any more time, and leaue thoſe things vndone which he purpoſely intended) hee left the Cittie, and went into the further Gallia. Vpon his arriuall there, hee vnderſtood that Pompey had ſent into Spaine, Vibullius Rufus, whom Cæſar had a little before taken at Corſinium and diſmiſſed him: and that Domitian likewiſe was gone to take Marſelleis, with eight Gallies, which he ſet out from Sicilia and Sardinia, and manned them with ſlaues, men infranchiſed, and his owne husbandmen: Sending, as meſſengers before, certaine young noble men of Marſelleis, with whō Pompey vpon his departure from the Citty had earneſtly dealt, that Cæſars new fauours, might not put out of their remembrance the old benefits which hee had done vnto them. Thoſe of Marſelleis hauing receiued this meſſage, ſhut their gates againſt Cæſar; called into the Cittie the Albicans, barbarous & mountainous people (who of auncient time had held amitie with them, and dwelt vpon the hilles aboue Marſelleis) brought Corne from all the adiacent Regions & Caſtles into the towne; ſet vp offices & forges to make Armes; repaired both their walles, their nauie, and their gates.

*Cæſar called out vnto him ſome fifteene of the chiefeſt men of Marſelleis, and treated with them, that the beginning of the warre might not growe from that towne; who ſhould rather follow the example of all Italie, then apply themſelues to the will of any one man: not omitting ſuch other perſwaſions as hee thought pertinent to a ſound reſolution. Theſe men reported at Marſelleis what Cæſar had deliuered, and by the common conſent of the towne, returned this aunſwer; That they vnderſtood, that the people of Rome was diuided into two parts, neither was it in them to iudge, or could they diſcerne which of the two was in the right. The Leaders of theſe two factions, were Pompey and Cæſar, both ſpeciall Patrons and Benefactors to their Cittie; of whom, one had augmented the publique reuenewes of the State, and indowed it with the landes and territories of the Volgi, Arecomici, and the Heluij: The other, hauing conquered and ſubdued * Gallias, gaue it vnto them; whereby their tributarie In-comes were much augmented; and therefore, as they were equallie bound to both for their fauours, ſo would they carie to both an equall reſpect, not ayding either of them againſt the other, or receiuing them within their gates.*

By this Gallias, is vnderſtood ſome place neere to Marſelleis.

Whileſt theſe thinges were in handeling, Domitius arriued at Marſelleis vvith his ſhipping; and beeing receiued in, was made Gouernour of the Cittie, and

and had the whole direction of the warre cõmitted vnto him. By his appointment, the fleet was sent out into all Coasts; and such shippes of burthen as they found, they brought in: the nailes, timber, and tackling whereof, they tooke to mend and rigge out other ships. What Corne soeuer was found in the Cittie, was brought in publique keeping; reseruing the surplus of victuall and prouision, for a siedge, as occasion should require.

Cæsar, prouoked with these iniuries, brought three legions to Marselleis, determined to make towres and mantelets ready for an assault, and to builde twelue new Galleis at Arles: which were armed, rigged, finished, & brought to Marselleis, within thirtie dayes after the timber was cut downe. Of these he made D. Brutus Admirall, and left C. Tribonius to follow the siedge.

OBSERVATION.

FRom the Marsellians we may learne, that it is farre easier to say well then to doe well; for, howsoeuer they were able to discerne the truth, and to giue an answere to Cæsar, well-beseeming the fame and opinion of their literature and knowledge (beeing an Academie little inferiour to the best, and in latter times more frequented by the Romaines, for the studie of Oratorie and Philosophy, then Athens, or any other such chiefe seate of the Muses); yet in their actions they disavowed all: taking vpon them most vnseasonably to arbitrate those differences, and to shew their opinion of the quarell, by taking part with one faction. Wherein their errour the more appeared, in that the partie grieued was not liable to their award, but rather had occasion to gaine thereby a double honor to himselfe; first, by forcing them, and then by pardoning their rashnes. And yet some VVriters doe thinke, they did no more then they were tied vnto by former treaties, and leagues with the Empire (which they tooke to consist in Pompeys partie) whereof they were loiall & zealous confederates; as appeareth by their loue, when Rome was taken by the Galles: for, hauing newes therof, and vnderstanding of the composition which was to bee made to raise the siedge from the Capitoll, they prouided all the gold & siluer they could get, & sent it to Rome for that seruice. In regard whereof, they were indowed with manie Priuiledges and Immunities, both in the Cittie, and elswhere in the Empire. Howsoeuer, their hap being to respect more an exact obseruaunce of what had passed, then the fatall succeeding course of things, drew vpon them a sharpe and bitter warre; whereof they could not bee freed, but by submitting themselues to his mercy whom they had reiected. And thus wee see verified that of the Poet;

Augusto duum vetustissima post Massiliũ bonarum artiũ sedes. Taci. 3. Annal. Strabo. lib. 4.

Cumque alij famæ populi, terrore pauerent, Phocais in dubijs ausa est seruare iuventus. Non Graia leuitate fidẽ, signataque iura, et causas non fata sequi. Lucan. l. 3

Quicquid delirant Reges plectuntur Achiui.

Horace.

VVhich implieth also how dangerous it is, for men of authoritie and imploiment, to be subiect to wilfull ambition. For, as their seruice is of great importance to gouernment, when it is attended with well qualified affections; so are their motions as fearefull, which are carried with the violence of exorbitant

paſſions: eſpecially, conſidering the meanes they haue, either to miſimploy the power of the State, or to giue way to ſuch inconveniences, as may neceſſarily peruert all things but the ends they aime at: beſides the aptneſs of a high ſpirit, not to doubt the truth of that ſaying which is attributed to Cæſar, *Si violandum eſt ius, regnandi gratia violandum eſt.*

CHAP. XIIII.

Cæſar haſteth into Spaine.

Hileſt theſe thinges were prepared and put in order, he ſent C: Fabius, one of his Legates, with three legions, that had wintered about Narbone, before him into Spaine; commaunding him with all ſpeed and diligence to take the paſſage of the Pyrenean hills, vvhich were kept at that time with the forces of L: Afranius: and gaue order for the other legions which wintered further off, to follow after. Fabius, according to his directions, made haſte, put the Garizon from the paſſage, and by great iourneys marched towards Afranius Armie.

Afranius.

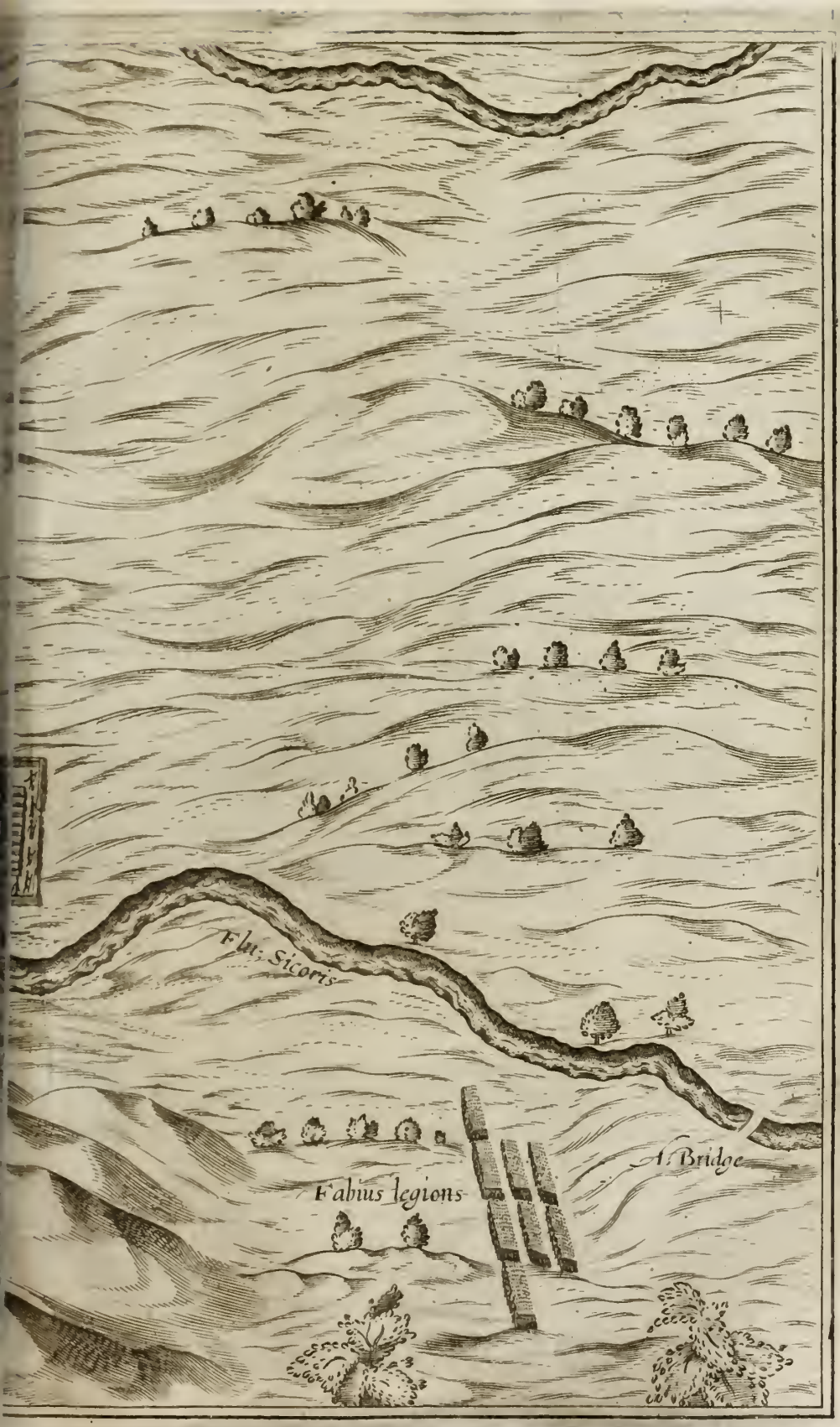
*Vpon the arriuall of Vibullius Rufus, who (as it is formerly related) was ſent by Pompey into Spaine, Afranius, Petreius, and Varro; Pompeys Legates (of whom the one gouerned the neereſt Prouince of Spaine with three legions, the other, held the Country from the * forreſt of Caſtile, to the riuer * Aua, with two legions; and the third commaunded the Vectones and Luſitania, with the like number of legions) did ſo diſpoſe and diuide their charges, that Petreius was appointed to bring his legions out of Luſitania, through the territories of the Vectones, and ioyne himſelfe with Afranius: and that Varro, with his power, ſhould keepe the further Prouince of Spaine. Which beeing ſo reſolued & determined, Petreius hauing commaunded the Luſitanians to leuie horſemen, and other Auxiliarie forces; and Afranius likewiſe hauing made the like leuie, in the territories of the * Celtiberi, * Cantabri, and the reſt of the barbarous Nations bordering vpon the Ocean: Petreius came ſpeedily through the Vectones to Afranius; and induced by the opportunitie of the place, by mutuall conſent, reſolued to keep the warre on foote neere about Ilerda.*

Petreius.
Varro.
** Saltus caſtulonenſis.*
** Guadiana.*
Iure pari rector, caſtris Afranius illis, ac Petreius erat. Lucan. l. 3.

There were with Afranius (as formerly hath been ſhewed) three legions, beſides Targettiers of the neerer Prouince, & Buckler-bearers of the further Prouince, ſome 80 cohorts, and of both Prouinces about 5000 horſe. Cæſar had ſent his legions into Spaine, accompanied onely with ſixe thouſand Auxiliary forces, and three thouſand horſe, which had been with him in the former warres. And the Galles at his requeſt furniſhed him with the like number; beſides the nobleſt and valianteſt amongſt them, of whom hee had made particular choice to follow him in that warre. To theſe were added the better ſort of the Aquitani, and high-landers, borderers vpon the Prouince in Gallia. Hee was aduertiſed that Pompey

Nos Celtis geniti, et ex Iberis. Martial. lib. 4.
** A valiãt people, deſcended from Lacedemon: of whom Sil. Ital. ſaith Dammatũ viuere paci.*
Scutati.
Cetrati.
Nonius, Cetra, ſcutum breue. Quis rotundam facere cetrã nequeat?
Euocati.


Petreius
and
Afranius
Cæsar
ILERDA
A Bridge


Flu: Sicoris
A: Bridge
Fabius legions

*Pompey was on his iourney, coming through Mauritania into Spaine; and that he would speedily be there with his legions: and therevpon, hee borrowed money of the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, and gaue it to his Armie; wherby he gained two points: for, first he ingaged the Captaines by that lone to indeuour his good successe; and secondly, bought the good affections of the souldiers by largess and distribution. Fabius omitted no opportunity, to get the fauour of the Citties neere about him: which he labored aswel by Letters as Messengers, & had already made two bridges ouer the riuer * Sicoris, distant one from another about foure miles, and ouer these bridges sent out his men to forrage; for he had spent all that was to be found on this side the riuer. The same thing, and vpon the same occasion, did the Leaders of Pompeys Armie; and oftentimes their Caualry met & incountred together. And as it hapned, that 2 legions going out to forrage according to their daily custome, and had passed the riuer, the cariage & the Caualry following after, vpon a sudden (by the ouerpestering of horses, and swelling of the water) the bridge brake; and the rest of the Caualry was secluded & cut off from the legions. Which Petreius and Afranius perceiuing, by the hurdles and planks that came downe the riuer; Afranius, presently by the bridge which was adioyning to the towne & his Camp, put ouer 4 legions, and all his Caualrie, & went to meet with Fabius his 2 legions. Vpon whose approche, L: Plancus that commanded the legions, being constrained by necessity, tooke the vpper ground, diuiding his men into two Battalions, & making their fronts to stand 2 contrary waies, to the end they might not be circũvented by the horsemen. And although the number were very farre vnequall, yet hee valiantly withstood very violent charges of the enemy. The Caualrie beeing thus ingaged, the Ensignes of two legions were descried afar off, which Fabius had sent by way of the further bridge, to second these other two; suspecting that which was come to passe, that the Cõmaunders of the aduerse Army, would take the occasion and benefit of this accident, to cut off our partie. Vpon whose approche, the battell ceased; and the legions on either side were brought backe into their Campes.*

Hesperios inter, Sicoris non vltimus Amnis, Saxeus ingenti, quem pons Amplectitur arcu, Hibernas passurus aquas. Lucan. lib.

Plancus siue Plãtius, à Planitie pedum, Splayfooted.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THE first obseruation may be taken, from this designe of Cæsars vpon Spaine, beeing at that time vnder the gouernment and commaund of Pompey; The standing or falling whereof, did much import the successe of that warre: for which respect it was, that when Cæsar could not buckle with the person of his enemy, hee vsed all meanes to beat downe his authoritie, as the next in degree to his essence and beeing, and most concerning his honour and reputation. For, if he tooke from him those Prouinces, which the State had commended to his charge, and left him no interest in the obedience of such, whom he might in a sort challenge for his owne people; what assurance could the other parts of the Empire haue in his protection? or what coulde hee elswhere expect of that which these refused him?

The

Lib. Ethic. 4.

The excellencie of a Generall, is that perfection of iudgement commended by Ariſtotle, inabling him to diſcerne, *quid primum*, or what is moſt materiall in that varietie of vndertaking, which falleth out in following a warre. And if that cannot with any conueniencie be attained, then to know the next point of importance, and ſo conſequentlie to diſtinguiſh the degrees of difference, as they ſtand ranked in the order of iudicious proceeding.

For the effectuall proſecuting of which deſsigne, let vs take a ſhort view of their forces on each ſide, according as we find them muſtered in this chapter; that by the inequalitie of their troopes, we may iudge of the want or ſufficiencie of their directions. Afranius, as it is ſaid in the ſtorie, had three legions, and Petreius two legions, together with 80 cohorts of Auxiliarie forces, ſupplied vnto them by the two Prouinces of Spaine; which cohorts equalled the number of eight legions: and ſo in all, made thirteene legions. And according to the vſuall rate at that time of 5000 in a legion, amounted to 65000 men, together with 5000 horſe; which came to ſeauentie thouſand men, or thereabouts. To confront ſo great an enemy, Cæſar had fiue legions, 12000 Auxiliarie troopes from the Galles, and peraduenture 1000 Euocati: which according to the former rate of a legion, did riſe to 35000, or 40000 men at the moſt. Whereby the one exceeding the other, well neere in a double proportion of ſtrength, and yet failing in coreſpondencie of ſucceſſe, calleth the verity of that prouerbe in queſtion, *Ne Hercules contra duos*. Beſides, the inequalitie of the place, where the triall was to bee made, being wholly deuoted to the greater partie; which is a matter of no ſmall conſequence. For, hee that maketh warre in a Countrey, abſolute in fauouring the enemie and confronting his purpoſes, had need of more forces then the aduerſe partie, or better fortune in his proceedings. And therefore Fabius, to preuent ſuch miſchiefes as might grow by that aduantage, ſought all meanes to draw ſome of the townes to his faction; and to make himſelfe friends for his better ſupport and ſecuritie, according to that which was ſaid of old; That warre cannot be made without ſome peace.

Petreius and Afranius had 70000 men, or thereabouts.

Cæſar. 35000.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Rables faith, that the Creditor wiſheth all good to his Debtors.

SEcondly, wee may obſerue the meanes he vſed, to ſecure himſelfe of the loyaltie of his Armie, and whollie to ingage the ſoldier in his fortune. For, the money hee borrowed of the Tribunes and Centurions, was a ſpeciall Tie of their affections to his ſeruice; foraſmuch as no man wiſheth ill to him, by vvhoſe welfare and proſperitie he hopeth to thriue; for, ſo (wounding himſelfe throgh another mans bodie) the hurt would fall vpon his owne head: but rather deſireth ſuch an accompliſhment of his hopes, as may make himſelfe partaker thereof. And on the other ſide, the largeſs he made vnto the ſouldiers, did ſo oblige their indeuour to his purpoſes, that they were thereby readie to performe as much as warlike Lælius had promiſed in his owne perſon, on the behalfe

Lælius.

behalfe of the reſt.

Pectore ſi fratris gladium, iuguloque Parentis
Condere me iubeas, plenaque in viſcera partu
Coniugis, inuita peragam tamen omnia dextra.

Lucan. li. 1.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, let vs conſider the effects of diligence and prouident foreſight, which doe oftentimes redeeme an Armie from a dishonourable overthow; as may be learned from two circumſtances in Fabius directions. Firſt, in that he truſted not to one paſſage ouer the riuer Sicoris, but made two ſeuerall bridges, as well for the cōveniencie as the better ſecuritie of his people. Secondly, vpon the occaſion which the enemie might take by the breaking of the bridge, to diſtreſſe the legions on the other ſide of the water, hee preſently ſent out ſuccours to preuent ſuch a caſualtie: which albeit might ſeeme to haue proceeded out of curious ſuſpicion, or idle feare, yet fell out to be no more then was requiſite and expedient. Which may teach a Generall to be carefull euen of poſsibilities; and to preuent contingencies, with the certaintie of induſtrious directions: accounting alwaies that which may happen, to be as certaine as any thing we moſt expect.

Vni antro non fidit mus.

Quicquid fieri poteſt, quaſi futurum cogitemus. Senec. Epiſt. 24.

THE FOVRTH OBSERVATION.

COncerning Spaine, wee are to note, that the Romaines at firſt diuided it into two Prouinces, which they called the Neerer, & the Further; or according to Strabo, the Vtter and the Inner; and were ſeparated aſunder by the riuer Iberus. And thence alſo they were called *Cis Iberum, et vltra Iberum*. The Neerer Prouince, beeing the leſſer, continued without alteration during the Romaines gouernment, and was ſomtimes called *Tarraconenſis Prouincia*, of Tarraco, the principall towne of the ſame. But the Further, in proceſſe of time was diuided into two partes; the one called *Betica*, and the other *Luſitania:* and ſo the whole Region of Spaine came to be diuided into three Prouinces. It was firſt entered by the Romaines, by occaſion of the notable ſiedge of of Sagunt: for, P. Scipio, hauing ſubdued the Carthaginians, reduced Spaine into a Prouince, and left it gouerned by Proconſuls, vnto the time of Cornelius Lentulus, & Lucius Sertinius. Afterwards, it was gouerned by Proprætors, and ſometimes by Prætors, according as the Empire came to be inlarged; and had therby many gouernments, for the preferment of ſuch as had ſupplied the better places of dignitie in the State. Neuertheleſſe, in the times of trouble, the Gouernours had alwaies Conſularie power; as, in the warre againſt Sertorius, *Quintus Metellus*, Proconſull, *et Cn: Pompeius, Queſtor, cum Conſulari poteſtate miſsi ſunt:* And at this time, Pompey gouerned it by two Deputies or Legates. Touching the

Spaine.
Citerior, et Vlterior.
Exterior, et Interior. lib. 3.

Anno 8 C. 555.

Liuie.

the forme and figure of the Countrey, Strabo likeneth it to an Oxe hide: the necke whereof ioyneth to the Pyrenean hilles, which riſe in towres from one Sea to another, as limits and bounds between France and Spaine; taking their name (as ſome thinke) from Pyrene, the Maid that Hercules deflowred, whom Sil. Ital. mentioneth.

Pyrene celſa nimboſi verticis arce
Diuiſos Celtis, latè proſpectat Iberos;
Atque æterna tenet magnis diuortia terris
Hoſpitis Alcidæ crimen: qui ſorte laborum
Gerionis peteret cùm longa tricorporis arma
Poſseſſus, Baccho, ſæua Bebrycis in aula
Lugendam formæ, ſine virginitate reliquit
Pyrenem.
Defletumque tenent Montes per ſecula nomen.

Lib. 5. In libro de Mirandis auſcultationibus.

But according to the opinion more generally receiued, of the Greeke word πῦρ; for that Shepheards and Heardſmen ſet them once on fire, as witneſſeth Diodorus Siculus. And Ariſtotle; *In Hiberia (inquit) combuſtis aliquando paſtoribus Syluis, calenteque ignibus terra, manifeſtum argentum defluxiſſe: cùmque poſtmodum terræ motus ſuſperueniſſet, eruptis hiatibus, magnam copiam argenti collectam; atque inde Maſsilienſibus proventus non vulgares obtigiſſe.* The Countrey of Spaine is commended for many things, as may appeare by diuers Elogies: amongſt which, that of Claudianus the Poet is written, as though the Author had been a penſioner to the Kingdome.

Quid dignum memorare tuis Hiſpania terris
Vox humana valet? primo lauat æquore ſolem
India: tu feſsos, exacta luce, iugales
Proluis, inque tuo reſpirant ſydera fluctu.
Diues equis, frugum facilis, pretioſa metallis,
Principibus fœcunda pijs.

CHAP. XV.

Cæſar, comming to his Armie, aduaunceth forward, and incampeth neere vnto the Enemie.

Cæſar.

Within two dayes after, Cæſar came into the Campe with nine hundred horſe, which he had kept with him for a conuoy. The bridge broken by the tempeſt, was almoſt reedified; and that which remained vndone, he commaunded to be finiſhed in the night. And hauing ſeene the nature and ſituation of the place, he left ſixe cohorts to keepe the Campe & the bridge, with all the cariages of the Armie. And the next day, putting all

all his forces into a triple battell, he marched towards Ilerda: and there standing awhile in Armes, offered battell, in an equall and indifferent place. Afranius brought out his forces, and made a stand in the midst of the hill, vnder his Campe. Cæsar, perceiuing that Afranius at that time was not disposed to fight, determined to incampe himselfe some 400 paſes from the foot of the hill. And least the souldiers should be interrupted in their workes, by the sudden assaults and incursions of the enemy, he forbade thē to fortifie it with a rampire or wall, which must necessarily be discouered and seene afarre of; but caused a ditch to be made of fifteene foote in breadth, in the front of the Campe next vnto the Enemie. The first and second battell (according as was directed) continued in Armes; and the third battell performed the worke behind them vnseene, before it was vnderstood by Afranius that Cæsar would incampe in that place. Which beeing finished, he drew his legions within the ditch, and so stood in Armes all night.

Prono tum Cæsar Olympo, in noctem subita circumdedit agmina fossa, dum primæ præstant acies, hostemque sefellit. Luc. l. 4.

The next day, he kept all his Armie within the ditch. And forasmuch as the matter to make the Rampier was to be fetched farre off, hee kept the like course for the finishing of the rest; allotting each side of the Campe, to be fortified by a seuerall legion, with a ditch to be sunk about, of the same scantling: and in the meane time, made the other legions to stand ready in Armes against the enemie.

Afranius and Petreius, to the end they might amuse the souldier, and hinder the worke, brought downe their forces to the foote of the hill, and prouoked them to fight. Howbeit, Cæsar intermitted not the worke, trusting to III *legions in Armes, and the munition of the ditch. The Enemy not making any long stay, or advauncing further then the foote of the hill, ledde backe their troopes into the Campe. The third day, Cæsar fortified his Campe with a Rampire; and cōmaunded the rest of the cohorts and the cariages which were left in the other Campes, to be brought vnto him.*

OBSERVATION.

IT may be obserued for Cæsars custome throughout the whole course of his warres, to approche as neere the enemie as conueniently he could; that so he might the better obserue his passages, and be ready to take the fauour of any opportunitie, which either the nature of the place, or the motions of the aduersary would afford him. Which was the rather his aduantage, in regard of his dexteritie, and superlatiue knowledge in the vse of Armes, together with the experience of his old legions: whereby he was able, not onely to improue his owne desigines to the vtmost of an honourable successe, but to returne the disgrace of any attempt made vpon his Armie, vpon the heads of them that were authors of the same. For, otherwise, his accosting so neere an enemie, might haue turned to his owne losse; as beeing full of hazard, & subiect to more casualties then hee that standeth further off. And therefore the rule is; that he that desireth to sit neere his adversarie, must be exceeding circumspect, and sure of some aduantage, either from

from the place, or the ouer-awing power of his forces, or elſe out of his owne vertue, or by ſome other meanes, to ouer-ſway the inconveniences which attend ſuch ingagements. As may appeare by that which Frontinus obſerueth hence, touching the ſtraight, wher-into Cæſar was fallen; being either to giue battell, which the enemie refuſed: or to make good that place, from whence he could not retreit but with danger. Whereupon, a little before night hee ſtole the making of a ditch on the backe of his Armie; and retiring himſelfe within the ſame, ſtood in Armes all night, for his better ſafetie.

Lib. 1. cap. 5.

The vſe of ſuch ditches are of much importance, and haue oftentimes redeemed an Armie from great extreamities: and were ſo frequent vpon all occaſions with the Romaines, that he that ſhall deny them to be good ditchers, ſhall doe them wrong. And not onely they, but other Nations, could tell how to make vſe of the Spade.

Pericles of Athens, beeing forced by them of Peloponeſus, into a place that had but two out-lets of eſcape, ſunke a ditch of a great latitude, thwart one of the paſſages (as though he meant to keepe out the enemie) and ſet his ſoldiers to breake out the other way. The Peloponeſians, thinking hee could no way eſcape by the paſſage where the trench was cut, applied themſelues whollie to the other place, where the ſouldiers made ſhew of breaking out: whereby (through the help of bridges which he had formerly prouided) hee eſcaped ouer the ditch without reſiſtance. Sometimes they added other helpes to theſe trenches, eſpecially when they ſought handſome meanes to get themſelues away: whereof Sertorius may be an inſtance. VVho, hauing the enemie preſſing him in the reare, and beeing to paſſe a Riuer, drew a ditch and a rampier at his backe, in the faſhion of a halfe moone: which rampire, he heaped with wood and combuſtible matter; and ſo ſetting it on fire, kept off the enemie, and paſſed with eaſe ouer the water.

In like manner, Herculeius, one of Sertorius Legates, hauing raſhly entered with a ſmall power into a long and narrow paſſage, between two hilles; & finding himſelfe purſued by great forces of the enemy, ſunke a croſſe trench betweene the two Mountaines: and piling the rampire with wood, ſet it on fire, & ſo cut off the enemie.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæſars attempt to poſſeſſe himſelfe of a ſmall hill: *what diſadvantage he ran into, by miſſing of his purpoſe; what* meanes he vſed to recouer himſelfe.

Betweene the towne of Ilerda, and the next hill where Petreius and Afranius were incamped, there was a Plaine, of about three hundred paſes; in the midſt whereof ſtoode a little Mole, riſing higher then the reſt: which if Cæſar could get and fortifie, he hoped to cut off the enemy from the towne & the bridge, and from ſuch victuals and prouiſions as vvere brought

brought to the towne: vvherevpon, he tooke three legions out of the Campe; and hauing put them into order of battell, hee commaunded the Antesignani of one legion, to runne before and possesse the place. Which beeing perceiued, the cohorts that kept watch before Afranius Campe, were presently sent a neerer way to take that Mount. The matter came to blowes: but forasmuch as Afranius partie came first to the place, our men were beaten backe; and by reason of new supplies sent against them, were constrained to turne their backes, and retire to the legions.

The manner of fight which those souldiers vsed, was first to runne furiouslie vpon an enemy, to seize any place boldly and with great courage; not much respecting their orders or rankes, but fighting in a scattered and dispersed fashion. If they chaunc't to be throughly charged, they thought it no shame to giue way and retire; accustomed there-vnto, by frequenting the Lusitanians, and other barbarous people, vsing that kind of fight: as it commonly falleth out, that where the souldiers haue long liued, they get much of the vsage and condition of those places. Notwithstanding, our men were much troubled thereat, as vnaccustomed to that kind of fight: for, seeing euery man leaue his ranke, and runne vp and downe, they feared least they should be circumvented, and sette vpon in flanke, and on their bare & open side; vvhere-as themselues were to keepe their order, and not to leaue their places, but vpon extraordinarie occasion.

Vpon the routing of the Antesignani, the legion that stoode in the cornet, left the place, and retreated to the next Hill; almost all the Armie beeing affrighted, vpon that which had happened beyond euery mans opinion, contrarie to former vse.

Cæsar, encouraging his men, brought out the ninth legion to second them; by that meanes compelling the enemy (insolent of good successe, and shrewdly pursuing our men) to turne their backes, and to retire to the towne of Ilerda, and there to make a stand vnder the walles. But the souldiers of the ninth legion, caried on with endeuour, and going about to repaire their losse, they rashly followed the enemy into a place of disaduantage, and came vnder the Hill whereon the towne stood: and as they would haue made their retreit, they were charged afresh from the vpper ground. The front of the place had an vneasie broken ascent, and was on each side steepe; extended onely so much in breadth, as vvould serue three cohorts to imbattell in: neither could the Caualrie come to helpe them. The Hill declined easily from the towne about foure hundred pases in length: and that way our men had some conveniencie of retreit, from the disadvantage to which their desire had vnaduisedly led them. The fight continued in this place: which was very vnequall, both in regard of the straightness thereof, as also for that they stood vnder the foote of the Hill, whereby no weapon fell in vaine amongst them. Notwithstanding, by prowesse and valour they patientlie endured all the woundes they receiued. The enemies forces were supplied and renewed, by such cohorts as were often sent out of the Campe through the towne, that fresh men might take the place of such as were vvearied out. And the like vvas Cæsar faine to doe, sending freshe Cohorts to that place to relieue the vvearied.

After they had thus continuallie fought for the ſpace of fiue houres together, and that our men were much ouer-charged with an vnequall multitude; hauing ſpent all their weapons, they drew their ſwords, and aſcended vp the hill, to charge and aſſault the enemy: and hauing ſlaine a few of them, the reſt were driuen to make a retreit. The cohorts beeing thus put backe to the walles, and ſome of them for feare hauing taken the towne, our men found an eaſie retreit. Our Caualrie did from a lowe ground get vp vnto the toppe of the hill; and riding vp and downe betweene the two Armies, made our ſouldiers to retreit with better eaſe: and ſo the fight ſucceeded diuerſly.

About ſeauentie of our men were ſlaine in the firſt onſet. And amongſt theſe was ſlaine Q. Fulginius, Captaine of the firſt Haſtate Centurie of the foureteenth legion; who, for his exceeding valour, was preferred to that place from the lower orders. And of Afranius partie were ſlaine T. Cæcilius, Centurion of a Primipile order, and foure Centurions more, beſides two hundred ſouldiers. But ſuch was the opinion of that daies buſineſs, that either ſide belieued they left with the better.

Et victor ſubducto Marte pependit. Lucan. lib. 4.

Afranius party was ſo perſwaded, for that they long ſtood to handy blowes, and reſiſted the violence of our ſouldiers, although in all mens iudgement they were the weaker: as alſo, for that they firſt tooke and held the place which gaue occaſion of that fight; & in the firſt encounter, compelled our men to turne their backs. Our men, in like manner, thought they had the better, in regard they had maintained fight for fiue houres together, in a place of diſaduantage, & with an vnequall multitude: that they aſcended vp the hill with their ſwords drawne, and compelled their aduerſarie to turne their back, & to retreit into the towne, mauger the diſaduantage of the place.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN this direction which Cæſar gaue, to take the little Hill betweene Ilerda and Afranius Campe, wee may obſerue the danger depending vpon the miſchieuing of an action. For, the failing of a purpoſe, in ſeeking to obtaine that which would prooue of great aduantage, doth oftentimes drawe men into as great inconueniences. And as the end in euery deſſigne pretendeth gaine, ſo the meanes thereof doe giue way to hazard: from whence it conſequently followeth; that ſuch as are imployed in execution, had neede to vſe all indeuour, not to falſifie the groundes of good directions, by negligent or inconſiderate cariage; but rather, to make good any want or defect, by ſerious and warie proſecution of the ſame.

And the rather, for that it ſpecially concerneth their good, that haue the charge and handeling of commaundes; for, they firſt are like to feele the ſmart of anie errour committed therein; or otherwiſe, to haue the honour of anie fortunate ſucceſſe, for-aſmuch as Vertue hath all her praiſe from Action.

Omnis laus virtutis in actione conſiſtit. Ariſt. Eth.

Concer-

Concerning the vse of running, we are to vnderstand, that the Romaines (amongst other their exercises of Armes) had speciall practise of this, as auailable in foure respects, according as Vegetius hath noted; First, to the end they might charge the enemie with greater force and violence. Secondly, that they might possesse themselues with speed, of places of aduantage. Thirdly, that they might readily discouer, as should be found expedient vpon all occasions. And lastly, to prosecute a flying enemie, to better purpose and effect. And this, as Seneca saith, they practised in peace; that beeing accustomed to needlesse labour, they might be able to discharge necessarie duties. And Liuie, amongst the militarie exercises vsed by Scipio, to fit his men for those glorious exploits which hee afterwards atchieued, saith; That the first day, the legions ran foure miles in Armes. And Suetonius affirmeth, That Nero, hauing appointed a race for the Prætorian cohorts, caried a Target lifted vp before them with his owne hand. And that Galba did more admirably; for, beeing suted of purpose to make himselfe eminent, directed a field race with a Target, himselfe running as fast as the Emperours Charriot, for twentie miles together.

Lib. 1. cap. 9. The vse of running.

Miles in media pace decurrit, sine vllo hoste, et superuacuo labore lassatur, vt sufficere necessario possit. Seneca Epist. 18.

Lib. 26.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing to be noted in these specialties, is the bold enterprise of Cæsars men, in charging the enemie with their swordes drawne, against the Hill; and, making them to giue backe, had an easie and safe retreit from the danger wherein they were ingaged. Whereby wee may obserue, that difficulties of extreamitie, are neuer better cleered, then by aduenturous and desperate vndertakings: According to the condition of diseases, and distemperatures of the body; which beeing light & easie, are cured with milde and easie potions: but beeing grieuous and doubtfull, doe require sharpe and strong remedies. VVhich doth also in like manner appeare throughout the whole course of Nature, and particularly in waights: for, as ponderous and heauie bodies are not mooued, but with a counterpoise of greater force; no more can extreamities of hazard bee auoided, but by like perilous enforcements.

Medici leuiter egrotantes, leuiter curant: grauioribus autem morbis, periculosas: curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur. Cice. li. 1. de officijs.

And hence groweth the difference betweene true valour and foole-hardy rashnesse; beeing but one and the same thing, if they were not distinguished by the subiect wherein they are shewed. For, to runne headlong into strange adventures, vpon no iust occasion, were to shew more leuitie then discretion: And againe, to vse the like boldnesse in cases of extreamitie, deserueth the opinion of vertuous endeuour. As is well obserued by Homer, in the person of Hector, perswading the Troians that fledde away, to stand and make head against the Grecians; This is the time, saith he, considering the danger wherein wee are, to vse that prowesse and courage which we boast of.

Iliad. 6.

And accordinglie, Diomedes censured Glaucus in the same place, for offering himselfe to the furie of the Grecians; Either thou art some God, saith he,

or elſe but a loſt and forlorne man. VVhich may ſerue to learne vs the true vſe of courage; that ordinarily is neuer more ſhewed then in misimployment.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

The parts of a Legion.

I Haue already, in the obſeruations of the ſecond Commentary of the warres of Gallia, diſcourſed particularly of the partes of a legion: Where it appeareth, that in Cæſars time, a legion conſiſted of fiue thouſand men, or there-abouts; and according to the ſufficiencie and experiencie of the ſouldiers, was diuided into three parts. The firſt and meaneſt of ſuch as followed an Enſigne, were called *Haſtati*. The ſecond, *Principes*. And the third and chiefe ſort, *Triarij*: and according to this diuiſion, had their place and precedencie in the Armie.

Againe, each of theſe three kindes, was diuided into tenne companies, which they called Maniples; and euery Maniple was ſubdiuided into two Centuries or Orders: and in euery Order there was a Centurion or Captaine. Theſe orders were diſtinguiſhed, by the numbers of the firſt, ſecond, third, and ſo conſequently vnto the tenth orders, which were the laſt & loweſt of each of theſe three kindes. So that this Q. Fulginius, here mentioned, was Centurion of the firſt and prime order of the *Haſtati*: And T. Cæcilius, Centurion of the firſt order of the *Triarij*, which by excellencie was called *Primipilus*, or the Leader of the firſt companie of a legion.

Now, concerning their imbattelling, we are to note, that according to this former diuiſion of *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, vpon occaſion of fight, they made a triple battell, one ſtanding in front to another; which we call the vant-guard battell, and reareward. VVhereof the *Haſtati* were called *Anteſignani*: not for that they had no Enſignes of their owne; for, euery Maniple had an Enſigne: but becauſe they ſtood imbattelled before the Eagle, & other the chiefe Enſignes of the legion. To which purpoſe is that of Liuie, *Pugna orta eſt, non illa ordinata per Haſtatos, Principeſque et Triarios, nec vt pro ſignis Anteſignanus, poſt ſigna alia pugnaret Acies.* And againe; *Cadunt Anteſignani: et ne nudentur propugnatoribus ſigna, fit ex ſecunda prima Acies.* Whereby it appeareth, that moſt of the chiefeſt Enſignes were with the *Principes*, which were called *Subſignani*, as the *Triarij Poſtſignani*.

Anteſignani.

Lib. 22.

Lib. 9.

Amongſt other benefites of theſe ſo particular diuiſions of an Armie, that is not the leaſt which is noted by Thucidides, *Vt iuſſa imperatoris breui ſpacio ad ſingulos milites deferri poſſent.*

Lib. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Cæsar, brought into great extreamity by ouer-*flowing of two Riuers.*

THE enemy fortified the Mount for which they cõtended, with great and strong workes; and there put a Garizon. In the space of those two daies that these thinges were in dooing, there fell out vpon a suddaine a great inconuenience: for, such a tempest happened, that the like waters were neuer seene in those places. And further besides, the snow came downe so aboundantly from the Hilles, that it over-flowed the bankes of the Riuer; and in one day, brake downe both the bridges which Fabius had made: and thereby brought Cæsar into great extreamity. For, as it is formerly related, the Campe lay betweene two Riuers, Sicoris and Cinga, being distant about 30 miles one from another. Neither of these Riuers were passable: so that all the Army were of necessity cooped vp in that straightness; neither could the Citties, which had formerly ranged themselues with Cæsars partie, furnish any supplies of victuall and prouision: nor such of the Armie as had gone far for forrage, beeing hindered by the riuers, could returne to the Campe; nor yet the great convoies and renforcements, comming to him out of Italy and Gallia, could gette to the Campe.

Cæsar.

Cinga rapidus magis quàm magnus.

The time was very hard; for, there was neither old corne left of their winter prouisions, nor that on the ground was as yet ripe. The Citties and townes neere about were all emptied; for, Afranius before Cæsars cõming, had caused all the Corne to be brought into Ilerda: and that which remained, was since Cæsars comming all spent. And for Cattell (which might haue relieued this necessity) by reason of the warre they were remooued by the bordering townes, and caried further off. Such as were gone out to forrage, and to seeke Corne, were by the light Armed Portingalls, and the Buckler-bearers of the heather Spaine, much troubled and molested: for, these men could easily passe the riuer, forasmuch as none of them vsed to goe to warre, without bladders for that purpose. On the contrary part, Afranius abounded with all necessary prouisions; great quantity of Corne was formerly prouided and stored vp; much was brought in from all the Prouinces round about, hauing also great plenty of forrage in his Camp: for, the bridge at Ilerda afforded meanes of all these things without danger; and the Countrey beyond the riuer was whole and vntouched, which Cæsar could not come vnto by any meanes. The vvaters continued for many dayes togeather. Cæsar vsed all meanes to reedifie the Bridges: but neither the swelling of the Riuer woulde permitte him, nor yet the cohorts of the Enemie, placed on the bankes of the other side, suffer him to goe forwardes with it: which they might easilie hinder, both in regard of the nature of the riuer; the

greatneſs of the water; as alſo, for that they might eaſily caſt their weapons frō along the banke, vnto one place or point. Whereby it was very hard, at one and the ſame time (the Riuer running ſo violently as it did) to doe the worke, and to ſhunne the weapons.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FIrſt, we may obſerue, that the ſtrength of a multitude is not priuiledged from ſuch caſualties as betide the weakeneſſes of particular perſons; but doth oftentimes vndergoe extreamities, which can neither by prouidence be preuented, nor remoued by induſtrie: & are ſuch as proceede not from the indeuour of an enemy, but out of the circumſtances of time and place; together with ſuch accidents as are interlaced with the ſame. In reſpect whereof it was, that Cambiſes told Cyrus; That in the courſe of warre he ſhould meet with ſome occaſions, wherein he was not to labour and contend with men, but with chaunces and things, which were not to be ouercome with leſſe difficultie then an enemy; and are the more dangerous, according as they giue way to ſcarcitie and lack of victuall. For, as it is ſaid in the ſame place; *Scis breui, finem habiturum Imperium, ſi commeatu exercitus careat.*

Sunt quædam in quibus non adverſus homines certamen eſt, ſed cum ipſis rebus: quas ſuperare perdifficile eſt. Zenoph. lib. 1. de Inſt. Cyri.

The remedies whereof, are firſt, Patience; which is as requiſite in a ſouldier, as either courage or any other abilitie: and in ſuch caſes keepeth an Army from diſcontentment and diſorder, vntill meanes of better fortune. And ſecondly, Good indeauour, which auaileth much in ſuch chaunces; the effect whereof, will appeare by that which Cæſar wrought, to redeeme his Armie from theſe inconueniences.

Diligentia in omnibus rebus plurimùm valet.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

COncerning that which is heere noted of the Spaniards, that made nothing of paſsing a Riuer with the helpe of bladders, which the Romaines were readier to wonder at then to imitate; it is obſerued, that as people exquiſitly faſhioned to a ciuill life, by a firme & ſettled policie of gouernment, are firme and reall in the whole courſe of their proceedings, and accordingly doe ſhew their punctualitie, as well in their ſolemnities and priuate cariages, as in their magnificent and ſtately buildings: ſo on the other ſide, barbarous and rude Nations, that liue vnder generall and ſlight lawes, are as ſlight and rude in their actions; as amongſt other thinges, may appeare by that the Spaniards thought it no ſcorn, to vſe the help of bladders in paſsing ouer a Riuer, as a deuiſe comming next to hand: which the people of a wiſe and potent State, would not haue done, but by a ſure and ſubſtantiall bridge.

Bladders vſed by the Spaniards, in ſwimming ouer Riuers.

The vſe of which bladders, as it hath been auncient amongſt people of that nature, ſo it is cōtinued in the ſame manner, by the Sauages, inhabiting Gronland,

land, and the North parts of America; as appeareth by the discoueries made of late by the Moscouy Marchants, about the Northwest passage: frō whence such as are imploied in those voiages, haue brought great and large bladders or bagges, made of Seale skinnes, ingeniously deuised to be filled and blowed with wind, and tied behind at their girdle, and at their coller, to helpe themselues in swimming. And after the same easie fashion, the Indians of Peru, as Iosephus Acosta writeth (in stead of wood and stone) made their bridges ouer great Riuers of plaited Reedes, which they fastened to the bankes on each side with stakes: or otherwise of bundles of straw and weedes, by which, men and beasts (if there be any credit in his storie) passe ouer with ease. Howbeit, as when the ancient Greeks would note a man of extreame insufficiencie; They would say he could neither reade nor swim: So Cæsar seemed of the same opinion, by commending the skill of swimming, as a thing of much consequence in the vse of Armes. Whereof he made good experience in Egypt; where he cast himselfe into a small boate, for his better safetie: and finding it ouer-charged, and ready to sinke, he leapt into the sea, and swom to his Fleet, which was 200 paces off, holding certaine papers in his left hand, aboue the water; and trayling his coate of Armes in his teeth, that it might not be left to the enemie. *Lib. 6. ca. 14.*

CHAP. XVIII.

Afranius marcheth with three legions, to cut off a *party. The scarcitie of victuall in* Cæsars Armie.

Cæsar.

IT was told Afranius, of great troopes and conuoies that were comming to Cæsar, but were hindered by the waters, and aboade there by the Riuers side: for, thither were come Archers out of Ruthenia, and Horsemen out of Gallia, with manie carres & cariages, according to the custome of the Galles. There were besides, of all sorts, about sixe thousand men, with their seruaunts and attendants; but without order, or any knowne commaund: for, euery man was at his owne libertie, trauelling the Countrey without feare, according to the former freedome & safetie of the waies. There were likewise many young men of good ranke, Senators sonnes, and Knights of Rome; besides Embassadors from sundry States, & diuers of Cæsars Legates. All these were kept backe by the Riuer.

Afranius went out in the night time with three legions, and all his horse, to cut off this partie; and sending his Caualrie before, sette vpon them vnawares. Howbeit, the Caualrie of the Galles, put themselues speedily in order, and buckled with them. And as long as it stood vpon indifferent tearmes, they, being but a few, did withstand a great number of the enemie: but as soone as they discouered

uered the Enſignes of the legions comming towards them, ſome few of them being ſlaine, the reſt betooke themſelues to the next hilles.

This ſmall time of encounter, was of great conſequence for the ſafetie of our men: for, by this meanes, they had opportunitie to take the vpper ground. There were loſt that day 200 Archers, a few horſemen, and no great number of the ſouldiers boyes, together with the baggage. Victualls, by reaſon of all theſe things wexed very deere, as well in regard of the preſent want, as alſo for feare of future penurie, as commonly it happeneth in ſuch caſes; inſomuch as a buſhell of Corne was worth fiftie pence. Whereby the ſouldiers grew weake for want of ſuſtenaunce; and the inconueniences therof, daily more and more increaſed. For, ſo great was the alteration which happened in a few daies, that our men vvere much afflicted with the extreame want of all neceſſary prouiſions: wheras they on the other ſide, hauing all things in aboundance, were held for victors. Cæſar ſent vnto thoſe States which were of his party, and in ſtead of Corne, gaue them order to furniſh him with Cattell; diſmiſſed ſouldiers boyes, and ſent them to townes further off; relieuing the preſent ſcarcitie by all the meanes he could.

Iam comes ſemper magnorum prima malorum, Sæua fames aderat: nulloque obſeſſus ab hoſte miles eget, toto cenſu non prodigus emit exiguam Cererem. Lucan. lib. 4.

Afranius and Petreius, together with their friends, inlarged theſe thinges in their Letters to Rome: rumour and report added much heerevnto; as that the warre was euen almoſt at an end. Theſe Meſſengers and Letters beeing come to Rome, there was great concourſe from all parts to Afranius houſe, much congratulation and reioycing for theſe thinges: and there-vpon, many went out of Italy to Pompey, ſome to be the firſt meſſengers of the newes; others, that they might not ſeeme to expect the euent of the war, and ſo prooue the laſt that came to that partie.

When the matter was brought to theſe difficulties and extreamities, and all the waies were kept by Afranius ſouldiers and horſemen; Cæſar gaue order to the ſouldiers, to make ſuch boates and Barkes as hee had in former yeeres taught them the vſe of in the warre of Britaine: the keeles whereof were built of light ſtuffe, and ſmall timber, and the vpper partes made with wicker, and couered with hides. Which beeing finiſhed, he laded them vpon Carres, and carried them in the night ſome twentie two miles from the Campe. And in thoſe Barks, tranſporting his ſouldiers ouer the riuer, vpon a ſuddaine poſſeſt himſelfe of a little hill, which lay continent vnto the water ſide: which hill he ſpeedily fortified, before the enemie had notice thereof. Afterwards, he brought ouer a legion to that place, and made a bridge frō ſide to ſide in two daies ſpace: and ſo the convoies, which had gone forth for prouiſions & forrage, returned backe in ſafetie; wherby he began to ſettle a courſe for prouiſion of Corne.

Primum cana ſalix madefacto vimine paruam Texitur in puppim, cæſoque induta iuvenco vectoris patiens tumidum ſuperenatat amnem. Lucan. lib. 4.

The ſame day, he paſſed ouer the riuer a great part of his Caualrie, who falling vnlooked for vpon the forragers (ſcattered heere and there without feare or ſuſpicion) cut off a great number of men and cattell. Where-vpon, the Enemy ſending certaine Spaniſh troopes, bearing little round bucklers, to ſecond and relieue the forragers, they diuided themſelues of purpoſe into two parts; the one to keepe and defend the booty which they had gotte, and the other, to reſiſt and beate backe the forces ſent to charge them. One of our cohorts, which had eaſilie runne out before the Armie, was intercepted, & cut off: the reſt returned by the bridge into the Camp in ſafety with a great booty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THese Rutheni inhabited that part of prouince where Rhodes now standeth: amongst whom Cæsar had ordinarily a legion or two in Guarizon, for the better keeping of the Countrey in obedience, being a stout and warlike people, and vsing archerie, as appeareth in this place. Which, howsoeuer the course of time hath brought into vtter contempt, yet let vs not scorne to take notice, that anciently it hath been vsed by such as performed the greatest feates of Armes: for, Hercules had but two sorts of weapons to atchieue labours of so much variety; a Club for such monsters as would contest with his valour, and Boaw and Arrowes for others that kept further off. And in the old warre of Troy (if Homer may bee beliueed) Pindarus, Duke of Lycia, hauing a stable of gallant Coursers, left them all at home, least hee should not find meanes at Troy, to giue them their ordinarie keeping; and came on foote with his boaw and arrowes, with such reputation of his deedes of Armes, that Aeneas sought him out in a conflict, to resist the rage and extreame pressures of Diomedes. And on the contrary part, Teucer relieued the distressed Grecians from a hot and desperate pursute, by slaying with his boaw eight valiant Troians before he stirred his foote.

Rutheni. Soluuntur flaui longa statione Rutheni. Luc. lib. 1.

Stymphalidæ. Iliad. lib. 5.

Iliad. lib. 7.

Concerning the vse of which weapon, howsoeuer it may seeme ridiculous (to such as vnderstand nothing but the course of the present age) to recall the long boaw to the seruice of a battell; yet they may remember, that the Gray-goose wing gaue our forefathers such aduantage, that they wrought wonders amongst all Nations for deedes of Armes: which wee should imitate with as much hope of successe, if we could handle our boawes in any measure as they did. Of this I haue already formerlie treated.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IT is a saying as true as it is old, that An ill hap commeth not alone, but is alwaies attended with such consequents as will inforce other inconueniences; as may be obserued by this extreamitie heere mentioned. For, the mischiefe was not bounded with the affliction which Cæsar suffered for want of needfull prouision, notwithstanding the weight was such as could not bee borne by ordinarie patience: but the enemy inlarged it to his further advantage, vaunting of it as a helplesse remedy, and making out dispatches to send victorie to Rome. VVhich gaue him yet further preiudice in the opinion of the world; and made those his enemies, that formerlie shewed no dislike of his proceedings. And thus euery ill chaunce hath a taile of many other misfortunes; which if either prouidence or indeuour may preuent, it shall much import a Commaunder to auoide them.

An ill chaunce commeth not alone.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Neceſſitas fortiter ferre docet, conſuetudo facilè. Seneca. de tranqui. cap. 10

AS Neceſſitie maketh men conſtant in their ſufferings, ſo Cuſtome giueth eaſineſs and meanes of deliuerance; according as may appeare by this direction of Cæſar, which was wholly drawne from former experience. For, firſt the Boates heere preſcribed, vvere ſuch as he vſed in the warre of Britannie; and as far as may bee gathered out of the former Commentaries, were thoſe he commaunded to be built for his ſecond iourney: which he would now imitate, in regard of the flatneſs of their bottomes, and not otherwiſe. For, it is not to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe Barkes were couered with skinnes; vnleſſe peraduenture hee vſed ſome ſuch as theſe vpon occaſion in that warre, not expreſſed in the ſtorie.

Lib. 5.

Herodotus in his *Clio*, deſcribeth the like; The boats (ſaith he) which come from Babylon, downe the Riuer Euphrates, are made by the Heardſmen of Armenia, of light Timber, in a round faſhion, without beake or poope, & are couered with skinne, the hairie ſide inwarde; and in theſe they take their paſſage. Such as fiſh for Salmon in the Riuer of Seuerne, vſe the like boates in all reſpects, which they call *Corracles* of *Corium*: beeing all couered with horſe-skinnes tanned. Secondly, the means he vſed to paſſe ouer without impeachement from the Enemie, by carying thoſe boates in the night time vp the Riuer to a place of ſecuritie, was ſuch, the like whereof he had formerly practiſed in Gallia, to paſſe the Riuer Loier, beeing then guarded on the other ſide by the Enemie. Whereby we ſee, how much vſe and continuance doth inable men, beyond others of ſmaller experience: according to that, *Dies Diem docet.*

Corracles.

CHAP. XIX.

The Maſsilians encounter with Brutus at Sea, *and are beaten.*

Cæſar.

WHile theſe things were done at Ilerda, the Maſsilians (by the direction of L. Domitius) rigged and ſet out 17 Gallies, whereof eleuen were couered; beſides many leſſer veſſels which went along with them, to make the Nauie ſeeme the greater for the aſtoniſhment of the Enemy. In theſe they put a great number of Archers, and many Albickes, of whom wee haue formerly made mention; encouraging them both by rewards and promiſes. Domitius required certaine ſhippes for himſelfe, and them he filled with Shepheards and Countrymen, which he had brought thither with him. The Nauie beeing thus furniſhed, ſet forward with great confidence towards our ſhipping, whereof D: Brutus was Admirall, and lay

lay at Anker at an Iland right ouer against Marsellies. Brutus was far inferior to the enemy in shipping; but Cæsar hauing pickt the chiefest and valiantest men out of all the legions, as well of the Antesignani as Centurions, put them aboard the Fleet, they themselues requiring to bee imploied in that seruice. These men had prepared hookes, and grapples of Iron, and had likewise furnished thẽselues with many Piles and Darts, and other sorts of weapons: and vnderstanding of the Enemies comming, put to sea, and encountered with the Massilians. They fought on either side very valiantly and fiercely; neither were the Albickes much inferiour to our men in prowesse, beeing rough mountainous people, exercised in Armes: and hauing a little before fallen off frõ the Massilians, did now remember the late contract and league they had made with them. The Shepheards, in like manner (a rude and vntamed kind of people, stirred vp with hope of liberty) did striue to shew their valour in the presence of their Maister.

The Massilians, trusting to the nimblenes of their shipping, and in the skill and dexteritie of their Pilots, did frustrate (in a deluding manner) the shocke of our shippes, when they came violently to stemme them. And, forasmuch as they had sea-roome enough, they drew out their Nauie at length, to compasse and inclose our men about: And sometimes, they would single out one of our ships, and set vpon them with diuers of theirs together, and wipe off a side of their oars in their passage along by them.

When they came to deale at hand (leauing aside the art and skill of the Pilots) they tooke themselues to the stoutnes and valour of the Highlanders. Our men were faine to vse worse oare-men, and more vnskilfull Pilots; who beeing lately taken out of shippes of burden, did not well knowe the true names of the tackling, and were much troubled with the heauines and sluggishnes of the shipping; which beeing made in haste of vnseasoned timber, was not so nimble or ready for vse. But, as the matter came to handie blowes, euery single shippe did willingly vnder-take two at once; and hauing grapled with either of them, fought on each side, entering valiantly the enemies shippes, killing a great number of the Hilanders and Shepheards. Part of the ships they sunke, some they tooke with the men, & the rest they beate backe into the Hauen. That day the Massilians lost nine shippes, with those that were taken. This newes was brought to Cæsar at Ilerda.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

I Haue formerlie obserued the manner of their sea-fight, consisting of three parts; The first was, their nimble & skilfull managing of their shippes, either forceably to assault, or to lavire and beate off, as might fall for their best aduantage: wherein the Massilians, by reason of the skilfulnesse of their Pilots, had great confidence. The second, was their fight before they came to grappling, as well with great engines, such as were their *Balistæ* and *Catapultæ*, casting stones and logs of wood one against another, as also with slings, arrowes and darts; resembling our great artillerie, and *Sea-fight.*

and ſmall ſhot; for which purpoſe, their ſhippes were built with fore-caſtles & turrets, and other aduantages of height, for their caſting weapons. The third, was their grappling and forceable entry; wherein, foraſmuch as the matter was referred to the arbitrement of valour, the legionarie ſouldier caried the cauſe. Whence we may obſerue, that their legions were the nurſeries of their valiant and worthy men, as well for the ſea as the land: beeing fitted by the diſcipline of their Militarie exerciſes, to vndertake any ſeruice ſubiect to humane induſtrie; whereof they gaue an account woorthie the Schoole wherein they were inſtructed.

Neither is it ſeene at any time, but that ſuch kingdomes as make care to traine vp their men in Academies of vertuous Actualitie, doe alwaies keepe their honour at a high price; affording, at all times, men of abſolute and compleat cariage, both for deſsignement and performance.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

I Haue a little before ſhewed out of Liuie, that the *Anteſignani* were ordinarilie taken for the *Haſtati*; which, beeing the eaſieſt ſort of ſouldiers, according to the generall diuiſion of a legion, doth ſeeme to contradict the paſſage in this Chapter, *Sed delectos ex omnibus legionibus, fortiſsimos viros Anteſignanos, Centuriones Cæſar ei claſsi attribuerat*. For the better cleering whereof, we are to note, that as the *Haſtati*, or firſt battell of a legion, were generallie taken for the *Anteſignani* (as ſtanding before the Eagle, and other the chieſeſt Enſignes, which were alwaies amongſt the *Principes* or ſecond battell); ſo euery Maniple, hauing an Enſigne in the middeſt of the troope, the ſouldiers that ſtood in front before the Enſigne, were likewiſe called *Anteſignani*, and were the beſt ſouldiers in the Companie: for, the Centurion, ſtanding alwaies in the head of the troope, was accompanied with the valianteſt and worthieſt men; the reſt, filling vp the reare, conſorted with the Lieutenant, who there-vpon was called *Tergi-ductor*.

Whence wee may admire the temperature and diſpoſition of a Romaine Armie; beeing firſt generally diuided into three battels, whereof the meaneſt were in the vauntguard, to make triall of their ſtrength, and to ſpend the heat of their young blood in the firſt affront of an enemie: The *Veterani*, or olde ſouldiers, beeing left in the reareward, to repaire any loſſe, which either force or caſualtie ſhould caſt vpon their Leaders. And againe, to counterpoiſe thē-ſelues, in ſuch a manner as the weakeſt might not alwaies goe to the wall, their priuate Companies were ſo ordered, that the beſt men were alwaies in front. Whereby they made ſuch an exquiſite temper, as kept euery part of the Armie in their full ſtrength.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, the Enemie *resolueth to transferre the warre* into Celtiberia.

Vpon the making of this Bridge, Fortune suddenly changed. The enemy, fearing the courage and valour of our Caualrie, did not so freely range abroad as they had wont to do; Sometimes seeking forrage within a small distance of the Camp, to the end they might find a safe and easie retreit if occasion required: Sometimes fetching a great compasse about to auoid the guardes & stations of our horsemen. And if they had receiued but the least check, or had but descried the Caualrie afarre off, they would haue cast downe their burdens, and fledde away. Cæsar.

At last, they omitted forraging for many daies together, and (which was neuer vsed by any Nation) sent out to seeke it in the night. In the meane time, those of Osca and Caliguris, beeing in league together, sent Embassadours to Cæsar, with offer of their seruice, in such sort as he should please to cõmaund it. Within a few daies, the Tarraconenses, Lacetani, and Ausetani, together with the Illurganonenses, which border vpon the Riuer Ebrus, followed after. Of all these hee desired supplies of Corne, and prouision: which they promised to furnish; and accordingly got horses from all quarters, and brought graine into the Campe. In like manner, the Regiment of the Illurganonenses, vnderstanding the resolution of their State, left the Enemy, and came vnto him with their Colours: and suddainely a great alteration of things appeared. Osca. Caliguris.

The bridge beeing perfected, great Cities and States beeing come in vnto him, a course setled for prouision of Corne, and the rumour blowen ouer of the succours and legions, which Pompey was said to come withall, by the way of Mauritania; many other townes further off, reuolted from Afranius, and claue to Cæsars partie.

The Enemie, beeing much affrighted and abashed at these things, Cæsar (to auoide the great circuit by which hee continually sent his horsemen about by the bridge) hauing got a conuenient place, resolued to make many trenches of thirtie foote in breadth, by which he might draine some part of the riuer Sicoris, and make it passable by a foord. These trenches beeing almost made, Afranius and Petreius did therevpon conceiue a great feare, least they should be cut off altogether from victuall and forrage; forasmuch as Cæsar was very strong in horse, and therefore they determined to leaue that place, and transferre the vvarre into Celtiberia: being the rather there-vnto induced, for that of those 2 contrarie Factions, which in the former warre had stood for L. Sertorius, such Cities as were subdued by Pompey, did yet stand in awe of his Name and Authoritie:

and that ſuch, as from the beginning had continued firme vnto him, did intirely loue him, for the great benefites they had receiued from him; amongst whom Cæſars name was not knowne. There they expected great ſuccours both of horſe and foote, and made no doubt but to keepe the warre on foote vntill winter.

Octogeſa. *This aduice beeing agreed vpon, they gaue order to take vp all the boates that were on the riuer Iberus, and to bring them to Octogeſa; a towne ſited vpon Iberus, twentie miles from the Campe. There they commaunded a bridge of boates to be made; and tranſporting two legions ouer Sicoris, fortified their Camp with a rampier of twelue foote in height: which beeing knowen by the Diſcouerers, Cæſar by the extreame labour of the ſouldiers, continued day and night in turning the courſe of the water; & at length, brought the matter to that paſſe, that the horſemen (with ſome difficulty) durſt aduenture ouer: but the foot troopes, hauing nothing aboue the water but their heads, were ſo hindered as well by the depth of the Riuer, as the ſwiftneſs of the ſtreame, that they could not well get ouer. Notwithſtanding, at the ſame inſtant of time, newes was brought of the making of the bridge ouer the Riuer Iberus, and a foord was found in the riuer Sicoris.*

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ilerda. FIrſt, concerning the places heere mentioned, the Reader may take notice, that Ilerda (now knowen by the name of Lerida) ſtandeth vpon the Riuer Sicoris, in the Prouince of Catalonia; and beeing ſited vpon a hill, is incloſed round with a wall of hewen ſtone, in a pleaſant and fertile Countrey, both for Corne, wine, oyle, and fruite: as it is graphicallie deſcribed by Lucan; *Lib. 1111.*

Colle tumet modico, leuique excreuit in altum
Pingue ſolum tumulo, ſuper hunc fundata vetuſta
Surgit Ilerda manu; placidis prælabitur vndis
Heſperios inter Sicoris non vltimus amnes:
Saxeus ingenti quem pons amplectitur arcu,
Hibernas paſſurus aquas.

It was formerly a Vniuerſitie, and at all times famous for ſalt meates & pickled fiſh. Where-vnto Horace alludeth, when hee tolde his booke, That although it ſo fell out that no man would regard it, neuertheleſſe, it might ſerue at Ilerda to wrap Salt-fiſh in.

Aut fugies Vticam, aut vnctus mittêris Ilerdam.

Oſca Victrix. Oſca, now called Hueſca, a towne likewiſe of Catalonia, in former time ſurnamed *Victrix*; where Sertorius kept the ſonnes of the Grandes of Spaine, as pledges of their loyaltie; vnder pretext of learning the Greeke and Latine tongue, which he had there cauſed to be taught, in forme of an Academie.

In

In this towne his hap was to be slaine by Perpenna, as Paterculus recordeth the storie; *Tum M. Perpenna prætorius, è proscriptis, generis clarioris quàm animi, Sertorium inter cœnam Aetoscæ interemit; Romanisque certã victoriam, partibus suis excidium, sibi turpissimam mortem, pessimo auctorauit facinore:* Which Aetosca, is by all men taken for this Osca. *Lib. 2.*

The inhabitants boast of nothing more at this day, then that S. Laurence was a Cittizen of their towne.

Calaguris, now Calahorra, is seated vpon a hill on the bankes of Iberus; the people whereof are famous for their constancie, and faithfulnesse to their Cõmaunders, and specially to Sertorius: as appeareth by that of Valerius Maximus; *Quò perseuerantius interempti Sertorij cineribus obsidionem Cn. Pompei frustrantes, fidem præstarent, quia nullum iam aliud in vrbe eorum supererat animal, vxores suas, natosque, ad vsum nefariæ dapis verterunt; quoque diutius armata iuuentus, viscera sua visceribus suis aleret, infelices cadauerum reliquias salire non dubitauit.* *Calaguris.* *Lib. 7. cap. 6.*

Neuertheless, Afranius tooke thẽ in the end, by continuall siege; amongst whom that antiquitie of Bebricius is very remarkable, which is yet extant neere to Logronno.

DIIS. MANIBVS.
Q. SERTORII.
ME. BEBRICIVS. CALAGVRITANVS.
DEVOVI.
ARBITRATVS.
RELIGIONEM. ESSE.
EO. SVBLATO.
QVI. OMNIA.
CVM. DIIS. IMMORTALIBVS.
COMMVNIA. HABEBAT.
ME. INCOLVMEM.
RETINERE. ANIMAM.
VALE. VIATOR. QVI. HÆC. LEGIS.
ET. MEO. DISCE. EXEMPLO.
FIDEM. SERVARE.
IPSA. FIDES.
ETIAM. MORTVIS. PLACET.
CORPORE. HVMANO. EXVTIS.

In memorie of whose fidelitie, Augustus Cæsar tooke a band of these people for a guard to his person. In this towne was Quintilian the Rhetorician borne; and beeing brought from thence to Rome, in Nero his time, was the first that taught a publique Schoole for salarie: as witnesseth Saint Hierome; *Quintilianus ex Hispania Calaguritanus primus Romæ publicam Scholam tenuit, et salario cohonestatus publico claruit.* *Suetonius in Augusto. Cohors Calaguritanorum. Ad Eusebij Chronicon.*

Celtiberia was the Countrey lying along the Riuer Iberus, inhabited by people comming out of Gallia Celtica: where-vpon Lucan saith; *Celtiberia.*

Lib. 4.

——— profugique à Gente vetuſta
Gallorum Celtæ, miſcentes nomen Iberis.

Lib. 2. cap. 17. Lib. 2. ca. 6.

Florus calleth them *Hiſpaniæ Robur.* And Valerius Maximus affirmeth, That they were alwaies glad of warre, as beeing to end their life in happines and honour; and lamented their ill fortune to die in their beddes, as a miſerable and ſhamefull end.

Sil. Ital. Lib. 3.

His pugna cecidiſſe decus, corpúſque cremari
Tale nefas: cœlo credunt, ſuperiſque referri,
Impaſtus carpat ſi membra iacentia vultur:

Lib. 6. cap. 9.

Their Armes and weapons were of ſingular raritie: for, beſides the water of Bilbo, which gaue them an invincible temper; they had alſo a peculiar faſhion of working them, as witneſſeth Diodorus Siculus: hiding their plates of Iron in the earth, vntill the worſt and weakeſt part were eaten out with ruſt, and of that which remained, they made very hard ſwords.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſuddaine alterations of warre, are like the changings of mens mindes vpon ſmall accidents; which are ſo forceable to ſhake our reſolutions, as made a great Philoſopher, to deſcribe a man by the propertie of *mutabile Animal.* And is notablie ſeene in this; That Afranius, in the compaſſe of a few daies, triumphed of Cæſars ouerthrow, and fled away for feare of his power. Whence we may note the aduantage comming to a partie, when they ſhake off any eminent diſtreſſe: for, as the extreamitie thereof threatneth ruine and deſtruction, ſo the alteration bringeth with it an opinion of victorie. And ſurely, ſuch is the condition of all ſorts of Miſerie, that when the ſtorme is ouer, and the bitterneſs of the affliction alaid, good times come redoubled vpon the Patients; as though the viciſsitude of things, did inforce contrary effects. And therefore, a Commaunder, knowing the advantage of ſuch an opportunitie, muſt indeuour to improue the ſame, as may beſt ſerue to a ſpeedie end.

CHAP. XXI.

The Enemy ſetteth forward, and is ſtaied *by Cæſar.*

Cæſar.

THE Enemy, ther-vpon, thought it expedient for him to make the more haſte; and therfore leauing two Auxiliary cohorts for the ſafe keeping of Ilerda, hee tranſported all his forces ouer the Riuer Sicoris, and incamped himſelfe with the two legions, which formerly he had caried ouer. There remained nothing for Cæſar to doe, but with his Caualrie to impeache and

and trouble the enemy in their march. And forasmuch as it was a great compasse about, to goe by the bridge (whereby it would come to passe, that the Enemy would get to Iber a farre neerer way) hee passed ouer his horsemen by the foord. About the third watch, as Petreius and Afranius had raised their Camp; vpon a suddaine, the Caualrie shewed themselues in the reare; and swarming about them in great multitudes, began to stay and hinder their passage. As soone as it beganne to bee day light; from the vpper ground where Cæsar lay incamped; it was perceiued, how the reareward of the enemy was hard laid to by our Caualrie, and how sometimes they turned head againe, and were neuertheless broken and rowted: sometimes their Ensignes stood suddenly still, and all their foote troopes charged our horse, and forc't them to giue way; and then turning backe, went on their way againe. The souldiers walking vp and down the Camp, were grieued that the enemy should so escape their handes, whereby the matter would consequently be spun out into a long warre: and went vnto the Centurions and Tribunes of the souldiers, praying them to beseech Cæsar not to spare them for any danger or labour; for, they were ready and willing to passe the Riuer where the horse went ouer. Cæsar, mooued through their desire and importunity, albeit he feared to expose his Army to a riuer of that greatness, yet he thought it expedient to put it to triall: and therefore commaunded, that the weakest souldiers of all the Centuries should bee taken out, whose courage or strength shewed a disabilitie to vnder-take that seruice: and these he left in the Campe, with one legion to defend the same, bringing out the other legions without carriage or burden; and hauing set a great number of horses & cattell both aboue and belowe in the riuer, hee transported his Army ouer. Some few of the souldiers, being caried away with the streame, were succoured and taken vp by the horsemen; insomuch as not one man perished.

The Army caried thus ouer in safetie, hee ranged them in order, and marched forward with a three-fold battell. Such was the endeuour of the souldiour, that albeit they had fet circuit of sixe miles to the foord, and had spent much time in passing the riuer; yet by the ninth houre, they did ouertake the enemie that rose about the third watch of the night.

Three of the clock in the afternoone.

Assoone as Afranius and Petreius had discouered the legions afarre off (being terrified with the noueltie of that pursuit) they betooke themselues to the vpper ground, and there imbattelled their troopes. In the meane time, Cæsar refreshed his Armie in the fielde, and would not suffer them (beeing wearie) to giue battell: and as they tried againe to goe on in their march, he followed after and staied them; whereby the enemy was forced to incampe sooner then vvas purposed: for, there were hilles a little before them; and for fiue miles together, the passages were very difficult and narrow.

By which meanes (beeing aduaunced betweene the hilles) they hoped to bee free from Cæsars Caualrie; and by keeping the passages, to hinder the Armie frō following after; to the end they themselues, might without perill or feare, put their forces ouer the riuer Iberus: which by all meanes was to bee effected. Neuertheless, beeing wearied with trauailing and fighting all day, they put off the busines se to the next morning.

Caſar alſo incamped himſelfe on the next hill; and about midnight, ſome of their partie being gone out from the Campe, ſome-what far off, to fetch water, were taken by the horſemen. By them, Caſar was aduertiſed, that the Enemie with ſilence began to remoue, and to lead their troopes out of their Campe. Wher-vpon, he commaunded the ſigne of riſing to be giuen, and the cry (diſlodging and truſsing vp their baggage) to be taken vp, according to the diſcipline and vſe of ſouldiers.

Vaſa conclamari.

The Enemy, hearing the cry, fearing leaſt they ſhould bee impeached in the night, and forced to fight with their burdens on their backs, or to be ſhutte vp in thoſe ſtraight paſſages by Caſars horſemen, ſtaied their iourney, and kept their forces within their Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis paſſage ouer Sicoris, was in the ſame manner as hee caried his Armie ouer the Riuer Loier, in the ſeauenth Commentarie of the warre of Gallia; *Vado per Equites invento, pro rei neceſsitate opportuno, vt Brachia modò atque Humeri, ad ſuſtinenda arma liberi ab aqua eſſe poſſent, diſpoſito equitatu, qui vim fluminis frangerent, incolumem exercitum tranſduxit.*

Hanniball, per ſuperiora Padi vada, exercitum traducens, elephantos in ordinem oppoſuit ad impetum fluminis ſuſtinendum. Liuie.

The horſe that ſtood aboue, brake the force of the water, & thoſe that were belowe, tooke vp ſuch as were ouercome with the ſtreame; and withall, gaue courage to the ſouldier to venture with better aſſurance, ſeeing the paſſage impaled in, on each ſide, to keepe them frō miſcarying. His attempt vpon Sicoris, to abate the ſwelling pride of that Riuer, by diuiding it into many ſtreames, was in imitation of the firſt Cyrus; who taking diſpleaſure at the Riuer Cyndes, next vnto Euphrates the greateſt Riuer of Aſsyria, drew it into three hundred and threeſcore chanels.

Ac ne quid Sicoris, repetitis audeat vndis, Spargitur in ſulcos, et ſciſſo gurgite riuis dat pœnas maioris aquæ. Lucan. l. 4

Croeſus, not finding the Riuer Halis paſſable by a foord, and hauing no meanes to make a bridge, ſunke a great trench behinde the Campe, from the vpper part of the Riuer, and ſo drew all the water behind his Armie.

Herodo. Clio. In the ſame maner Euphrates was diuided firſt by Semiramis, and afterward by Alexander. *Herod. Iuſt. Lib. 2. cap. 7.*

Vegetius hath a particular diſcourſe of paſsing an Armie ouer a Riuer, whither it be by bridge or boate, or by wading, or ſwimming, or any other way: to which I referre the Reader.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Afranius seeketh to take the Straites betweene *certaine Mountaines; but was preuen-* ted by Cæsar.

(·.·)

HE next day folowing, Petreius went out secretly with a few horse, to discouer the Countrey; and for the same purpose, some went likewise out of Cæsars Campe. L. Decidius Saxo, was sent with a small troope to view the site of the Place, and either party returned with the same report: that for fiue miles, the way was open and champain, and afterwards, very rough and mountainous; and whosoeuer first tooke those straights, might easily impeache the enemy from going further. The matter was disputed in the Councell of warre, by Petreius and Afranius; the time of their setting forward, was debated: Most of them thought it fit to take their iourney in the night; for, by that means, they might com to those straights before it were perceiued. Others were of opinion, that it was not possible to steale out in the night; as appeared by the cry of rising, taken vp the night before in Cæsars Campe, vpon their remooving: and Cæsars horsemen did so range abroad in the night, that all places and passages were kept & shut vp. Neither were they to giue occasion of night fights, but to auoid the same by all the meanes they could; forasmuch as in ciuill dissension, the ordinary souldier would rather suffer himselfe to bee ouer-maistered by feare, then continue firme in the allegeance which he had sworne vnto: wheras, in the day time, euery man hath shame and dishonor before his eyes; together with the presence of the Centurions and Tribunes: with which respects, a souldier is restrained, and kept within the bounds of duty. And therefore, the attempt was by all meanes to be vndertaken in the day time, although it fell out to some losse; yet neuertheless, the body of the Armie might passe in safetie, and possesse that place which they sought for.

This opinion preuailing in their consultation, they determined by breake of day the next morning to sette forward. Cæsar, hauing diligently viewed the Countrey; as soone as day began to appeare, drew all his forces out of his Campe, and marched forward in a great circuit, keeping no direct way. For, the waies which lead to Iberus and Octogesa, were taken vp with the Enemies Campe; insomuch as they were to passe ouer great and difficult valleis. And in many places, broken Rocks and stones did so hinder them, that they were necessarilie to giue their weapons from hand to hand, the souldiers lifting vp one another, and so they passed most part of the way. Howsoeuer, no man thought much of the labour, for that they hoped to giue an end to all their trauell, if they could keep the enemy from passing ouer the Riuer Iberus, and cut off his victualls.

Attollunt campo geminæ iuga saxea rupes, valle caua media: tellus huic ardua celsos continuat colles, tutæ quos inter opaco aufractu latuere viæ: quibus hoste potito fauci-bus, emitti terrarum in deuia Martem, inque feras gentes Cæsar videt? Lucan. lib. 4.

Ite sine vllo ordine, ait, raptiũque fuga cõvertite bellum, et faciem pugnæ vultusq; inferte minaces. Lucan. lib. 4.

At

At the firſt, Afranius ſouldiers ranne ioyfully out of their Campe to ſee the Armie, caſting out words of deriſion & reproche, that for want of victuall, they fledde and returned to Ilerda; for, the way they held, was quite contrary to that they intended: whereby they ſeemed to goe backe againe: and the Commaunders themſelues, did much approoue their owne counſell, that they had kept their troopes within the Campe. For, that which confirmed thē in their opinion, was, that they perceiued they were come out without their cariages: whereby they hoped, neceſsity would not ſuffer them to continue long there. But when they ſaw the troopes by little and little to wind to the right hand; and that they perceiued, how thoſe that were in front, had fallē backward beyond their Camp, there was no man ſo dull, but thought it expedient preſently to march out, and make head againſt them. Wherevpon, they cried to Arme; and all their forces, excepting ſome few cohorts which were left to keepe the Campe, went out, and marched directly towards Iberus.

The whole buſineſs conſiſted in ſpeed and celeritie, which of the two ſhould firſt take the ſtraights, and poſſeſse the hilles. Cæſars Army was hindered by the difficultie of the way: and Afranius partie was retarded by Cæſars Caualry. The matter was come to that vpſhot, that if Afranius party did firſt get the hils, they might happely quit themſelues of danger; but the baggage of the whole Armie, and the cohorts left in the Campe could not be ſaued: for, beeing intercepted & ſecluded by Cæſars Armie, there was no meanes to relieue them.

It fell out, that Cæſar firſt attained the place; and beeing come out from among thoſe great Rocks into a plaine champaine, put his Army in order of battell againſt the enemy.

Afranius, ſeeing the enemy in front, and his reareward hardly charged by Cæſars Caualry, got the aduantage of a ſmal hill, & there made their ſtand: and from thence ſent 4 cohorts bearing round bucklers, vnto a Mountaine, which in all mens ſight was higher then the reſt; commaunding them to runne as faſt as they could, and poſſeſse that hill, intending to follow after with all his forces; and altering his courſe, to gette along the ridges and toppes of the Mountaines to Octogeſa.

As the cohorts were aduaunced forward by an oblique circuit, Cæſars Caualrie perceiuing their intendement, ſette vpon them with ſuch violence, that they were not able any time to beare their charge, but were all cut in peeces in the ſight of both Armies.

Nocturna prælia eſſe vitanda, quòd perterritus miles in ciuili diſſenſione, timori magis quā religioni conſulere conſueuerit; at lucē multum per ſe pudorem, omnium oculis afferre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

PEtreius and Afranius, in their Councell of warre, reſolued by all meanes to ſhun night encounters, as a thing full of hazard and vncertaintie, and apt for looſeneſs and diſobedience: for, the night, beeing neither a diſcouerer of errours, nor yet a diſtinguiſher either of

of actions or persons; but wrapping vp both the vertuous & the faultie in her Mantle of obscuritie, doth not admit of directions, to follow an opportunitie, or to help a mistaking: but rather giuing way to Impunitie and licentious confusion, leaueth no hope of what is wished: VVhereas the light is a witness of euery mans demeanour, and hath both honour & rebuke to make dutie respected.

Neque in victoria decus, nec in fuga flagitium. Tacit. Hist. li. 2

For which causes, Curio (as it followeth in the next Commentarie) in his harange before that vntimely expedition against king Iuba, reiected their advice that would haue had him set forward in the night; *At etiam vt media nocte proficiscamur addunt: quò maiorem credo licentiam habeant qui peccare conantur: Namque huiusmodi res aut pudore aut metu tenẽtur, quibus rebus nox maximè adversaria est.*

And, that the danger may appeare as well by effect as by discourse, let the Reader take notice of that battell by night, between Antonius Primus, on the behalfe of Vespasian, and the Vitellian legions neere vnto Cremona. Whereof Tacitus hath this description; *Prælium tota nocte varium, anceps, atrox; his, rursus illis, exitiabile. Nihil animus aut manus, ne oculi quidem prouisu iuuabant. &c.* And thus are all night workes condemned, wherein either order or honour are of anie moment.

2. Historie.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Haue already noted, in the former Commentaries, the vse of exact and particular discouerie of the Countrey, where a partie is ingaged: then which, nothing doth more aduantage a Commander to expedite the happie issue of a warre. For, by that meanes, he is not onely able to iudge of any motion which the enemy shall offer, and to giue sure directions to frustrate and make voide the same; but also to dispose himselfe, according as shall seeme expedient for his safetie. VVherein, if a place of such consequence as is heere mentioned shall by designe be aymed at, this historie sheweth, how much it importeth either partie to obtaine it: and therefore Cæsar had reason to make his passage through Valleis and Rocks, rather then to lose victorie, for want of labouring a little in an vneasie way.

This Lucius Decidius Saxo, or Didius Saxo, imploied in this discouerie, was afterward aduaunced by Cæsar, to bee Tribune of the people; whereat Tullie was so much offended. How can I omit (saith he) this Decidius Saxo, a man brought from the furthest end of the world? whom we see Tribune of the people, before we euer saw him a Cittizen.

Oratio. 13 Philip.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſar refuſed to fight vpon an aduantage offered; *contrary to the opinion and deſire of* all men.

Cæſar.

THere was an opportunitie then offered of doing ſome thing to purpoſe; neither was Cæſar ignorant thereof. Such an ouerthrowe giuen before their faces, did conſequentlie ſo diſcourage them, that it was thought they would not indure a charge: eſpecially, beeing compaſſed about with the Caualrie, in an indifferent and open place, where the matter was to be decided by battell. Which was on all ſides inſtantly deſired at Cæſars hands: for, the Legates, Centurions, and Tribunes of the ſouldiers, came ioyntly vnto him, deſiring him to make no doubt of giuing battell; for, all the ſouldiers were very ready, and forward there-vnto: whereas the contrary partie had ſhewed many arguments of feare and diſcouragement. Firſt, in that they did not ſuccour their fellowes. Secondly, in aſmuch as they had not bouged from the Hill, which they had tooke for a retreit. Neither had they withſtood the charge and incurſion of the Caualrie, but had thronged pell mell together, and confuſedly mingled their Enſignes one with another; no man either keeping his place, or his colours. And if they had feared the inequality and diſaduantage of the Place, they might haue taken ſome other of more indifferencie; for, certainly they could not long ſtay where they were, but muſt depart from thence for want of water.

Signes of feare in the Enemy.

Cæſar was in hope to end the matter, without either blowe or wound of his men; foraſmuch as he had cut off the enemy from victuall. And why then ſhould he loſe a man, although it were to gaine a victory? Why ſhould he ſuffer his valiant and well-deſeruing ſouldiers, to be ſo much as hurt or wounded? Or vvhy ſhould he put the matter to the hazard of Fortune? eſpecially, when it no leſſe concerned the honour and reputation of a Commaunder, to vanquiſh an enemie by direction and aduice, then to ſubdue them by force of Armes: being mooued, withall, with a tender commiſeration of ſuch Cittizens of Rome, as were conſequently to be hazarded or ſlaine in the fight; where-as hee deſired to worke out his owne Ends with their ſafety.

This opinion of Cæſars, was diſallowed by moſt men: and the ſouldiers would not ſticke to ſpeake plainely amongſt themſelues; foraſmuch as ſuch an occaſion of victorie was ouerſlipt, that when Cæſar would haue thē, they would not fight. Hee, notwithſtanding, continued firme in his opinion; and fell a little off from the enemy, to leſſen and abate their feare and amazement. Petreius and Afranius, vpon the opportunity giuen them, with-drew themſelues into their Camp. Cæſar, hauing poſſeſt the Hilles with guariſons of ſouldiers, and ſhut vp all the paſſages leading to Iberus, incamped himſelfe as neere as he could to the enemie.

The

The Commaunders of the aduerſe partie, beeing much afflicted that they had abſolutely loſt all meanes of prouiſion of victuall, and of gaining the Riuer Iberus, conſulted together of other courſes. There were two waies left open; the one to returne to Ilerda, and the other to Tarracon. And while they were conſidering of theſe things, it was told them, that ſuch as went out for water, were very much preſſed by our Caualrie. Where-vpon, they placed many courts of guard, as well of horſe, as Auxiliary footement, interlacing the legionary Cohorts amongſt them; and began alſo to raiſe a rampier from the Campe to the watering place, that the ſouldiers might ſafely, without feare, fetch water within the boundes of their fortification. Which worke, Petreius and Afranius diuided betweene themſelues; and for the perfecting of the ſame, had occaſion to goe farre off from the Campe: by meanes of whoſe abſence, the ſouldiers taking libertie of free ſpeech one with another, went out; and as any man had an acquaintance or neighbour in each others Campe, they ſought him out. And firſt, they all gaue thankes to all our party, that they had ſpared them when they were terrified and amazed the day before: in regard whereof, they acknowledged to hold their liues by their fauour: And afterwards, inquired how they might ſafely yeeld themſelues to their Generall, complaining that they had not done it in the beginning, and ſo haue ioyned their forces with their ancient friends and kinſmen.

Et quamuis nullo maculatus ſanguine miles, quæ potuit feciſſe, timet. Lucan. lib. 4.

And hauing proceeded thus farre in their communication, they require aſſurance for the liues of Afranius and Petreius; leaſt they ſhould ſeeme to conceiue miſchiefe againſt their Generalls, or betray them in ſeeking their owne ſafetie. Which things beeing agreed vpon, they promiſed to come with their Enſignes to Cæſars Campe; and ther-vpon, ſent to Cæſar ſome of the Centurions of the firſt Orders, as Deputies to treat of peace.

In the meane time, they invited their friendes on either ſide into the Camps; inſomuch, as both their lodgings ſeemed but one Campe. Many of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, and Centurions, came to Cæſar, recommending themſelues to his fauour: and the like did the Grandes and chiefe Princes of Spaine; whō they had commaunded out, to take party in this warre, and to remaine with them as Hoſtages and Pledges. Theſe inquired after their old acquaintances & auncient hoſtes, by whom each man might haue acceſſe to Cæſar with ſome cōmendation. In like manner, Afranius his ſonne dealt with Cæſar, by the mediation of Sulpitius a Legate, touching his owne and his fathers life. All thinges ſounded of ioy, and mutuall congratulation, of them that had eſcaped ſuch eminent dangers: and of vs, that ſeemed to haue effected ſuch great matters without bloodſhed. Inſomuch as Cæſar (in all mens iudgement) reaped great fruit of his accuſtomed clemencie and mildneſs: and his counſell was generally approoued of all men.

Hoſpitis ille ciet nomen, vocat ille propinqui: admonet hunc ſtudijs conſors puerilibus ætas: nec Romanus erat qui non agnouerat hoſtem. Lucan. lib. 4.

THE

THE OBSERVATION.

Neque enim tibi, maior in Arduis Emathijs fortuna fuit. &c Lucan.

THis Chapter containeth a paſſage of that note and eminencie, as the like is not read in anie ſtorie. For, if we ſearch the recordes of all Nations, from the very birth of Bellona, vnto times of latter memorie, it will no where elſe appeare, that a Generall ſpared any aduantage to purchaſe a victorious name, by the bloodſhed and ruine of his enemie: and that contrary to the will and deſire of his Armie, that had vndergon ſuch difficulties and hazards, to giue an end to that warre. Contrary to his knowledge and late experience of the mutability and change of time and fortune. Contrary to the ſureſt rule of warre; *Dolus an virtus, quis in hoſte requirit?* And contrary to the vſe of Armes, which are alwaies bent againſt an enemie to ſubdue him.

Non minus eſt Imperatoris, cõſilio ſuperare, quàm gladio. Cæſar. Cõment 6. bell. Gall. Terentius in Eunucho. Naturæ iniuriã facit et humanitatis legem violat, qui vltra victoriam iracundiæ indulget. Nicetas.

This is the fruit of that other part of Military knowledge, which men doe rather admire then attaine vnto, no leſſe concerning the honour of a Commaunder; *Conſilio, ſuperare quàm gladio*, and was a maine ſteppe to raiſe him to the Empire. For, howſoeuer the ſouldier (to preuent further labour) ſtood hard for blood, not reſpecting that of the Comick, *Omnia prius experiri verbis, quàm armis ſapientem decet*: yet if Cæſar had beene ſo iniurious to Nature, as to haue left them to their owne deſires, and ſuffered their furie to haue violated the law of humanitie, more then was requiſite for victorie; they would afterwards haue loathed themſelues, and curſed their ſwords for ſuch vnſeaſonable execution: and may be doubted, would haue reuenged it vpon his head, before the time came to ſtrike the fatall ſtroke of the euerſion of that State. Eſteeming it alſo a part of diuine power, to ſaue men by troopes, according to that of Seneca; *Hæc diuina potentia eſt, gregatim, ac publicè ſeruare.* And therefore, hee choſe rather to diſpleaſe the ſouldier for the preſent, then to loſe that honour which attendeth the ſparing of home-bred blood. Whereof forraine enemies are not altogether ſo capable.

De clementia. Lib. 1. cap. 26 Ingens victoriæ decus, citra domeſticũ ſanguinem bellanti. Tacit. in Agricola.

CHAP. XXIIII.

Petreius breaketh off the Treatie, and new ſweareth the Souldiers to the Partie.

Cæſar.

AFranius, beeing aduertiſed of theſe paſſages, left the worke which hee had begunne, and with-drew himſelfe into the Campe; prepared (as it ſeemed) to take patiently whatſoeuer ſhould befall him. But Petreius was no way diſmaied thereat; for, hauing armed his houſhold familie, hee went flying with them, & a Prætorian cohort of Buckler-bearers, together

together with some few stipendarie horse of the barbarous people, whom he was wont to keepe about him, as a guard to his person: and came suddainely and vnlooked for, to the Rampire; brake off the souldiers treaty; thrust our men off frõ the Campe; killing such as he could apprehend. The rest got together, & affrighted at the suddainenesse of the danger, wrapt their coates about their left armes, and with their swords drawne, defended themselues from the Buckler-bearers and Horsemen: and trusting to the neerenesse and propinquity of their Campe, they tooke courage and got safely thither, beeing protected by the Cohorts that had the guard at the Campe gates.

Iunctos amplexibus ense separat, et multo disturbat sanguine pacem. Luc.

This beeing done, Petreius went weeping about to the Maniples, calling the souldiers, and beseeching thẽ not to leaue and forsake him, nor yet Pompey their Generall, that was absent: nor to deliuer them ouer to the crueltie of their adversaries. Presently there-vpon, a great concourse of souldiers was about the Prætory, requiring that euery man might take an oath; not to abandon or betray the Army or their Generalls, nor yet to enter into priuate consultation thereof without consent of the rest. He himselfe first tooke an oath to this effect, & caused Afranius to take the same. The Tribunes of the Souldiers and Centurions, followed in order: and after them, the souldiers were brought out according to their Centuries, and were sworne the same oath.

Inter mensasque torosque, quæ modo complexu souerunt pectora cædunt. Lucan. lib. 4.

They caused it also to be proclaimed, that whosoeuer had any of Cæsars souldiers, should cause them to be brought out; and beeing brought foorth, they slew them publiquely before the Prætorian Pauilion: But most men concealed such as were with them, and in the night time, sent them out ouer the Rampier. Whereby it came to passe, that the terrour where-with the Generalls had affrighted thẽ, the cruelty they had shewed in punishment, together with the vaine religion of the new oath, had taken away all hope of yeelding for the present: and quite changing the souldiers mindes, had reduced the matter to the former course of warre.

Cæsar, for his part, caused diligent inquiry to bee made, of such souldiers as came into his Campe during the time of the treaty, and sent them away in safety. But of the Tribunes of the souldiers and Centurions, many of their voluntarie accord remained with him: whom afterwards he held in great honour; and aduaunced the Centurions, and such Romaine Knights as were of the better ranke, to the place and dignity of Tribunes.

Hoc siquidẽ solo ciuilis crimine belli dux causæ melioribus eris. Lucan. lib. 4.

The Afranians were sorely laid vnto in their forraging, and watered likewise with great difficultie. Many of the legionarie souldiers had store of Corne, beeing commaunded to take prouision with them from Ilerda for twenty two daies: But the Buckler-bearers, and Auxiliary forces, had none at all, hauing also but small meanes to prouide and furnish themselues; for which cause, a great number fledde daily to Cæsar.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THat euery man is the maker of his owne fortune, is euidently ſeene in the ſeuerall cariages of theſe two Generalls. For, Afranius gaue way to the ſouldiers treatie, and reſolued to ſuffer whatſoeuer that tranſaction ſhould caſt vpon him. But Petreius, oppoſing himſelfe to their deſires, raiſed new troubles, had further deſignes, and another fortune. Wherein, foraſmuch as the euent of things riſeth according as they are firſt directed, either by weake or ſtrong reſolutions; it better ſuteth the temper of a ſouldier (howſoeuer the ſucceſſe fall out with our deſires) rather to be ſtiffe in what he wiſheth; then to make his owne eaſineſs, the ready meanes of his aduerſaries happineſs.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

VErtue at all times hath had this priuiledge in the difference & degrees of State and Condition, to make a Noble mans word, equall to a Common mans oath: but the integritie of former ages, had a more generall prerogatiue, auouching euery mans promiſe for the ſtrictneſſe of an oath. Hence it was, that the Romaines, vpon their inrollement for a war, gaue but their promiſe to the Tribune of the ſouldiers, to keepe ſuch ordinances as their *Militia* required: vntill at length, that the corruption of time (falſifying the ſimplicitie & truth of words) did inforce them to giue an oath, as the ſureſt bond of faith and obedience: as it is noted by Liuie at large; The ſouldiers (ſaith hee) which was neuer before that time practiſed, were ſworne by the Tribunes, to appeare vpon ſummons from the Conſuls, and not to depart without leaue. For, vntill then, there was nothing required of them but a ſolemne promiſe (which the horſemen made by their Decuries, and the foote troops by their Centuries) not to leaue their Colours by flight, or throgh feare, nor to forſake their rank, vnleſſe it were either to aſſault an enemie, to take vp an offenſiue weapon, or to ſaue a Cittizen; & being at firſt but the offer of a free mind, was now by the Tribunes required by obligation of an oath.

Anno Vrb. cōd. 538. Nullū vinculū ad aſtringendā fidē, iureiurando arctius eſſe poteſt. Lib. 22.

The forme of this oath was diuerſly varied, as appeareth by Aul. Gel. and more ſpecially in the times of the Emperours: for, Caligula made this addition to the ſouldiers oath; That they ſhould hold neither their liues nor their children, dearer vnto them then the Emperour Caius and his ſiſters. Concerning the reſpect had of this Militarie oath, that which Tully reporteth of Cato is of excellent note. * Popilius, hauing charge of the Prouince of Macedonia, had (amongſt other Romaine youthes) Catos ſon, a young ſouldier in his Armie; and being occaſioned to diſmiſs a legion, diſcharged likewiſe young Cato, being one of that legion: but he, deſirous to beare Armes in that war, continued ſtill in the Armie; wherevpon, Cato writ from Rome to Popilius, requiring him, that if he ſuffered his ſonne to remaine in that warre, hee would by any meanes ſweare him againe: for, beeing diſcharged of his firſt oath, hee could not lawfullie fight againſt the Enemy.

Lib. 16. cap. 4.

Lib. 1. offic.
** M. Pompillius.*

Euer

Euer ſince Conſtantine the great, the ſouldiers were ſworne by a Chriſtian oath, as Vegetius noteth, to obey all things the Emperour ſhould commaund them; not to leaue their warfare without licence, nor to ſhun death for the ſeruice of the Publique weale. And at this day, amongſt other Nations, an oath is giuen to the ſouldier vpon his inrolement, to this effect; Well and lawfully to ſerue the King, towards all men, and againſt all, without exception of perſons. And if they knowe any thing concerning his ſeruice, to reueale the ſame incontinentlie; not to leaue their Colours, without leaue either of the Generall, or his Lieutenant. *Lib. 2. cap. 5.*

The auncient Romaines did charge their ſolemne and publique oathes, with many ceremonies: as appeareth by that form which was vſed in ratifying Treaties & Tranſactions; Their Heralds killed a hog, and cried out withall, that the like would happen to him that firſt falſified his faith.

Polybius reporteth, that he that read the oath wherby the Romains & Carthaginians ſware their accord, had the haire of his head tied vp in an extraordinary manner: The parties invocating their Iupiter, to grant all proſperitie to him, that without fraud or deceit did enter into that agreement. But if (ſaid hee that tooke the oath) I ſhall either doe, or purpoſe otherwiſe; all the reſt beeing ſafe and ſound, let me alone (in the midſt of the lawes and iuſtice of my Countrey, in my owne habitation and dwelling, and within my proper Temples and Sepulchers) periſh moſt vnfortunatly, euen as this ſtone flieth out of my hand: and (as he ſpake thoſe words) caſt away a ſtone. *Lib. 3. Hiſto.*

I doe not find the vſe of a Military oath in our Nation. Howbeit, the cõmon forme of our oath, is as ceremonious and ſignificatiue as any other whatſoeuer: which may be obſerued by the three parts it containeth, as I haue ſeene them alligorized in ſome Antiquities. For, firſt, the booke beeing alwaies a part of holie writ, implieth a renunciation of all the promiſes therein contained. Secondly, the touching it with our handes, inferreth the like defiance of our works, neuer to be ſuccesfull or helping vnto vs. Thirdly, the kiſsing of the booke, importeth a vaine miſſpending of our vowes and praiers, if wee falſifie any thing thereby averred.

CHAP. XXV.

The endeuour which Afranius vſed to returne to *Ilerda; but failed in his deſigne.*

THE matter beeing in this extreamity; of two meanes which were left vnto them, it was thought the readier and more expedient, to returne to Ilerda. For, hauing left there behind thē a little Corne, they hoped to take ſome good courſe for the ſequell. Tarraco was further off, & thereby ſubiect to more caſualties concerning their paſſage. In regard whereof, they *Cæſar.*

reſolued of their former courſe, and ſo diſlodged themſelues.

Cæſar, hauing ſent his Caualrie before, to incumber and retard the reare-guard, followed after (himſelfe) with the legions. The hindmoſt troopes of their Armie, were conſtrained (without any intermiſsion of time) to fight with our horſemen. And their manner of fight was thus; Certaine expedite Cohorts, free of cariages, marched in the reare of their Army, and in open and champaine places, many of theſe Cohorts made a ſtand, to confront our Caualrie. If they were to aſcend vp a Hill, the nature of the place did eaſily repell the danger wherwith they were threatned; foraſmuch as ſuch as went before, might eaſily from the higher ground, protect them that followed after: but, when they came to a valley or deſcent, that thoſe that were in the former rankes, could not helpe them in the reare; the horſemen from the vpper ground, did caſt their weapons vvith great eaſe and facility vpon the Enemy. And then cõtinually they were in great hazard and danger: and ſtill as they approched neere vnto ſuch places, they called to the legions, and willed them to make a ſtand with their Enſignes, and ſo by great force and violence, expelled our Caualrie.

Who beeing retired backe, they would ſuddainly take a running, and get all downe into the valley. And preſently againe, beeing to aſcende into higher ground, they would there make a ſtand: for, they were ſo farre from hauing help of their owne Caualry (whereof they had great number) that they were gladde to take them beeweene their troopes, (being much affrighted with former incounters) and ſo to ſhelter and protect them: of whom, if any chaunced (vpon occaſion) to ſtray aſide out of the rout the Army held, they were preſently attached by Cæſars horſemen.

The fight continuing in this manner, they proceeded ſlowely on their way, and aduaunced forward but by little and little; and oftentimes, ſtood ſtill to ſuccour and relieue their party, as then it fell out. For, hauing gone but foure miles on their way (beeing very hardly laide to, and much preſſed by our Caualrie) they tooke to an exceeding high hill; and there putting themſelues into one front of a battell, fortified their Campe, keeping their cariages laden vpon their horſes. As ſoone as they perceiued that Cæſars Campe was ſette, and that the tents were vp, and their horſes put to graſſe; they roſe ſuddainly about mid-day, vpon hope of ſome reſpite, by reaſon of our horſe put out to feeding, and went on their iourney.

Which Cæſar perceiuing, roſe and followed after, leauing a fewe Cohorts to keepe the cariages: and about the tenth houre, commaunding the forragers and horſemen to be called backe, and to follow after; Inſtantly the Caualrie returned, and betooke themſelues to their accuſtomed charge.

The fight was very ſharpe in the reare, inſomuch as they were ready to turne their backes. Many ſouldiers, and ſome of the Centurions were ſlaine. Cæſars troopes preaced hard vpon them, and threatned the ouerthrowe of their vvhole Armie; inſomuch, as they had neither meanes to chooſe a fit place to incampe in, nor to proceede forward in their march. Whereby they were neceſſarilie inforced to make a ſtande, and to pitch their Campe farre from any vvater, in an vnequall and diſaduantageous place: but Cæſar forbare to meddle with them,

for

for the same reasons that haue been formerly declared: and for that day, would not suffer the souldiers to set vp their Tents, that they might bee the readier to folow after, at what time soeuer by night or by day they shold offer to break away.

The Enemy, hauing obserued the defect of our Campe, imploied all that night in aduauncing their workes, and in casting their Camp with an opposite front to our Armie. The like they did all the next day; but so it fell out, that by how much their Campe was brought further on, and the fortification grew neerer to finishing, by so much further off they were from water: and so remedied one euil with a worse mischiefe. The first night, none of them went out of their Camp to fetch water: and the next day, they led out all their troopes together to water, but sent no man out to forrage. Whereby Cæsar, finding them oppressed with manie inconueniences, chose rather to force them to a composition, then to fight with them.

THE OBSERVATION.

IN this troublesome and confused retreit, which these Commaunders vndertooke, to regaine the aduantages that formerly they had quitted at Ilerda, we may obserue the difficulties attending a weaker partie, when they would free themselues from the pressures of a strong confronting enemie. For, the frailetie of humane fortune, is alwaies so yoaked with incomberances, and hath so many lets from the natiue weaknesses of it owne indeuour; that if the opposition of forraine malice, shall therewithall vnhappilie concurre, to stoppe the current of our desires, there is little hope of better successe, then that which the ordinarie condition of extreamitie doth afford: which is, to hazard the perill of a wound, in seeking to auoide the smart of a rodde; and to fall into Scylla, vpon a desire wee haue to shunne Charybdis, according as it befell this partie. Wherein let vs further note the aduantage which a Commaunder hath, either to take or leaue, when he is able to ouer-maister the Enemie in Caualrie: for, the horsmen, seruing an Armie Roiall, by making discoueries, by forraging, by giuing rescue vpon a sudden, by dooing execution, and retarding an Enemy in his march, if (ouer-awed by the Caualry of the Enemy) they cannot performe these seruices as is requisite; the contrary partie is the stronger by so many aduantages.

Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar went about to inclose the Enemy, *and he to hinder Cæsar.*

HOwbeit, Cæsar laboured to inclose them about with a ditch and a rampier, to the end he might with better ease hinder their suddaine sallies and eruptions, to which he thought the Enemy would necessarily betake themselues.

Cæsar.

The Enemy beeing ſtraightned for want of forrage, and to the end alſo they might be the readier to eſcape away, cauſed all their horſes of cariage to be killed: and in theſe workes and conſultations were two daies ſpent. The third day, a great part of Cæſars workes being already perfected, the enemy (to hinder the buſineſs intended, concerning the fortifications) about two of the clocke in the afternoone, made the Alarum, brought out the legions, and imbattelled themſelues vnder their Campe. Cæſar calleth back the legions from their worke; and commaunding all his horſe to troope together, putteth his Army in battell. For, hauing made ſuch a ſhew of vnwillingneſs to buckle with the enemy, againſt the will of the ſouldier and opinion of all men, he found himſelfe ſubiect therevpon to much inconuenience: howbeit, he was reſolued (for the reaſons already ſpecified) not to ſtrike a battell; and the rather at this time, for that the ſpace betweene his Campe and the enemies, was ſo little, that if he had put thē to flight, it could not haue much auailed him, for the gaining of a perfect and abſolute victorie. For, their Campes were not aboue 2000 foote aſunder; whereof the Armies tooke vp two parts, and the third was left for incurſion and aſſault. So that if hee had giuen battell in that neereneſs of the Campe, they would haue found a ſpeedy retreit vpon their ouerthrow. For which cauſe, hee reſolued to ſtand vpon his defence, and not to giue the onſet and charge them firſt.

Hora octaua, ſigno dato.

Tela tene iam miles, ait, ferrū que ruenti ſubtrahe, non vllo conſtat mihi ſanguine bellū vincitus haud gratis iugulo qui prouocat hoſtem Lucan. lib. 4.

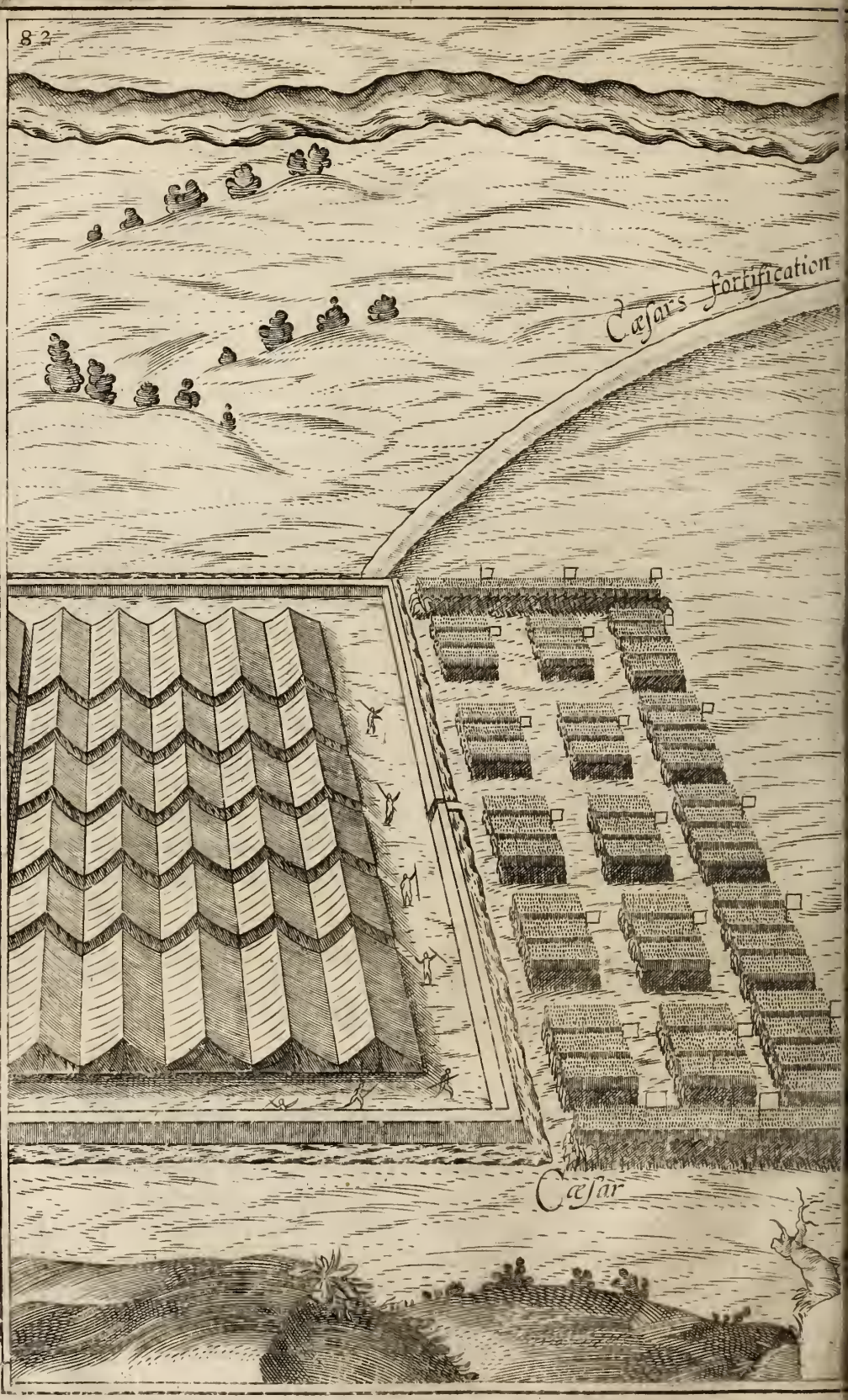
Afranius had put his Army in a double battell: the firſt, conſiſting of fiue legions; and the Auxiliary cohorts, which vſually ſerued in the winges, were now placed for ſuccours, and made the ſecond battell.

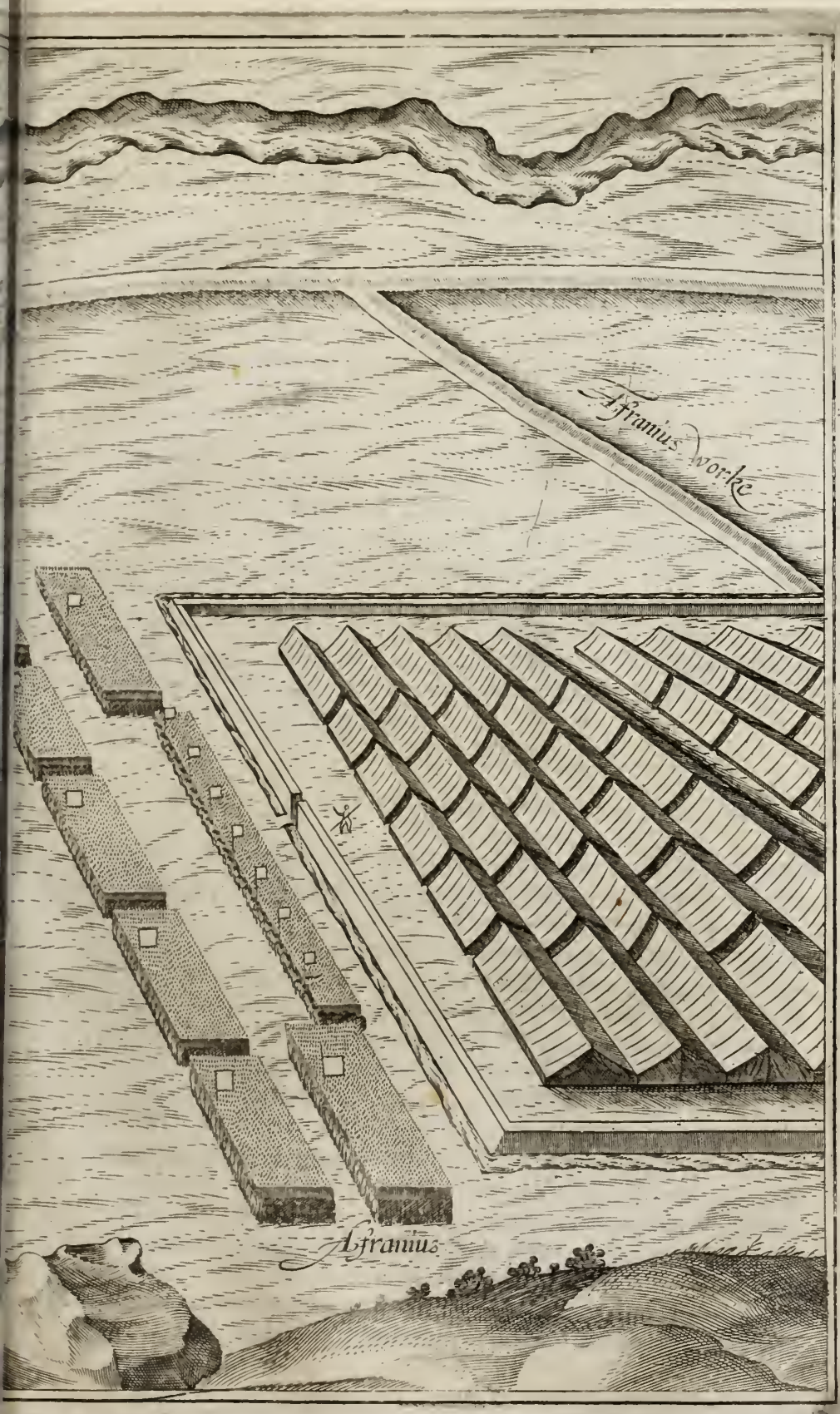
Cæſars Armie was ordered in a triple battell; the firſt was of foure cohorts, a peece of the fiue legions: the ſecond, of three; and the third againe of three of each legion, following in order. The Archers and Slingers were in the midſt, & the Caualrie on the ſides. Beeing thus both imbattelled, they ſeemed to obtaine their ſeuerall ends; Cæſar, not to fight vnleſſe he were forced to it: and the Enemy, to hinder Cæſars fortification. But the matter beeing drawen out in length, they ſtood imbattelled vntill ſunne ſetting: and then returned both into their Campes.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Contra opinionem enim militum, famamque omnium videri prælio diffugiſſe, magnū detrimentū afferebat, ſaith the hiſtorie. Whence we may obſerue two points; Firſt, that a Commaunder in ſtriking a field, muſt partly be directed by his Armie: for, he may neither fight againſt the liking of the ſouldier, nor with-hold them frō fighting when they are willing to imbrace it, if other circumſtances doe indifferentlie concurre there-withall. For, when men are cōmaunded to doe what they would doe, the matter is throughlie vndertaken; and the iſſue is commonlie anſwerable to the readineſs of their deſires: but, being reſtrained in their affections, and put beſides their aptneſs of their voluntarie diſpoſition, there groweth ſuch

It is hard catching Hares with vnwilling houndes.


Cæsars fortification
Cæsar


Afranius worke
Afranius

such a contrarietie betweene the Generalls order, and the souldiers obedience, as will hardly sympathise to beget good fortune.

And if a Leader of that fame and opinion, and so well knowne to his Army as Cæsar was, grew into distaste with his souldiers, vpon so good causes which he had to shunne a battell; what hazard that Commaunder runneth into, who sildome or neuer gaue argument of his resolution in this kind, may be conceiued by this passage. The second thing which I note, is, that a Generall must learne especiallie to disguise his intendements, by making shew of that which he meaneth not. For, albeit the more iudicious sort of men are not so well satisfied with pretences as with deedes: yet forasmuch as the condition of Princes, contrary to the manner of priuate persons, requireth such a direction of busines, as may rather sute with fame and opinion, then with particular ends; it behooueth them to vse such glosses, as may take away all petulant and sinister interpretations, howsoeuer their courses may aime at other purposes. And certainely, the generalitie of people, are better paid with apparances then with truth; according as Machauell hath obserued. But concerning Cæsar, that which Ephicrates said of himself, hauing imbattelled his Army to fight; That he feared nothing more, then that his enemie knew not his valour: may more properlie be said heere. For, there was nothing abused the Enemy more, or made them take vp so many Brauados, or vse so much delay before they came to composition, but that they knew not Cæsar. For, as the Eagle is able to mount aloft, in all seasons and temperatures of the ayre; so was his sword steeled, to make way through all resistance.

Cæteris mortalibus in eo stant consilia quid sibi conducere putent. Principum diuersa sors est, quibus præcipua rerum ad famã dirigenda. Tacit.

L' vniuersale, de gli huomini si pasce, cosi di quello che paie, come di quello, che è anzi: molte volte si muouono piu per le cose che paiono, che per quelle che sono. Lib. 1. Sop. Tit. Liv. cap. 25.

Omnis aier Aquilæ penetrabilis.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

IN the next place, the manner of their imbattelling commeth to be obserued: which generally in all Editions runneth thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidijs locum alariæ cohortis obtinebat: Cæsaris triplex sed primam aciem quaternæ cohortes ex V. legione tenebant. Has subsidiariæ, ternæ, et rursus aliæ totidem suæ cuiusque legionis subsequebantur: sagittarij funditoresq; media cõtinebantur acie, equitatus latera cingebat:* And needeth the helpe of some excellent Criticke, to make it haue answerable sense to the other parts of this historie. For first, how shall we vnderstand those wordes, *Acies Afraniana duplex, legio V. et III. in subsidijs?* Shall we take the meaning to be, that the first legion stood in front, and the other stood for succours behind? Or shall we take it with *Faernus*; *Acies Afraniana duplex: ex legione prima, et tertia, in subsidijs locum alariæ cohortes obtinebant?* But neither by the one, or by the other, is there found more then two legions: whereas there is expresse mention of fiue, besides the cohorts of the Countrey. And therefore, as not knowing other more probable, I haue translated it according to Lipsius correction, and made the text thus; *Acies erat Afraniana duplex, legionum quinque: et in subsidijs locum alariæ cohortes, obtinebant.*

Their manner of imbattelling

Lib. 4. de militia Romana.

The

The firſt battell conſiſted of fiue legions; and the ſecond, of the Spaniſh and Auxiliarie forces. The like helpe muſt be ſent to Cæſar; for, otherwiſe, the text doth affoord him but few cohorts: ſtanding thus, *Primam aciem quaternæ cohortes, ex quinta legione, tenebant. Has ternæ, et rurſus aliæ &c.* For, vndoubtedly, Cæſar had fiue legions equall to Afranius; but, being farre inferior vnto him in Auxiliarie troopes, was driuen to a more artificiall diuiſion; to helpe his weakeneſs in that point. And therefore, as the ſame Critick hath mended it, we are to read, *Quaternæ cohortes ex quinque legionibus:* vvhich bringeth forth this ſenſe; In the firſt battell were fiue times foure cohorts; in the ſecond, fiue times three cohorts, and as many in the third battell. And by the addition of *ſuæ cuiuſque legionis*, it appeareth, that euery legion was ſo diuided into three parts, that it had foure cohorts in the firſt battell, three in the ſecond, and three in the laſt.

Concerning the ſpace which their Armies imbattelled tooke vp, it appeareth, that the whole diſtance betweene their Campes, contained two thouſand foote; whereof either Armie tooke vp one third, beeing *666* foote, 111 paſes, a little more then a furlong: but that altered more or leſſe, as place and occaſion required.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Treatie of Peace.

Cæſar.

THE next day, Cæſar went about to finiſh and end the fortification which he had begun; and the Enemy, to try whether they might find a foord in the Riuer Sicoris, and ſo get ouer. Which beeing perceiued, Cæſar caried ouer the light armed Germanes, and part of the Caualrie, and diſpoſed them in guard along the Riuer banke. At length, beeing beſieged & ſhut vp on all ſides, and hauing kept their horſes without meate foure daies together, beſides their extreame want of water, wood and corne, they required parlee: and that (if it might be) in ſome place out of the preſence of the ſouldier. Which Cæſar denied, vnleſſe it were in publique. Wherevpon, Afranius his ſonne was giuen in hoſtage to Cæſar; and ſo they preſented themſelues in a place of Cæſars appointing.

And in the hearing of both the Armies, Afranius ſpake to this effect; That he was not to be offended, neither with them nor with the ſouldier, for beeing faithfull and obedient to the Generall Cn. Pompeius; but now, hauing made ſufficient proofe of their dutie, they had alſo throughly ſuffered for the ſame, hauing indured the extreamitie of want in all neceſſarie prouiſions: Inſomuch as now they were ſhut vp as women, kept from water, kept from going out, oppreſt with a greater waight of griefe in bodie, and of diſhonor in their reputation, then they were able to beare: and therefore did confeſſe themſelues to be vanquiſhed and

and ouercome: praying and beseeching, that if there were any mercy left, they might not vndergoe the extreamity of Fortune. And this hee deliuered as humbly and demissiuely as was possible.

To which, Cæsar answered; That these tearmes of complaint and compassion, could be vsed to no man more vnproperly then himselfe: for, where-as euery man else did his duty; he onely, vpon fit conditions of time and place, refused to fight with them, to the end all circumstances might concurre to a peace: Albeit his Army had suffered much wrong, in the death and slaughter of their fellowes; yet he had kept and preserued such of their party as were in his power, and came of their owne accord to moue a peace. Wherein they thought, they went about to procure the safety of all their fellowes: so that the whole course of his proceeding with them, consisted of clemency. Howbeit, the Commaunders themselues, abhorred the name of Peace, & had not kept the lawes either of treatie or truce: For, they had caused many simple men to be massacred and slaine, that were deceiued by a shew of treaty. And therefore it had befallen them, as it happeneth for the most part to peruerse and arrogant persons, to seeke and earnestly to desire that which a little before they had foolishly contemned.

At nunc sola mihi est orandæ causa salutis, dignũ donando Cæsare credere vita.

Neither would he take the aduantage of this their submission, or of any other opportunitie of time, either to augment his power, or to strengthen his partie: but he onely required, that those Armies might be discharged, which for many yeeres together had been maintained against him. For, neither were those sixe Legions for any other cause sent into Spaine, nor the seauenth inrolled there, nor so many and so great Nauies prepared, nor such experienced and skilfull Commaunders selected and appointed (for none of these needed to keepe Spaine in quiet) nothing heereof was prepared for the vse and behoofe of the Prouince, which (by reason of their long continuance of peace) needed not any such assistance. All these thinges vvere long agoe prouided in a readinesse against him: Nevv formes of gouernment vvere made and ordained against him; That one and the same man, should be resiant at the gates of Rome, haue the vvhole superintendencie and direction of the Cittie business: and yet notwithstanding, hold two warlike Prouinces for so many yeeres together, being absent from both of them.

Against him, and for his ruine, were changed the ancient Rights and Customes of Magistracie, in sending men at the end of their Pretorship or Consulship, to the gouernment of Prouinces, as was alwaies accustomed; but in lieu of them, were chosen some that were allowed & authorised by a few. Against him the prerogatiue of age did nothing preuaile: but, whosoeuer they were that in former warres had made good proofe of their valour, were now called out to comaund Armies. To him onely was denied, that which was granted to all other Generalls; that when they had happily brought thinges to an end, they might dismisse their Armie, and returne home with honour, or at the least, vvithout dishonour.

All which things, hee notwithstanding both had and would suffer patientlie; neither did he now goe about to take their Army from them, and retaine them in pay for himselfe, which hee might easily doe: but that they should not haue meanes

meanes to make head againſt him. And therefore, as it was ſaid before, they ſhould goe out of the Prouinces, and diſcharge their Army; if they did ſo, hee would hurt no man: But that was the onely and laſt meanes of peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

Multa, quæ noſtra cauſa nunquã faceremus, facimus cauſa amicorum. Cicero Lælius.

THere is not any one vertue, that can chalenge a greater meaſure of honour, or hath more prerogatiue either amongſt friends or enemies, then fidelitie. For which cauſe it is, that men are more ſtrict in matters committed to their truſt, for the behoofe of others, then they can well be, if the ſame things concerned themſelues. And yet neuertheleſſe, there is a *Quatenus* in all indeuours, and ſeemeth to be limitted with ſuch apparencie, as true affection may make of a good meaning: & was the ground which Afranius tooke to moue Cæſar for a pardon; *Non eſſe aut ipſis aut militibus ſuccenſendum, quòd fidem erga Imperatorem Cn. Pompeium conſeruare voluerint; ſed ſatis iam feciſse officio, ſatisque ſupplicij tuliſſe. &c.* which hee deliuered in a ſtile ſuting his fortune. For, as Cominæus hath obſerued; Men in feare, giue reuerent and humble words: and the tongue is euer conditioned to be the chieſeſt witneſs of our fortune.

Qui vincuntur victam habent linguam. Plu.

On the other ſide, Cæſar produced nothing for his part, but ſuch wrongs as might ſeeme valuable to make good thoſe courſes which he proſecuted: as firſt, iniuries done by them, and that in the higheſt degree of blame againſt his ſouldiers, that went but to ſeeke for peace. Iniuries done by their Generall, in ſuch a faſhion, as ſpared not to euert the fundamentall rights of the State, to bring him to ruine and confuſion. Wherby hee was moued to indeuour that, which Nature tieth euery man vnto, *Propellere iniuriam:* and hauing brought it to theſe tearmes wherein it now ſtood, he would giue aſſurance to the world, by the reuenge he there tooke, that hee entered into that warre for this onelie end, that he might liue in peace: and ſo required no more but that the Armie ſhould be diſmiſſed.

Bellũ ita ſuſcipiatur, vt nihil aliud, niſi pax, quæſita videatur. Cice. lib. 1. de offici.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The execution of the Articles agreed vpon.

THE conditions propounded, were moſt acceptable & pleaſing to the ſouldiers; as might appeare by them: for, beeing in the condition of vanquiſhed perſons, and therevpon expecting a hard meaſure of Fortune; to be rewarded vvith libertie, & exemption of Armes, was more then they could expect: inſomuch, as where there grew a controuerſie of the time and place of their diſmiſsion, they all generally ſtanding

ſtanding vpon the rampier, ſignified both by their ſpeeches and by their handes, that their deſire was it might be done inſtantly; for, it could not bee prouided by any aſſurance, that it would continue firme, if it were deferred vntill another time. After ſome diſpute on each ſide, the matter was in the end brought to this iſſue; that ſuch as had houſes & poſſeſsions in Spaine, ſhould be diſcharged preſently, and the reſt at the Riuer Varus. It was conditioned, that no man ſhould be iniuried, that no man ſhould be forced againſt his wil, to be ſworne vnder Cæſars commaund.

Varus fluuius. Hoc petimus, victos ne tecum vincere cogas. Luc.

Cæſar promiſed to furniſh thē with Corne, vntill they came to the riuer Varus: adding withal, that whatſoeuer any one had loſt in the time of the warre, which ſhold be found with any of his ſouldiers, ſhold be reſtored to ſuch as loſt it, or if it were not to be had, he paid the value therof in mony. If any cōtrouerſie afterward grew amongſt the ſouldiers, Petreius & Afranius of their owne accord brought the matter from time to time before Cæſar. As, when the Souldiers grew almoſt into a mutiny for want of pay, the Cōmaunders affirming the pay day was not yet come, it was required that Cæſar might vnderſtand the cauſe, and both parties were contented with his arbitrement.

A third part of the Army beeing diſmiſſed in thoſe two daies, hee commaunded two legions to march before their Army, and the reſt to follow after, and continually to incampe themſelues not farre from them: and appointed Q. Fuſius Calenus, a Legate, to take the charge of that buſineſs. This courſe beeing taken, they marched out of Spaine to the Riuer Varus, and there diſmiſſed the reſt of their Armie.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Riuer Varus diuideth Gallia Narbonenſis, from Italie; and was thought an indifferent place to diſcharge the Armie, wherby there might be an end made of that warre. Wherein if any man deſire to ſee a parallell drawne, betweene Cæſar and the other Leaders for matter of warre, it ſhall ſuffice to take the iſſue for a ſquare of their directions; beeing drawne to this head within fortie daies after Cæſar came within ſight of the Enemy, as Curio noteth in his ſpeech to the ſouldiers.

Rerum ab euentu, facta notanda putes. Lib. 2. Ciuil.

Cato, ſeeing the proſperous ſucceſſe of Cæſar againſt Pompey, ſaid there was a great vncertaintie in the gouernment of their Gods: Alluding peraduenture to that of Plato in his Politickes, where hee ſaith; that there are ages, wherein the Gods doe gouerne the world in their owne perſons: and there are other times, wherein they altogether neglect the ſame; the world taking a courſe quite contrarie to that which the Gods directed. But Lucan ſpake from a ſurer ground, where hee ſaith;

Victrix cauſa Diis placuit; ſed victa Catoni.

And thus endeth the firſt Commentarie.

THE

THE SECOND COMMENTA-rie of the Ciuill Warres.

(··)

THE ARGVMENT.

THis Commentarie hath three ſpeciall parts; The firſt, containing the ſiege of Marſelleis: the ſtrange vvorks, and extreame indeauours to take and to keepe the Towne. The ſecond expreſſeth the vaine labour which Varro, Pompeies Lieutenant, vndertooke, after that Afranius and Petreius were defeated, to keepe the Prouince of Andolozia out of Cæſars power and commaund. And the third part conſiſteth of the expedition Curio made into Affrica; and endeth with his ouerthrowe.

CHAP. I.

The preparations for the ſiege, aſwell within as *without the Towne*.

WHilst theſe things were dooing in Spaine, C. Trebonius the Legate, beeing left to beſiege Marſelleis, had begunne in two places to raiſe Mounts, to make Mantilets and Towres againſt the Towne: One, next vnto the Port where the Shippes lay; and the other, in the vvay leading from Gallia and Spaine into the towne, iuſt vpon the creeke of the ſea, neere vnto the mouth of the Rhone. For, three parts of Marſelleis are in a manner waſhed with the ſea: and the fourth is that which giueth paſſage by land; whereof that part which belongeth to the Caſtle (by reaſon of the nature of the place, fortified with a deepe ditch) would require a long and difficult ſiege. For the perfecting of thoſe workes, Trebonius had cõmaunded out of all the Prouince, great ſtore of horſes for cariage, and a multitude of men; requiring them to bring rods to make Hurdles, and other materialls for the worke: which beeing prepared and brought together, hee raiſed a Mount of fourescore foote high. Cæſar.

But ſuch was the prouiſion, which of ancient time they had ſtored vp in the towne, of all equipage and neceſſaries for the warre, with ſuch prouiſion of munition and engines, that no Hurdles made of roddes or Oſiers, were able to beare out the force thereof. For, out of their great Baliſtæ, they ſhot beames of twelue foote long, pointed with Iron, with ſuch force, as they would pearce through foure courſes of Hurdles, and ſticke in the earth. Whereby they were forced to roofe their Gallery, with timber of a foote ſquare, and to bring matter that way by hand. To make the Mount, a Teſtudo of ſixtie foote in length was alvvaies caried before, for the leuelling of the ground, made of mighty ſtrong timber, couered and armed with all things which might defend it from ſtones, or what elſe ſhould be caſt vpon it. But the greatneſs of the worke, the height of the wall, together vvith the multitude of Engins, did retard and hinder the proceeding thereof.*

Porticus Agger Teſtudo.

Moreouer, the Albici did make often ſallies out of the towne, ſetting fire to the mounts and to the turrets; which were kept by our ſouldiers with great facilitie and eaſe, forcing ſuch as ſalied out to returne with great loſſe.

OBSERVATIONS.

HAuing deſcribed in the former Commentaries theſe Engines & workes heere mentioned, the Reader may pleaſe (for his better ſatisfaction) to review thoſe places; as alſo further to note, that the word Artilery, was brought downe to theſe ages from the vſe of ancient Engins, which conſiſted of thoſe two primitiues, *Arcum* and *Telum*. And, according as diuerſitie of Art & wit found meanes to fit theſe to vſe and occaſions, ſo had they ſeuerall and diſtinct names; wherof I find chiefely theſe, *Baliſtæ, Catapultæ, Tolenones, Scorpiones, Onagri:* Of each of which, there are diuers and ſeuerall ſorts; as firſt, of the *Baliſtæ*, ſome were called *Centenariæ:* others, *Talentariæ*, according to the weight of the bullet or weapon they ſhot. Of the rate and proportion whereof, Vitruuius, and his learned interpreter Daniel Barbarus, haue made accurate deſcription. Againe, ſome were made to ſhoote ſtones: as appeareth by that of Tacitus, *Magnitudine eximia, quartædecimæ legionis Baliſta ingentibus ſaxis hoſtilem aciem proruebat*; and others, to ſhoote dartes and piles of timber, headed with Iron; as is manifeſted by this place. Moreouer, the maner of bending of theſe Engines made a difference, ſome being drawne vp with a wrinch or ſcrue, and ſome with a wheele, ſome hauing long armes, and others hauing ſhort: but the ſtrings were generally either all of ſinowes or of womens haire, as ſtrongeſt & ſureſt of any other kind. Of theſe, Vegetius preferreth the *Baliſtæ*, and the *Onagri*, as vnreſiſtable when they were skilfully handled. The word *Onagri*, as Amianus Marcellinus noteth, was of a later ſtampe, and impoſed vpon thoſe Engines which former time called *Scorpiones*; and was taken from the nature of wilde Aſſes, that are ſaid to caſt ſtones backward with their feete at the Hunters, with ſuch violence, that oftentimes they daſhed out their braines.

Artilery deriued from *Arcus* and *Telum*.

Lib. 10. ca. 17.

Lib. 3. Hiſto. Baliſtæ Petrariæ.

Lib. 4. cap. 29.

In

In the time of Barbarisme, all these Engines were generally called *Mangonella:* as appeareth by Viginierus, in his Annotations vpō Onosander. Which is likewise shewed, by that which Maister Camden hath inserted in the description of Bedfordshire, concerning the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of Henry the third, out of an Authour that was present; *Ex parte orientali fuit vna Petraria, et duo Mangonella, quæ quotidiè turrim infestabant: et ex parte occidentis duo Mangonella, quæ turrim veterem contriuerunt, et vnum Mangonellum ex parte Australi, &c.* But our powder hauing blowne all these out of vse, it were to no purpose to insist longer vpon them.

And of *Mangonellum*, a batterer or breaker, commeth our English word Mangle.

CHAP. II.

The Marsellians prepare themselues *for a Sea-fight.*

IN the meane time, L. Nasidius beeing sent by Cn. Pompeius with a Nauie of sixteene shippes (amongst which, some fewe had their beake-head of Iron) to the succour and supply of L. Domitius and the Marsellians, he passed the straights of Sicilie before Curio had intelligence thereof: and putting into Messana, by reason of the suddaine terrour of the principall men, and the Senate that tooke themselues to flight, he surprised one Ship in the road and caried her away, and so held on his course to Marsellies. And, hauing sent a small Barke before, he certified Domitius and the rest, of his comming; exhorting them by all meanes, that ioyning their forces with his supplies, they would once againe giue fight to Brutus Nauie.

Cæsar.

Messina.

The Marsellians, since their former ouerthrowe, had taken the like number of shippes out of their Arcenall, and new rigged and trimmed them, and vvith great industrie furnished and manned them for that seruice: for, they vvanted neither Oare-men, Mariners, Sailers, nor Pilots, fit for that purpose. To these they added certaine Fisher-boates, and fenced them with fights and couerings, that the Oare-men might be safe from casting weapons; and these he filled vvith Archers and Engines. The Nauie beeing thus furnished and prepared, the Marsellians (incited and stirred vp with the prayers and teares of old men, vvomen and maides, to giue help and defence to their Cittie in time of extreame danger; and to fight with no lesse courage and confidence then formerly they had accustomed) vvent all aboard with great courage, as it commeth to passe through the common fault of Nature; whereby we put more confidence in things vnseene and vnknowne, or otherwise are more troubled thereat: according as it then happened. For, the comming of Nasidius had filled the Citty full of assured hope and courage: and thervpon, hauing a good wind, they left the Port, & came & found Nasidius at Taurenta (a Castle belonging to the Marsellians) & there fitted thē-selues for a fight; incouraging each other againe, to a valiant cariage of that seruice, and consulting how it might be best performed.

Tolous.

The right ſquadron vvas giuen to the Marſellians, and the left to Naſidius. And to the place repaired Brutus, hauing increaſed the number of his Shippes: for, thoſe ſixe which he tooke from the Marſellians, he had added vnto the other which Cæſar had cauſed to be made at Arleatæ, and had mended them ſince the laſt fight, and fitted them with all neceſsaries for men of vvarre. And therevpon, exhorting his ſouldiers to contemne the Enemy, as a vanquiſhed partie, hauing already foiled and ouerthrowne them when they were in their ſtrength, they ſet forward againſt them with great aſſurance.

Arles.

Out of the Campe of C. Trebonius, & from all thoſe higher places they might eaſily perceiue and ſee in the Cittie, how all the youth vvhich remained in the towne, and all the aged, with their wiues and children, did from the publique places of guard, and from the towne walles, ſtretch out their handes tovvards heauen: or otherwiſe runne to their Churches and Temples; and there proſtrating themſelues before their Images, did deſire victorie of their Gods. Neither was there any of them all that did not thinke, the euent of all their fortunes to conſiſt in that daies ſeruice: for, the chiefeſt of all their able men, and the beſt of all ſorts and degrees, were by name called out, and intreated to goe aboard, to the end if any diſaſter or miſchaunce ſhould happen, they might ſee nothing further to be indeauoured for their ſafetie; and if they ouercame, they might reſt in hope to ſaue their Cittie, either by their owne valour or by forraine helpe.

OBSERVATIONS.

Communi fit vitio naturæ, vt inviſis, latitantibus, atque incognitis rebus, magis confidamus, vehementiúſque exterreamur, vt tum accidit. In caſes of hazard, things brought vnto vs by report, doe more abuſe our iudgement, either in conceiuing too great hopes, or yeelding too much to diſtruſt, then any matter preſent can moone or inforce: for, theſe perturbations attending vpon our will, are inlarged more according to the qualitie of our deſires, then as they are directed by diſcourſe of reaſon; and ſo draw men either eaſily to belieue what their wiſhes doe require, or otherwiſe to reiect all as vtterly loſt.

Quod maximè volunt, id facilè credunt.

The vncertaintie whereof, and the diſappointment enſuing thoſe deceiuable apprehenſions, hath brought the hope of this life into very ſlight account, beeing reckoned but as the dreame of him that is awake; and as *Pia fraus*, or a charitable deluſion, to ſupport vs through the hard chaunces of this world, and to keepe mans hart from breaking: for, euery mans helpe is hope; vvhich neuer affordeth preſent reliefe, but aſſwageth the bitterneſſe of extreamities, by *Dabit Deus his quoque finem.*

Virgil. lib. 2. Aenead.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The fight, and the Marſellians *ouerthrowe.*

THE fight beeing begun, the Marſellians were wanting in no point of valour: but bearing in mind ſuch exhortation as a little before had beene giuen thē by their friends, they fought ſo reſolutely as though they meant not to fight againe; or as if any one ſhould chaunce to miſcarie in that battell, he ſhould make account that he did but anticipate for a ſmall moment of time, the fatall end of his fellow Cittizens, who vpon taking of the towne, were to vndergoe the ſame fortune of warre. Our Shippes putting on by little and little, were glad to giue way to the nimbleneſs and mobility of their ſhipping, which by the skill of their Pilots were well managed. And if it happened that our men had found meanes to grapple with any of their ſhippes, they preſently came on all ſides to their reskew. Neither did the Albiciſhew themſelues backward when the matter came to hands, or were they inferiour to our men in courage or valour. Moreouer, out of the leſſer Ships were caſt infinite numbers of darts, and other weapons, wher-with our men buſied in fight were ſuddainely wounded. Caſar.

In this conflict, two of their Triremes, hauing ſpied Brutus ſhippe (which by her flagge might eaſily be diſcerned) came violently againſt him from two contrary parts: but the danger being foreſeene, Brutus did ſo preuaile through the ſwiftneſſe of his Ship, that he a little out-ſtript them; whereby they cōming with their full ſwinge, did ſo encounter one another, that they were very much ſhaken with the blowe: for, the Beake-head of one beeing broken off, the water was ready to come in on all ſides. Which beeing obſerued by ſome of Brutus partie that were neere about, they ſet vpon them (beeing thus diſtreſſed) and quicklie ſunke them both.

The Shippes that came with Naſidius, were found of no vſe; for, there was not offered there vnto them, either the ſight of their Countrey, or the exhortations and praiers of their kinsfolkes and allies, as motiues to hazard their liues in that quarrell: ſo that of them there was none wanting. Of the Ships that came out from Marſellies, fiue were ſunke, and foure taken. One eſcaped with Naſidius fleet, which made towards the hither Spaine. One of them that remained, was ſent before to Marſellies; who comming as a meſſenger before the reſt, and approching neere vnto the towne, all the multitude ran out to heare the newes: which beeing once knowne, there was ſuch a generall mourning and deſolation, as though the towne were inſtantly to be taken by the Enemy. Notwithſtanding, they left not off to make ready ſuch neceſsaries, as were requiſite for defence of the ſame.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis was the ſecond fight the Marſellians made, to keep the ſea open for the ayde and reliefe of the Towne; beeing otherwiſe ſtraightlie beſieged by land, and yet not ſo tenderly cared as their ſhutting vp by ſea: the free paſſage whereof, brought in all their profit in time of peace, and their ſuccours in times of warre; for which regard it was, that they commended to their gods, the ſucceſſe of that enterpriſe, with as much deuotion, as teares, vowes and prayers could expreſſe.

The benefit a Towne beſieged receiueth from an open inlet by ſea, cannot be better manifeſted, then by the ſiege of Oaſtend; for, by that occaſion ſpecially, it indured the moſt famous ſiege that was in Chriſtendome theſe many yeeres. This L. Naſsidius, was rather a conſtant friend to the cauſe, then a fortunate Admirall: for afterwards, he refuſed not to take the like ouerthrow for Pompey the ſonne, at Leucades, as hee did now for the father. And ſurely it falleth out (whither it be through the vncertainety of ſea-faring matters, or that men haue fairer pretences at ſea, to auoid occaſions of hazard, then are found at land; or that *Pauca digna naſcuntur in Mari*, according to the prouerbe, or for what other cauſe I knowe not) that there are few of thoſe which ſought honor in this kind, who haue attained the leaſt part of their deſires. And yet neuertheleſſe, ſome there are of famous memorie: as * Barbaruſsa, a terrour of the Leuant ſeas: Andreas Auria, of Genua, renowned for his great exploits vpon the Turke: together with diuers of our owne Nation; as namelie, Sir Francis Drake, who for skill and fortune at ſea, is held matchable with anie other whatſoeuer: Beſides, M. Candiſh, for viages to the South, and Sir Martin Furbiſher, for diſcoueries to the North.

Dio Caſsius.

Nihil tam capax fortuitorũ quàm Mare. Tacit. 14. Annal.

* King of Algiers in the time of Soliman.

Howbeit, theſe latter times haue aduantage without compariſon of former ages, through the inuention of the Sea compaſs with the needle: which was not found out little more then three hundred yeres agoe, by one Flavus, borne in the kingdome of Naples; without which, no ſhippe can ſhape a courſe in the Ocean: and to which nothing can be added, more then to find a perfect & ready direction for longitudes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII.

The workes which the legionarie Souldiers *made against the Towne.*

(***)

IT was obſerued by the legionarie ſouldiers, that had the charge of the right part of the work, that it would much aduantage them againſt the often eruptions and ſallies of the Enemy, if they built a towre of Bricke vnder the towne wall, inſtead of a Hold or receptacle: which at firſt they made lowe and little, onely for the repelling of ſuddaine aſſaults. Thither they vſually retreited: and from thence, if they were ouer-charged, they made defence, either by beating backe, or proſecuting an Enemie. This towre was thirtie foote ſquare, and the walles thereof fiue foote thicke: but afterwards (as vſe and experience is the maiſter of all things) it was found by inſight and induſtrie of men, that this towre might be of great vſe, if it were raiſed to any height, and was accordingly performed in this faſhion. Cæſar.

When it was raiſed to the height of a ſtorie, they ſo framed the floore, that the ends of the ioyſtes did not ÿttie out beyond the ſides of the towre; leaſt any thing might be thruſt out, on which the fire which the enemy ſhould caſt might take hold: and then paued that floore, with as much bricke as the Mantelets and Gabions would ſuffer to bee laid. Vpon this tarras thus made, they laide croſſe beames along the ſides, as a foundation to an vpper ſtorie, for the toppe and couering of the towre. And vpon theſe beames they raiſed croſſe timbers, thwarting each other for the ſides of the towre, and coupled them at the top with ſide beames.

Theſe croſſe timbers were longer, and bare further out, then the ſquare of the towre; that there might be meanes to faſten couerings and defences, againſt the blowes and darts of the Enemy, whilst the workemen were finiſhing the walles and ſides of that building. The toppe or vpper ſtorie of this towre, they likewiſe paued with bricke and clay, that no fire might faſten on it; and laid Matteresſes on the toppe thereof, to the end the floore might not be broken, with any weapons ſhot out of Engines, nor the pauement ſhiuered in peeces with ſtones caſt out of Catapults.

Moreouer, they made three nettings or mats of Hawſers, equall in length to the ſides of the towre, and foure foote in breadth. And vpon thoſe three ſides which confronted the Enemie, they faſtened them vpon poles to hang before the towre: which kind of defence they had in other places tried to be of proofe, & not to be pearced with any weapon or engine. And as one part of the towre came to be couered, finiſhed, and fortified, againſt any violence of the enemy, they caried their

their Mantelets and defences to the reſt vnfiniſhed. The top of which towre, they framed vpon the firſt ſtorie, and then raiſed it vp with wrinches or ſcrues, as farre as the cloſe netting would ſerue them for a defence. And ſo couered vvith theſe ſhelters and ſafeguards, they built vp the ſides with bricke; and then againe ſcruing vp the toppe higher, they fitted the place to build the ſides higher: and as they came to the height of a ſtory, they laid the ioyſtes of the floore in ſuch ſort, as the ends thereof were hid and couered with the wall or ſides that were of brick; and ſo from that ſtory, they proceeded to another, by ſcruing vp the top, and raiſing their netting. By which meanes, they built very ſafely ſixe ſtories, vvithout any wound or other danger at all; and left windowes and loopeholes in the ſides, for the putting out of Engines in ſuch places as they thought conuenient. When by means of that towre, they were in hope to defend the works neere about it, they then made a Muſculum or mouſe of ſixtie foote in length, & of two foote timber ſquare, to conuay them ſafely from this towre of Bricke, to another of the Enemies, and to the towne wall: wherof this was the forme; They cut two ſide groundſils of equall length, and made the ſpace betweene them to containe foure foote; vpon them they erected little columnes of fiue foote high, and ioyned them together, putting braces of an eaſie ſloping in ſuch diſtances, as the rafters were to be placed to beare vp the roofe: and vpon thoſe braces they laid rafters of two foote ſquare, faſtening them both at the ridge, and at the euings, with plates and bolts of Iron. They lathed the roofe with lath of foure fingers broad; and ſo the building beeing made with a gable ridge handſomly faſhioned, the top was laid all ouer with clay, to keepe the Mouſe from burning; and then couered with tiles, which were fenced with leather, to the end they might not be vvaſhed away with pipes or gutters of vvater, vvhich might bee laid to fall vpon them. And leaſt thoſe hides ſhould be ſpoiled, either with fire or great ſtones, they laid Matteresſes vpon them.

This worke being whollie finiſhed neere vnto the towre, through the help and meanes of defenſiue mantelets and gabions; ſuddenly before the enemy was aware, with a ſhippe-engine and rolers put vnder it, they brought it ſo neere a towre of the enemies, that it ioyned to the vvall thereof. The townesmen, beeing vpon a ſuddaine appalled thereat, brought the greateſt ſtones they could get, and vvith leavers, tumbled them dovvne from the vvall vpon the mouſe: but the ſtrength of the vvorke did not ſhrinke at the blowes, and vvhatſoeuer fell vpon it, ſlided downe the ſloping of the roofe. Which vvhen they perceiued, they altered their purpoſe, and got pots of Roſin and Pitch, and ſetting them on fire, threw them downe vpon the Mouſe; vvhich tumbling downe from the roofe, vvere remooued away vvith long hookes and poles. In the meane time, the ſouldiers that were vvithin the Mouſe, pulled out the lower ſtones that were in the foundation of the towre. This Mouſe or Mantilet, vvas defended by our men out of the bricke towre, vvith vveapons and engines: and by meanes thereof, the Enemy vvas put from the vvall and the turrets, ſo that they could not well defend the ſame. Many of the ſtones beeing ſapped out of the foundation of the towre, part thereof ſuddenly fell, & the reſt leaned, as though it would not ſtand long after.

Marsellies

OBSERVATIONS.

FOrasmuch as it requireth the labour of an industrious penne to shadow out the effects of Industrie; I will onely produce the euidence of these workes, to shew the power it hath in humane actions, rather then by any maimed or shallow discourse, weaken the force of so great an Engine. VVherein, first it may be noted, how in these and the like attempting indeauours, one thing drawes on another, according as practise maketh ouerture to mysteries: For, our vnderstanding growing by degrees, hath no intuitiue facultie to discerne perfection, but by little and little worketh out exactness; making euery Morrow, yesterdaies scholler, as reason findeth meanes of discourse from causes to effects, or from effects to causes.

Discipulus prioris posterior dies. Aulus Gellius.

And so this Towre, made at first but for a retreit of defence, gaue occasion to let them see the like, or better vse thereof in the offensiue part, if it were raised to a height conuenient for the same: vvhich they performed with as much Art as the wit of man could vse in such a worke. For, hauing made the first storie, they then made the roofe, for the shelter and safetie of the souldier: and seruing it vp by little and little, they built the sides, hauing fenced the open space with netting, for auoiding of danger; arming it with bricke and clay against fire, and with Matteresses against stones and waights. And then againe they proceeded to the making of that Mantilet or Musculum, which gaue them passage to the wall; building it with strong or rather strange timber, of two foote square, framed so artificially with braces, and ridging rafters, and those so fitted, as neither fire, water, weapon, nor weight, could preuaile against it. And thus they laboured to gaine their owne ends, and bought Fortune with immeasurable indeauour.

CHAP. V.

The Marsellians got a truce of the Romaines, *and brake it deceitfully.*

THE Enemy, beeing then much appalled at the suddaine ruine and fall of the towre, and greatly perplexed at so vnexpected a mischiefe; and withall, strooke with a feare of the wrath and indignation of the Gods, and of the sack & spoile of their Cittie, they came all vnarmed, thronging out of the gates, wearing holy attire vpon their heads, and stretching out their submissiue hands to the Legates and the Armie. Vpon which nouelltie, all hostility ceassed for the time, & the souldiers with drawing themselues from the assault, were caried with a desire of hearing and vnderstanding what would passe at that time.

Cæsar.

Inermes cum infulis.

When

When they came to the Legates & to the Army, they caſt themſelues all downe at their feete, praying and beſeeching that things might be ſuſpended vntill Cæſars arriuall. They ſaw plainely that their towne was already taken, their works were perfited, their owne towre demoliſhed; and therefore they deſiſted from making any further defence: there could be no let to hinder them from preſent ſpoile and ſacking, if vpon Cæſars arriuall they ſhould refuſe to obay his Mandates. They ſhewed further, that if their towre were abſolutely ouerthrowne, the ſouldiers could not be kept from entering the towne in hope of pillage, and would thereby bring it to a finall deſtruction.

Theſe, and many the like things, were vttered by them very moouingly (as men learned and eloquent) with great lamentation and much weeping: whereby the Legates (mooued with commiſeration) with-drew the ſouldiers from the fortifications, put off the aſſault, and left a ſmall guard to keepe the works. A kind of truce beeing through pitty and commiſeration thus made and concluded, Cæſars comming was expected; no weapon was caſt, either from the towne wall, or from our ſide: inſomuch, as euery man left off his care and diligence, as though all had been ended. For, Cæſar had by Letters giuen ſtraight charge to Trebonius, not to ſuffer the towne to bee taken by aſſault, leaſt the ſouldiers (mooued through their rebellion and contempt, together with the long trauell they had ſuſtained) ſhould put all aboue foureteene yeeres of age to the ſword: which they threatned to doe, and were then hardly kept from breaking into the towne; taking the matter very grieuouſly, that Trebonius ſeemed to hinder them from effecting their purpoſes. But the enemy, beeing people without faith, did onelie watch for time and opportunity, to put in practice their fraude and deceit.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Veſtitus, vt tegit corpus, ita detegit animũ.

IT is a ſaying of an ancient Writer, that As our attire doth couer the bodie, ſo it doth vncouer the nakedneſs of the mind. Wherevpon it is, that men haue found meanes to ſute themſelues vpon occaſion, according to the diſpoſition of their inward affections, as they are either dilated with ioy, or contracted with ſorrow, lifted vp with weale, or humbled with affliction. And accordingly, theſe Marſellians, in token of their humilitie & ſubmiſsion, came out, wearing an attire here called *Infulæ*; which Seruius deſcribeth to be a kind of Coife, made after the forme of a Diademe, with two pendants on each ſide, called *Vittæ*.

11 *Aeneid.*

Thoſe which the Romains vſed of this kind, were faſhioned like a Pyramid: the point whereof, did ſignifie the *Elements, aſcending vpwards in ſuch a pointed faſhion; and by the two pendants or bands, were denoted the Water and the Earth; beeing made whollie of wooll, as Feſtus writeth; *Infulæ ſunt filamenta lanea, quibus Sacerdotes, hoſtiæ, et templa velabantur:* to ſhew humbleneſſe and ſimplicitie, wherof wooll is a Hirogliphick. For, no kind of beaſts haue more need of ayde and ſuccour then Sheepe: and there-vpon it was, that all Suppliants were attired with treſſes of wooll. Or otherwiſe, as ſome vvill haue

* The fire and the ayre.

haue it, That the habit of the Petitioner, might call to remembrance the flexible disposition, which is well-beseeming those that haue power and meanes to giue helpe and reliefe: According to the vse of Heathen ages; wherin their Images of their Idols, had their feete tied with cordes of wooll: to shew the mildness and easiness which vpon deuote supplications was founde in diuine Powers; whereof wooll was a *Symbolum*.

Macrob. lib. 1. Saturnal. ca. 8.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Marsellians, beeing an ancient progeny of the Greekes, notwithstanding the long descent of time, and alteration of aire, did keepe a touch of the naturall of that Nation, as well in such straines of eloquence, as were familiar vnto them aboue other people, as in subtiltie and duplicitie of dealing. Which passage of the Marsellians, is obserued by Tully, as a matter enforcing the due praises of Eloquence, and the vse it hath vpon all occasions to draw consent, with the sweetness of a well tuned tongue, aboue that which may be attained either by Engines or a strong hand. VVherein, if we should goe about to compare the force of Armes, with the power of a graue discourse, & set a souldier Parallell to an Orator, there might hence be taken diuers probable reasons, to second that saying, which hath been thought to sauour more of vaine-glorie, then of true iudgement; *Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ:* Or at least, to make a resemblance of Plutarchs two Wrastelers, of whom one beeing alwaies cast, did neuertheleſſe perswade the other that he cast him; and so, howsoeuer he became foiled, yet left the place with an opinion of victorie: And is alwaies more easily effected, when it is attended with cunning and deceit, according to that of Valerius Maximus; *Efficacissimæ vires perfidiæ, mentiri et fallere.* But, as it is obserued by Philip de Commines, The example of one sole accident, is sufficient to make manie men wise: so this may serue to teach succeeding times, not to trust to words, whereof there is no hold; but to ratifie such compositions with irreuocable performances.

Græca fide omnia agere. Oratio pro Flacco.

Æqualis est vtrorumque dignitas, nisi præsens necessitas vnius conditionē nobiliorē efficiat. Tum enim is præferēdus, quē præsentia magis exigunt, sicut Valent: et Valens statuerunt L. in ciuilibus 1. C. de offic. Vicar. Vt in ciuilibus causis vicarij comitibus militiū anteferrentur, in militaribus negotijs comites vicarijs. En los casos raros vn solo exēplo, haze experiencia. Anto. Peres.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, we may note, how farre the anger of a Romaine Armie was extended, vpon such prouocations as are heere mentioned, viz. *Ad interficiendos pueros*, to the slaying of all the males aboue fourteene yeeres of age; for, from that stage of life, they accounted all in the ranke of men: According to the institution of Tarquinius Priscus; who in his triumph of the Sabines, made a speciall Oration in the praise of his owne son, that had assaulted and strooke the Enemy in those warres, beeing then but 14 yeres of age: and ther-vpon, gaue him libertie to weare mans apparrell; which was that *Toga pretexta* (edged or faced with Purple) whereof their histories make so often mention.

Macro. lib. 1. Satur. cap. 6.

But

But to define preciſely heereof, were to miſtake the furie of the ſouldier: for, howſoeuer the rule is certaine from the law of Nature, that no finite cauſe can be infinite in effect, or that a mortal hate ſhould haue a boundleſſe reuenge; yet occaſion made it variable, and as irregular as that of Alexander: who ſometimes ſaued all, & at other times (as at the taking of Tyre) ſaued none at all, but ſuch as had taken the protection of the Temple. The inhumane crueltie of the Turkes, exceedeth all former hoſtilitie in this kind; for, they neuer ſaue anie out of commiſeration, but for priuate vſe: and doe rather chuſe to deſtroy mankind, then ſuffer it to liue for any other purpoſe then their owne.

Quintus Cur. lib. 5.

CHAP. VI.

The Marſellians, taking aduantage of the Truce, *conſumed with fire all the Romaine workes: which* were afterwards reedified.

Cæſar.

After a few daies, when our men were growne remiſs & careleſſe, ſuddainly about high noone, as ſome were gone one way ſome another, and others wearied with continuall labour, had giuen themſelues to reſt, the weapons beeing caſed and laid vp; they ruſhed out of their gates, & comming with the wind that then blew hard, they ſet our workes on fire: which was ſo caried and diſperſed with the wind, that the Mount, the Mantilets, the Teſtudo, the Towre and the Engines, were all on fire at once, and were burned downe and conſumed before it could be knowne how it came.

Our men, aſtoniſhed at ſo ſuddaine and vnthought-of an accident, caught vp ſuch weapons as were next at hand; and others, running ſpeedily frō the Camp, ſet vpon the Enemy, but were hindered from following them as they fledde, by Engines and Arrowes from the towne wall. They, on the other ſide, beeing retired vnder the protection of the wall, did at their eaſe burne downe the Mouſe and the brick towre: and ſo, many moneths labour, was through the perfidiouſneſſe of the Enemy, and the force of the tempeſt; conſumed & brought to nothing in a moment of time. The Marſellians attempted the like the next day after, hauing opportunitie of the like tempeſt; and with greater confidence ſallied out, & threw much fire vpon the other mount and the towre. But as our men the day before (expecting nothing leſſe then to be ſurpriſed in that ſort) had neglected more then ordinary their vſuall guards, beeing now made wiſer by that vvhich had happened, they had made all things ready for defence: by which meanes, hauing ſlaine a great number, they draue the reſt backe into the towne, without effecting any thing.

Trebonius beganne againe to reedifie ſuch workes as were ruinated and conſumed with fire, and that with greater alacritie of the ſouldier then before. For,

For, vvhen they saw their great labours and indeauours sort to no better successe, beeing ruined by the treacherie of the Enemy, it was a great gall vnto them to haue their valour thus derided. And, forasmuch as there was nothing left in all the Countrey for the raising of a Mount, all the trees being already cut downe, and brought farre and neere to make the first Mount, they beganne a Mount of a strange and vnheard-of fashion, raised with two side-vvalles of bricke, beeing sixe foote thicke apeece, and ioyned together with floores. The vvalls vvere of equall distance, to the latitude of the former Mount, which was all of solide matter: and where the space betweene the walles, or the weakenesse of the work did require it, there were piles driuen betweene, and beames and plankes laid athwart for the strengthening thereof. The floores, made betweene those vvalles, were laid with Hurdles, and the Hurdles were couered with clay.

The souldiers beeing thus sheltered, on both sides with a wall, and defended in front by Mantilets and Gabions, did safely, without danger, bring whatsoeuer was necessary for that building; wherby the worke was caried on with great speed: and the losse of their former continuall labour, was in a short time recouered againe, through the admirable dexterity and valour of the souldier. To conclude, they left gates in the vvalles, in such places as vvere fittest for sallies.

Whē the enemy perceiued, that what they hoped could not be repaired againe in a long time, was with a few daies labour, reedified & finished [vvherby there was no place left to practise deceit, or to sallie out with aduantage; neither was there any meanes left by which they could preuaile, either by force of Armes, or by fire to consume our vvorkes; and vnderstanding likewise, that by the same manner of fortification, all that part of the towne, which had passage and accesse from the firme land, might be encompassed with a vvall and with towres; that their souldiers should not be able to stand vpon their workes; and perceiuing vvithall, that our Army had raised a countermure, against the wall of their towne; and that vveapons might be cast by hand vnto them; that the vse of their Engines (vvherein they much trusted) vvas by the neerenes of space quite taken avvay; and lastlie, that they vvere not able to confront our men (vpon equall tearmes) from their vvalles, and from their turrets] they descended to the same Articles of rendry and submission, as were formerly agreed vpon.

Est ita naturâ cōparatũ, vt homines maleste, supra quàm dici possit, ferant, si videant rerũ eventus virtuti non respondere. Paus. in Messe.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ence vvee may obserue, that a Generall cannot bee too secure of an Enemie, that standes vpon tearmes to render vp a place. For, the action beeing but voluntarie by constraint; if happe-he the constraining force be remooued, then that doth cease vvhich is voluntarie: and so it commeth by consequent to a refusall. As appeareth by this passage of the Marsellians; who being brought into hard tearmes, as vvell by their tvvo ouer-throwes at Sea (vvhence they

expected no further ſuccour) as alſo by the ſiege laid ſo cloſe by land (vvhere they were ſo violently aſſaulted, that their towers of defence made paſſage for the Romaines to enter vpon them) did neuertheleſſe (vpon ceſſation of thoſe inforcements) alter their purpoſe, and entertained new hopes: which maketh good that ſaying, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Voluntas ad laborem propenſa, cuncta vincere et ſuperare conſueuit. Polyænus

Lib. 5. Iliad.

Nihil tam arduum, quod animi fortitudine ſuperari non poſſit Appian. de bello Hiſpanico.

SEcondly, we may obſerue, that a will, forward to vndergoe labour, doth neuer ſticke at any difficultie, nor is at all diſmaied with the loſſe of anie paines: but is rather redoubled in courage and induſtrie; eſpecially beeing edged on with a deſire of reuenge. Which (if Homer may haue credit) doth alwaies adde a third part to a mans ſtrength; as appeared by Diomedes, beeing hurt in the ſhoulder with one of Pindarus arrowes: for reuenge whereof, hee exceeded himſelfe in a *ſeſquiterce* proportion of valour, and ſlew more Troianes by a third part then otherwiſe he could.

Howſoeuer, as there is nothing ſo hard, but is ſubiect to the endeauour of the minde: ſo there is nothing ſo eaſie, as to diſpoſſeſs our ſelues of that intent care, which is requiſite in theſe imployments. For, theſe Romaines, that through the greatneſs of their ſpirits had made ſuch firſt and ſecond workes, as the memorie thereof will laſt with the world, were ſurpriſed when they lay in the *Interim*, as it were vnbent, in as great remiſneſs and neglect (how-ſo-euer drawne vnto it by deceit) as if they had beene able to doe no ſuch matter as is heere reported. And therefore it behooueth a Commaunder, to keepe his Armie alwaies ſeaſoned with labour; foraſmuch as *Exercitus labore proficit, otio conſeneſcit.*

Vegetius.

CHAP. VII.

Varro raiſeth great troopes, to maintaine Pompeis partie in Spaine; but, to no purpoſe.

Cæſar.

MArcus Varro, in the further Prouince of Spaine, hauing from the beginning vnderſtood how things had paſſed in Italie, & diſtruſting how matters would ſucceed with Pompey, did oftentimes giue out very friendly ſpeeches of Cæſar; that Pompey had by way of preuention gained him to his party, & honoured him with a Lieutenancie, whereby hee was obliged in dutie to him: Howbeit, in his particular diſpoſition, he ſtood no leſs affected to Cæſar; neither was he ignorant of the duty of a Legat, to whoſe truſt and fidelitie, the gouernement of the Prouince was left, as in depoſito, *vpon*

Qui fiduciariâ operâ obtinebat.

vpon condition to be rendred vp at all times and seasons, as hee that commaunded in chiefe should require it: He likewise knew very well what his owne forces were, and what was the affection and disposition of all the Countrey towards Cæsar.

This was the subiect of all his speeches, without any shew of inclining either to the one or to the other. But afterwards, when he heard that Cæsar was ingaged at Marselleis, that Petreius forces were ioyned with Afranius Armie, that great aides were come vnto them, that euery man was in great hope and expectation of good successe; and that all the hither Prouince had agreed together, to vndertake Pompeis cause, as also what had after happened cõcerning the want of victualls at Ilerda (all which things were writ, with aduantage, vnto him by Afranius) he then vpon that alteration changed his mind according to the times, and leuied souldiers in all parts of the Prouince: and hauing raised two compleat legions, he added vnto them some thirty cohorts of the Countrey souldiers, to serue for wings to the Army; gathered together great quantity of Corne, as well for the supplie of the Marsellians, as for the prouision of Petreius and Afranius.

Moreouer, he commaunded them of Gades to build and prouide tenne Gallies; and ordered further, that many other should be made at Hispalis. Hee tooke all the money and the ornaments out of Hercules temple, and brought the same into the towne of Gades, and in lieu thereof sent sixe Cohorts out of the Prouince to keepe the temple. He made Gaius Gallonius (a Romaine Knight and a familiar friend of Domitius, and sent by him thither to recouer some matter of inheritance) Gouernour of the towne. All the Armes (as well priuate as publique) vvere brought into Gallions house. He himselfe made many bitter inuectiues against Cæsar; affirming, that a great number of the souldiers were reuolted frõ him, and vvere come to Afranius: which hee knew to be true, by certaine and approoued Messengers.

The Romaine Cittizens, residing in that Prouince, beeing much perplexed & affrighted thereat, vvere thereupon constrained to promise him 190 thousand Sestercesin ready money, for the seruice of the Common-weale, besides twentie thousand waight of siluer, together with one hundred and twentie thousand bushels of Wheate. Vpon those Citties and States which fauoured Cæsars partie, he laid greater impositions: for, such as had let fallen speeches, or declared themselues against the Common-weale, he confisqueted all their goods, and put a Guarizon vpon them; giuing iudgement himselfe vpon priuate persons, & constraining all the Prouince, to sweare allegeance to him and to Pompey.

And beeing in the end advertised what had happened in the hither Prouince, he prepared for warre, with a purpose to dispose thereof in this manner; His resolution was to keepe two legions with him at Gades, vvith all the shipping and the Corne: for, knowing that the vvhole Prouince did intirely affect Cæsars Cause, he thought it best for him (hauing made good prouision of shipping and Corne) to keepe the Iland.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

OBſerue firſt, how dangerous it is, for ſuch as ſtand newtrall between two parties (bearing no affection but to their owne ends) to declare themſelues, vpon ſuch apparances as commonly happen in the flux and reflux of a warre: for, if their iudgement faile as Varros did, they are then forced to redeeme their errour, with more offices of partialitie then can afterwards be excuſed; and ſo runne into a further degree of emnitie, then the party for whom they ſuffer. And certainely, whether it bee that newtralitie refuſeth to take part with the right (which in matter of controuerſie muſt needes ſtand on one ſide) or whether it ſauoureth of an ill nature, to ſhew no ſympathiſing affections, with ſuch as otherwiſe haue correſpondence with them; or for what other cauſe I knowe not: but ſure it is, that Newtralls, attending nothing but their owne aduantage, are of no better eſteeme, then the bird whereof Leo Africus writeth; which when the King of Birds demaunded tribute, would alwaies ranke himſelfe amongſt the Fiſh: and when the King of Fiſhes required his ſeruice, would alwaies be with the Birds. Or then the Weather-cock, whereof there is no other vſe then *Indicare regnantem.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE Iland of Gades, was knowne to the Romaines by the name of Tarteſſon;

Festus Aenienus.

Hic Gadis vrbs eſt dicta Tarteſſus prius.

The towne of Gades was indowed, as Dion witneſſeth, by Iulius Cæſar, with the liberties and priuiledges of Rome. To which effect Plinie writeth; *Oppidum habet Ciuium Romanorũ, quod appellatur Auguſta vrbs Iulia Gaditana.* It was a towne of great fame: as appeareth by that of Iuba, king of Mauritania, who made ambitious ſute, to haue the title of *Duumviri*, or Two-men of the towne; as Feſtus noteth, in his Deſcription of the Sea-coaſt.

Lib. xli.

At vis in illis tanta, vel tantum decus
Aetate priſca, ſub fide rerum fuit:
Rex vt ſuperbus omniumque præpotens
Quos gens habebat fortè tum Mauruſia,
Octauiano principi acceptiſsimus
Et literarum ſemper in ſtudio Iuba,
Interfluoque ſeparatus Aequore
Illuſtriorem ſemet, vrbis iſtius
Duumviratu crederet.

In

In this Iland stoode Hercules temple; to which, as well Romaines, as other noble Aduenturers of all Nations, made often repaire, to performe their vowes vpon atchieuements of deedes of Armes: which solemnitie was not omitted by Hanniball, before his expedition into Italie.

Amongst other Altars in this Temple, there was one dedicated to Penurie and Art; signifying that Art driueth away Penurie, as Hercules put to flight & subdued Monsters. Those of Asia, and the Mediterrane parts, tooke this Iland to be the furthest end of nauigation: for, the Atlanticke sea admitted no further passage, for want of a load-stone to direct them in that vastnes. And therefore Pindarus saith, That it is not lawfull for wise men nor fooles, to know what is beyond the straight of Gebraltar, the way in the Ocean beeing 1000 leagues broad. In this towne of Gades, was borne L. Cornelius Balbus, who at his death gaue a legacie to the Romaine people, 25 pence *per Pole*; together with Iunius Brutus Columella, that writ so excellently *De re Rustica.*

Iosephus Acosta hath obserued, that the sea hath no part aboue one thousand leagues from the land.

Et mea quam generat Tartessi litore Gades.

It is now called Cales Males, and was sacked by our English, 1596.

Hispalis, surnamed Romulensis, from the Romaine Colonie that was planted there, is seated vpon the Riuer Beatis, in a very pleasant and fertile Countrey, and especially for oyles. The towne is now the Staple for the West Indies, and a very Nurserie of Marchants. Arias Montanus, that great Theologian, was borne in this Cittie.

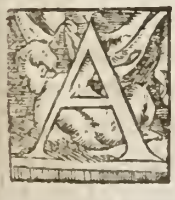
Hispalis. Seuill.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Oncerning these CXC thousand Sesterces, the learned cannot satisfie themselues with any congruent interpretation thereof. For, if we take them in the Newter, for vij pound x shillings apeece, it amounteth to 1492000 pound, which is thought too much: if in the Masculine, it will rise not to aboue 1400 pound, which is deemed too little. And therefore the Criticks do mend the place, and read *H-S centies nonagies*, which bringeth out 142500 pound: and is thought agreeable to the meaning of the Authour.

CHAP. VIII.

The Prouince and the legions reuolt from Varro. *Cæsar settleth Spaine, and returneth* to Marsellies.



Albeit Cæsar was called backe into Italie for many great and important causes, yet he was resolued to leaue no sparke or appearance of warre remaining behind him in Spaine; for that hee knew Pompeis deserts to bee such, as had gained him many followers and dependants in the hither Prouince. And therefore hauing sent two legions into the further Spaine, vnder the

Cæsar.

conduct of Q. Caſsius, Tribune of the people, he himſelfe made forward by great iourneys, vvith ſixe hundred horſe; ſending an Edict before him, to ſummon the Magiſtrates, and chiefe men of the Cities and Townes, to appeare before him by a day at Corduba. Vpon publication of which Edict, there was no Cittie in all that Prouince, that ſent not ſome of their Senate by the day appointed, to Corduba: Neither was there any Romaine Cittizen of note, that preſented not himſelfe there at that time.

The Princes and States beeing aſſembled, of their owne accord they ſhut the gates againſt Varro, ſet watch and ward vpon the walls and in the towres, and retained with them two cohorts, called by the name of Colonicæ (which came thither by chaunce) for the ſafe keeping of the towne. At the ſelfe ſame time, the Inhabitants of Carmona (which is the ſtrongeſt towne of all the Prouince) caſt out the Cohorts that were by Varro put into their Citadell, and ſhut them out of their towne. Whereby, Varro was the rather moued to make haſte to Gades with his legions, leaſt hee ſhould bee hindered and cut off, either in the way, or in his paſſage ouer from the Continent: ſuch and ſo fauourable was the generall affection of the vvhole Prouince towards Cæſar. And being ſome-what aduanced on his iourney, he receiued Letters from Gades, that as ſoone as it was known there of the Edict which Cæſar had publiſhed, the chiefeſt of the Gaditans agreed with the Tribunes of the ſouldiers which were in Guarizon, to expell Gallion out of the towne, and to keepe the Cittie and the Iland for Cæſar. Which beeing reſolued vpon, they ſent him word to leaue the towne of his owne accord, vvhile hee might doe it without danger; and if he refuſed, they would then take ſuch further order as they ſhould find expedient. Gallonius, mooued with feare, diſlodged himſelfe and went out of Gades.

Theſe things beeing divulged abroad, one of the two legions, knowne by the name of Vernacula, tooke vp their Enſignes, went out of Varros Campe (he himſelfe ſtanding by and looking on) and retired themſelues to Hiſpalis; and there ſate downe in the Market-place, and in common porches, vvithout hurting anie man. Which the Romaine Cittizens, there aſſembled, did ſo well like of, that euery man was very deſirous to entertaine them in their houſes. Whereat Varro, beeing much aſtoniſhed, altered his iourney, towards Ilipa Italica, as hee gaue it out; but ſoone after was aduertiſed by ſome of his friends, that the gates vvere ſhut againſt him. Wherupon, being circumvented and fore-cloſed from all other addreſſes, he ſent to Cæſar, to aduertiſe him that he was ready to deliuer vp the legion, to whomſoeuer he ſhould pleaſe to appoint. To which purpoſe, he ſent him Sex. Cæſar, commaunding the legion to be deliuered to him.

Ilipa Italica.

Varro, hauing giuen vp his charge, came to Cæſar at Corduba, & there gaue him a true account of the cariage of his office. The moneys remaining in his hands he deliuered vp, and gaue an Inuentory of the Corne and ſhipping which were in any place prouided. Cæſar, by a publique Oration made at Corduba, gaue thanks generally to all men; as firſt, to the Romaine Cittizens, for the indeauour they vſed to be Maiſters of the towne. Secondly, to the Spaniards, for driuing out the Guarizons; to them of Gades, that they trauerſed and preuented the proiects of the adverſaries, & had reſtored thẽſelues to libertie; to the Tribunes of the ſouldiers,

diers, & Centurions, that were come thither to keep the towne, for that by their valour & magnanimity, the resolution of the townsmen was assured and confirmed. He remitted such leuies of money, as the Romaine Cittizens had promised Varro for the publique seruice. He restored the goods confisqueted, of such as had spoken more freely then was pleasing; and gaue diuers rewards, both publique and priuate: the rest he satisfied with hope of good time for the future. And hauing staied there two daies, he went to Gades: where he gaue order that the moneies and monuments, which were transferred frõ Hercules temple to a priuate house, should be caried backe againe to the Temple. Hee made Q. Cassius Gouernour of the Prouince, & left with him foure legions. He himselfe, in a few daies space, with those ships which M. Varro, and those of Gades (by his commaundement) had made, came to Tarraco; for, there the Embassadours of almost all the hither Prouince, did attend his comming: and hauing receiued them with priuate and publique honour, in the same fashion as formerly hee had vsed, hee left Tarraco, and came by land to Narbone, and from thence to Marsellies: where he receiued first aduertisement of the law made at Rome, for creating of a Dictator; and that himselfe was named thereunto, by M. Lepidus, Prætor.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT is one of Cæsars peculiars, recorded by Suetonius, that hee neuer left behind him any sparke or suspicion of warre, least it might be said hee did not throughly conquer where hee came. For, hee that doth a business to halfe, hath as much more to doe before it bee done: and the remainder in matter of warre, groweth commonly to a greater head then that which first gaue occasion of Armes; like fire, which is smothered for a time, to breake out afterwards with greater furie. And therfore, that he might not be thought to prouoke an Enemy rather then subdue him, hee neglected all occasions how important soeuer, which might draw him into Italie; to the end he might settle Spaine in a peace, answerable to an absolute victorie: Which he easily effected, hauing ouer-maistered the chiefest of the party, and turned their troopes out of the Countrey, as men altogether mistaken in the matter. The fame whereof so preuailed with the rest, that rather then they would stand out, they forsooke their Commaunders. And hauing thus remoued all occasions of force, hée then proceeded to take away all doubtfulnesse, which might accompanie a new reconcilement, by shewing such respects as well beseemed ancient desert.

For, first, he made a publique acknowledgement of their generall loue and affection towards him; and then taking notice of particular seruices, ingaged them further, with honours and rewards; righted such as were oppressed by the aduerse partie; remitted all leuies and taxations (to shew the difference betweene his and the Enemies fauour) & filled all men with hope of good times; as knowing that faire words, accompanied with large promises, are powreful instruments to work out whatsoeuer is desired. And so hee tooke a little more

time

time to ſettle thoſe Prouinces without further trouble: as beleeuing in the proverbe; that, What is well done, is twice done.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

M. Varro heere mentioned, made more profeſsion of knowledge and Artes, then any other of his Nation, beeing thereupon ſtiled by the name of *Doctus*; & yet in the iudgement of learned Philoſophers, was fitter to perſwade then to teach. Tully, beeing depriued of publique offices, handled Philoſophy a little in his owne language: Pliny and Seneca, leſſe then Varro or Tully. But what are theſe to Ariſtotle or Plato? Or rather, what hath learning to doe with a Romaine Generall? whoſe knowledge conſiſted in their Militarie diſcipline, and in the powerfull meanes of victorious indeauour. Wherein Varro was as ignorant, as was Don Raymundus, the eleuenth King of Arragon, in managing of Armes; who taking his ſword in one hand, and his buckler in the other, held the horſe bridle in his teeth. Howbeit, if *Qui minus facit, minus peccat* were a good excuſe, it were fitting to make him blameleſſe, that deſerued ſo well of learning aboue all others of that Empire. But foraſmuch as his actions appeare ſo farre inferiour to that which is conceiued of his vnderſtanding, let that be acknowledged which is true, that *Conſideratè agere pluris eſt, quàm cogitare prudenter.*

Iamblic. cap. 4.

Cicero. lib. 1. de officijs.

Ilipa Italica.

This Ilipa Italica, was the chiefe towne of the Turditani in Andolozia; and is coniectured by the ruines yet remaining, to ſtand ouer againſt Seuill.

Tarraco, alitè Iulia victrix. Lib. 4. cap. 20.

Tarraco is that which is now called Arragon, a Colony of Scipio his planting, whereof the Prouince taketh appellation; which is extended (as Plinie witneſſeth) from Catalonia to Nauarre, and Caſtile, along the Alpes. Blaiſe de Vigenere reporteth, that in the yeere 516, there was a Councell held at Tarraco, by tenne Biſhops; wherein it was decreed, that Sunday ſhould alwaies beginne preſentlie after Euening prayer (or their Veſpers) on the Saturday. From whence it is, that the Spaniards doe not worke at all after that time, and doe eate vpon Saturdaies at ſupper, the head, the feet and the entralls of ſuch fleſh as is killed in the Shambles (together with other prettie bits which they call *Morſillas*) without prohibition or ſcruple of conſcience. In this towne of Tarraco, was borne Paulus Oſorius, that noble Orator.

Corduba.

Corduba, otherwiſe called Colonia Patricia, was held the next of worth & dignitie to Seuill, but for excellent wits, to be preferred aboue all the townes of Spaine; for, heere firſt were borne the two Senecas, the father the Rhetorician, and the ſonne the Philoſopher: together with their kinſman, Annæus Lucanus, the diuine Poet, of whom Martiall writeth;

Duoſque Senecas vnicúmque Lucanum
Facunda loquitur Corduba.

Beſides, of later times, Auenzoar, Auicenna, and Auerrois, as excellent a Philoſopher, as the other was a Phyſition: of whoſe workes

Fama

Fama loquetur Anus.

And from hence come those Cordouan skinnes, so much in request.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

CONcerning the office of a Dictator, whereunto Cæsar was named by the Prætor Lepidus, we are to obserue, that the Dictatorshippe was the greatest place of dignitie in their gouernment, as Polibius noteth. The Consuls, saith hee, hauing each of them but twelue Lictors apeece, that caried bundles of Rods before them, as ensignes of Magistracie, the Dictator had alwaies 24; to shew that the soueraine power diuided betweene the two Consuls, was then reduced to one sole commaund. The occasions of establishing a Dictator, were diuers; howbeit, it was commonlie to take order in some great matter of consequence, which fell out to be extraordinarie, and required the commaund of one man. And as it is in the fastes or records of the Capitoll; either *Reipub: regend: causa*, as was this first Dictatorship of Cæsars: or otherwise, *M. Fabius, Ambustus Dict: seditionis sedandæ causa:* And at another time, *Cn: Quintius Varus Dictator, clauifigendi causa:* which was one of the superstitions they vsed in time of pestilence, and so diuers the like: of all which, there is this forme expressed by Tully; *Si quando duellũ grauius, discordiæuè Ciuium crescunt vnus ne amplius sex menses, nisi senatus creuerit, idem iuris quod duo Consules teneto, isque aue sinistra dictus Magister Populi esto.* *Lib. 3.* *De legibus.*

But, forasmuch as *Magister Populi* was a harsh and odious name to the people, they called him by a more modest name, Dictator: whereof Varro giueth this reason; *Dictator quod à Consule dicebatur, cuius dicto audientes omnes essent.* And as none could name a Dictator but the Consull (for Cæsar was named by the Prætor in an extraordinarie time) so none could be named to that place, but such as were or had been Consulls; *Consulares legere ita lex iubebat de Dictatore creando lata.* To which may bee added the circumstance of time, which was alwaies in the night; *Nocte deinde silentio vt mos est Papyrium Dictatorem dixit.* The Dictator had soueraine power, but limited for a time: which was commonly sixe Moneths; whereby they are specially distinguished from Monarkes: and thereupon, Cicero adiudgeth Sillas Dictatorship to be a meere tyranny, and so doth Plutarch Cæsars; because both vvere prorogued beyond the time prescribed by the law. Cæsar held this Dictators place but eleuen daies, and then left it off: but afterwards had it for his life, and so came to be stiled *Dictator perpetuus.* *Liuie. lib. 2.* *1. Philip.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The Marſellians giue vp the Towne.

Cæſar.

HE Marſellians beeing much oppreſt, and almoſt worne out vvith all ſorts of inconueniences, & brought to an extreame exigent of victuall, defeated and ouerthrowne in two fights at ſea, broken & cut in peeces oftentimes in their ſallies out, afflicted with a grieuous peſtilence through Gods appointment, and alteration of diet (for, they liued of nothing but of old Panick and muſtie Barly, which vvas long before laid vp in publique for this purpoſe) their towre beeing ouerthrowne, and a great part of their vvall downe; out of hope of any ſuccours frō the Prouinces, or of other Armies, which they knew were come into the hands and power of Cæſar, they ſeriouſly determined (without fraude) to giue vp the towne. But a few daies before, L. Domitius, vnderſtanding their reſolution, hauing got three ſhippes (vvhereof two hee aſsigned to his familiar friends, the third he tooke himſelfe, and taking the opportunitie of a troubleſome ſtorme) put to ſea: vvhich beeing perceiued by the ſhippes that by Brutus commandement did continually guard the mouth of the Hauen, they vvaied their Ankers, & made after them. Notwithſtanding, that, vvherein Domitius was, held on her courſe, and by the helpe of the foule weather got out of ſight. The other two, beeing afraid of our ſhippes, returned back into the Hauen.

Vetere Panico.

The Marſellians, according as was commaunded, brought their Armes and Engines out of the towne, drew forth their ſhipping, both out of their Hauen and their Arcenalls, and deliuered vp their publique treaſure: which things beeing accompliſhed and performed, Cæſar, willing to ſaue them, rather for the Nauie and antiquity of the towne, then for any merit of theirs, left two legions there for a Guarizon, and ſent the reſt into Italie. He himſelfe tooke his way towards Rome.

OBSERVATIONS.

Vltimũ et duriſſimum telum, neceſſitas.

HEnce wee may obſerue, that when men refuſe to be led by reaſon, as the beſt meanes to guide them to conuenient ends, they are commonly conſtrained by the commaunding warrant of Neceſsitie, to vnder-goe the ſame thing vpon harder conditions. As it happened to the Marſellians, who not regarding the Armie then preſent, and ready to take a ſtrict account of their anſwers (which with good excuſe doth commaund a newtrall State) choſe rather to be ſhut vp with a ſiege; that of all miſeries is accounted the worſt: and therein ſo caried themſelues, as they left no ſtone vnremooued to make good their refuſall; but for want of better helps, brought their Fraude to play a part, to their greater

Omniũ maximè miſerabile, claudi obſidione. Egeſippus.

diſaduan-

disaduantage. And if the Conquerour had not tooke all occasions to shew his clemencie, they might happelie haue paid deare for their contempt. But where either desert or other motiues wanted, there *nomen et vetustas* was sufficient to make Cæsar constant to his owne ends: which, as neere as the course wherein he was ingaged would affoord him, were alwaies leuelled at the generall applause of his actions; taking that to be no little helpe to worke himselfe into the soueraintie of the State: obseruing it the rather in cases of great and happie successe; which are euer more restrained then lesser fortunes. Howsoeuer, it cannot be denied, but that Clemencie is a propertie of excellent honour: which Cæsar shewed in sauing the towne.

In maxima fortuna, minima licentia est. Salust.

Seruare proprium est excellentis fortunæ. Seneca de clement. lib. 1

CHAP. X.

Curio transporteth two legions into *Affricke*.

About the same time, C. Curio set saile from Sicilie to passe into Affrick: and making no account at all of Atius Varus forces, he caried with him but two legions of the foure which vvere deliuered him by Cæsar, together with fiue hundred horse. And after he had beene at Sea two daies and three nights, he arriued at a place called Aquilaria, distant twenty two miles from Clupea; vvhere there is a very commodious Roade for shippes in Sommer, sheltered on each side vvith two large and eminent Promontories. L. Cæsar, the sonne, attended his comming at Clupea, with tenne Gallies; vvhich being taken from the Pirats in the late vvarres, and laid aground at Vtica, vvere repaired and new trimmed by Varus: and beeing afraid of the great number of his shippes, forsooke the sea, and ranne his Gallie on shore; and leauing her there, fled by land on foote to Adrumetum, a towne kept by Confinius Longus, hauing one legion onely in guarizon.

Cæsar.

The rest of Cæsars Nauie, seeing their Admirall flie away, put into Adrumetum. M. Rufus the Treasurer, pursued him with twelue shippes, which Curio had brought with him out of Sicily, to vvaft the shippes of burthen; and finding the Gallie left vpon the sand, he towed her off, and returned to Curio with his Nauie. Curio sent Marcus before with the shippes, to Vtica: and he himselfe set forvvard thither by land with the Armie, and in two daies iourney came to the Riuer Bragada; vvhere he left C. Caninius Rebilus, the Legate, with the legions, and vvent himselfe before vvith the Caualry, to view a place called Cornelius Campe: vvhich was held very fit and conuenient to incampe in, beeing a direct ridge of a hill, shooting out into the Sea, steepe and broken on each side, and yet sheluing by a little more gentle descent, on that side which was next Vtica; beeing distant from thence (if the neerest vvay vvere taken) a little more then a mile. But in that shortest cut, there rose a Spring, in that part which was furthest off

--- qua se Bragada lentus agit siccæ sulcator arenæ. Luc. lib. 4.

off from the ſea, and ſo made a mariſh or bogge: vvhich whoſoeuer would auoid, muſt fetch a compaſs of ſixe miles to goe to the towne.

A view beeing taken of this place, Curio beheld afarre off, Varus Campe, ioyning to the towne wall, at the gate called Bellica; maruailouſly fortified through the ſtrong ſituation of the place, hauing the towne on the one ſide, and a Theater vvhich ſtood before the towne on the other: and by reaſon of the great circuit of building which it contained, made a narrow and difficult paſſage to the Campe. Hee obſerued, further, great ſtore of cariages, which by reaſon of this ſuddaine alarum, were brought out of the Countrey towards the towne: for the intercepting whereof, he ſent the Caualry. And at the ſame inſtant, Varus likevviſe had ſent out of the towne, DC. Numidian horſe, and CCC. foote, which King Iuba (a few daies before) had ſent to Vtica, for the ſtrengthening of that partie. This Prince had acquaintance vvith Pompey, by reaſon that his father lodged with him, and bare a ſpleene to Curio, for the law which he preferred when hee was Tribune of the people, for the confiſcation of Iuba his kingdome. The Caualrie on either ſide met together, and the Numidians were not able to abide the charge of our men; but ſome one hundred and twenty beeing ſlaine, the reſt betooke themſelues backe to the Campe at the towne.

In the meane time, vpon the arriuall of our Gallies, Curio commaunded it to be proclaimed, that ſuch Victuallers, and ſhippes of burthen, as were in the Bay at Vtica (beeing in number about two hundred) and would not preſentlie come to the Cornelian Campe, ſhould be held and taken for enemies. At which Proclamation, vpon an inſtant of time, they all waied anchor, and came to the place vvhither they were commaunded: vvhereby the Army abounded with all neceſsarie prouiſions. This beeing done, he returned to the Campe at Bragada; and, by the acclamation of the whole Army, was ſaluted by the name of Imperator.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

THis Chapter beginneth with the third part of this booke, contaitaining Curio his paſſage into Affrick: concerning whom, it is to bee obſerued, that in the beginning of theſe broiles, no man was more enemy to Cæſar, nor made more bitter inuectiues to the people againſt him, then he did in his Tribune-ſhip; but afterwards fell off, & was gained by the voluptuous inticements of M. Anthonie, together with a huge maſs of money which Cæſar ſent him. Whereupon, he plaied the turn-coate, and with might and maine aſsiſted that Partie; preuailing much with the Cõmunaltie, by his eloquent and perſwaſiue ſpeeches: the liuely force whereof, is able to ſtirre vp affection in ſtones. For which cauſe it is, that Velleius Patercul. noteth, That no man brought a more burning or dangerous fire-brand to the kindling of thoſe Ciuill warres, then did Curio; beeing a man of an excellent diſcourſe, audacious, prodigall of his owne and of other mens, ſubtile, ingenious, extreame vitious, and alwaies well ſpoken, to the ruine of the publique weale. Which ſweetneſſe of words came vnto him by inheritance, as

Eleganti oratione, capiuntur auditores: ornata enim oratio vel lapidem mouere poſſet. Epict. Arrian. lib. 3. cap. 23.

Lib. 2.

as Plinie witnesseth; *Vna familia Curionum, in qua, tres continua serie oratores extiterunt.* Of whose monstrous prodigalitie, the same Authour hath made a very large account. And out of these ouer-weening humors it was, that he became so vnwarie as to diuide his Armie; neglecting the Enemy, and the variablenes of warre; which altereth as the Moone, & keepeth no constant shape whereby it may be knowen. Concerning the dismembering of an Armie, lightly, and vpon heedlesse rashnes, Cyrus giueth graue aduice, in the beginning of the sixt booke of Zenophon. To which (for the present) I refer the Reader.

Lib. 7. cap. 41. Lib. 36. cap. 15 Nimis confidens incautus est. Ioseph. lib. 1. cap. 4. de bello Iudaico.

Clupea was a towne in Affrick, named by Plinie, *Oppidum liberum*, & sited vpon the Promontorie of Mercury, in the territories of old Carthage: it vvas so called, because it caried the forme of a Target retorted; and for the same cause it was called Aspis:

In Clypei speciem curuatis turribus Aspis.

Sil. Ital.

This Promontorie, which Curio chose to incampe in, was famous for three things. First, it was reputed the place where Antæus the Giant dwelt, vvhich Hercules slew, by strangling him in his Armes; that hee might not touch the Earth, from whom it is said, he receiued fresh strength. Secondly, P. Cornelius Scipio, that subdued Affrick, made that place his chiefe Camp of strength: and so it came to be called Cornelius Campe. And lastly, for this expedition which Curio made, to lose two legions, and himselfe withall; as vnwilling to see the morow, after such a losse: for, *Vitæ est auidus, quisquis non vult, mũdo secum pereunte, mori.*

Seneca Trag.

CHAP. XI.

Curio marcheth to *Vtica*: his Caualry put to flight *great troopes comming from king Iuba. His* Armie was strangely possessed with an idle feare.

THE next day, hee brought his Army to Vtica, and incamped himselfe neere vnto the towne: but before the fortification of his Campe was finished, the horsemen that stood Centinell, gaue notice of great forces of horse and foote, cõming towards Vtica, from king Iuba: and at the same time, a great dust was seene rise in the aire, and presently the first troopes began to come in sight. Curio, astonished at the nouelty of the thing, sent his horse before, to sustaine the first shock, and to stay them: he himselfe, calling the legions vvith all speed from their worke, imbattelled his Army. The Caualry, incountering with the Enemy (before the legions could be well vnfolded and put in order) did put to flight all the Kings forces, that came marching without feare or order; and slew a great number of the foote troopes: but the horse, making haste, got almost

Cæsar.

all ſafe into the towne, by the way of the ſea-ſhore. The next night after, two Centurions, of the Nation of the Marſi, fledde from Curio, with twenty two of their ſouldiers, to Atius Varus.

Theſe Centurions, vvhether it were to pleaſe Varus, or otherwiſe ſpeaking as they thought (for, vvhat men wiſh, they eaſily belieue; and what they think, they hope others doe thinke the ſame) did confidently affirme, that the mindes of the whole Army, were altogether alienated from Curio; and that it was very expedient, that the Armies ſhould come in ſight, and find meanes to ſpeake together. Varus, beeing perſwaded to that opinion, the next day, earely in the morning, drew his legions out of the Campe: the like did Curio; either of them putting their forces in order, vpon a ſmall Valley vvhich lay betweene both their Armies.

There was in Varus Armie, one Sex. Quintilius Varus, who (as it is formerly declared) vvas at Corfinium; and beeing let goe by Cæſar, went into Affrick. It fortuned that Curio had caried ouer thoſe legions, vvhich Cæſar had formerly taken at Corfinium: ſo that a few Centurions beeing ſlaine, the Companies and Maniples remained the ſame. This occaſion beeing ſo fitly offered, Quintilius (going about Curio his Army) began to beſeech the ſouldiers, that they vvould not forget the firſt oath they had taken, to Domitian, and to him their Treaſurer: nor beare Armes againſt them, that had runne the ſame fortune, and indured the ſame ſiege; nor fight for thoſe, vvho (by vvay of reproche) had called them fugitiues. To theſe hee added ſome promiſes, to put them in hope of a good recompence, out of his owne liberality, if they vvould follow him and Atius.

Hauing deliuered this vnto them, Curio his Army ſtood mute, and declared not themſelues by any ſigne, either one way or other: notwithſtanding, Curio his Campe was afterwards poſſeſſed with a great feare and ſuſpicion: vvhich vvas quickly augmented, by diuers reports raiſed vpon the ſame. For, euery man forged opinions and conceits; and out of his owne feare, added ſome thing to that which hee had heard of another. Which when it was ſpred from one authour to many, and one had receiued it from another, it ſeemed there were many authors of the ſame thing. For, Ciuill warre is alwaies compounded of ſuch men, as hold it lawfull to doe and follow what and whom they pleaſe.

Nulla fides pietaſque viris qui caſtra ſequuntur, venaleſque manus: ibi fas, vbi maxima merces. Lucan.

Thoſe legions, which a little before were in the ſeruice of the Enemy, did willingly imbrace vvhat was offered them; for, old acquaintance, had made them forget vvhat benefites Cæſar had lately beſtowed on them: beeing alſo of diuers Countries and Nations; and not all of the Marſi or Peligni, as thoſe the night before, vvhich vvere their Cabin-mates and fellow ſouldiers: vvhere-vpon, they tooke occaſion, to publiſh abroad in worſe tearmes, that which others had vainelie giuen out; and ſome thinges vvere coined by thoſe, that would ſeeme moſt diligent in dooing their duty.

THE

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

OBserue first, from the reuolt of these Centurions, that a fellow or two of ranke and fashion, falling from a Partie, doe gaine easie credite to their aduertisements, by averring any thing which the Enemy desireth. Whence it is, that forasmuch as fugitiues can little otherwise auaile (one man beeing but as no man) they seeke fauour and reputation with the Partie they flie vnto, by their aduise and discouerie; and consequently, the remuneration of espiall, which according to the president made by Fabius to the Spies of Clusine, is worth a mans labour. *Livie. lib. 10.*

And herein, Reuolters (specially those of iudgement) are very dangerous instruments; not onely in weakening or making frustrate such desigines as may be contriued against an Aduersarie: but also in discouering the secrets of their owne Partie, and disclosing of that which is absolute and well, vntill it be made knowen. For, there is no subsisting thing so perfect, but hath alvvaies some part or other open, to giue an easie passage to destruction: according to that of the Poet;

Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo.

And therefore, it is no small meanes of preseruing each thing in being, to make shew of strength, and conceale weakenesses, as the registers of assured ruine: for which cause it is, that fidelitie is commended, as the foundation of humane societie; and perfidious treachery, divulging the secrete imperfections thereof, is the plague and bane of the same. *Fides fundamẽtum societatis humanæ: perfidia verò eiusdẽ pestis. Plato, l. 5. de legib.*

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AS there is nothing more dangerous in an Armie, then feare: so there is nothing sooner bredde to disturbe a multitude, then this passion; which metamorphoseth a troope of men into a heard of Deere. For, hence it appeareth, that one Thersites is able to leuine a whole Army; & an idle conceit, bred in the weak thoughts of some Tresantas, begetteth oftentimes a maine cause of distrust throughout all the Party: which, as it spreadeth abroad, is so deliuered from one to another, as the Reporter (not belieuing what he telleth) addeth alwaies some-what to make the hearer belieue, what he could not himselfe. And so vveake mindes doe multiplie the vaine apprehension of idle humours, in such a fashion, as there is more hurt in fearing, then in the thing which is feared. The Spartanes called all cowards Tresantas. *Plutarch.* *Plus in metuendo est mali, quã in illo ipso quod timetur. Cic. ad Torquatum.*

Epaminondas vvas more fortunate then all others in this kind: for, vvhile hee ledde the Thebanes as their Commaunder, they vvere neuer taken vvith any suddaine affrightment, nor possest with any Panick terror, to bereaue them of their senses, or falsifie the truth of their vnderstanding: *Plutarch.*

beeing all (as it ſeemed) of the ſame mind with the Generall; who accounted no death ſo honourable as that which came by warre. Howbeit, ſuch is the frailetie of humane nature, & ſo ſtrange are the convulſions of the mind, that a Commaunder muſt expect to meet with times: wherein, his men will ſtand in danger of nothing ſo much as their owne infirmitie; beeing troubled rather with ſtrong apprehenſions, then for any danger of the thing feared.

Turbant homines, non res; ſed quas de rebus habet opiniones. Epict. Enchirid.

CHAP. XII.

Curio diſputeth the matter in a Councell of Warre.

Cæſar.

FOR vvhich cauſes, a Councell of vvarre beeing called, they beganne to deliberate vvhat courſe vvas to be taken. There vvere ſome opinions vvhich thought, that it was very expedient to aſſault and take Varus Campe, for that there vvas nothing more dangerous then idleneſs, for the breeding and increaſe of ſuch imaginations as the ſouldiers had conceiued. Others ſaid, It vvere better to try the fortune of a battell, & to free themſelues by valorous indeauour, rather then to be forſaken and abandoned of their owne party, and left to vnder-goe moſt grieuous and extreame torments. There were others vvhich thought it fit, to returne about the third vvatch of the night to Cornelius Campe; that by interpoſing ſome reſpite of time, the ſouldiers might be better ſettled, and confirmed in their opinions: and if any miſchance further happened, they might (by reaſon of their ſtore of ſhipping) vvith more eaſe and ſafety, returne backe to Sicily.

Curio, miſliking both the one and the other, ſaid; That there wanted as much good reſolution in the one opinion, as it abounded in the other; for, theſe entered into a conſideration of a dishonourable and vnſeeming flight: and thoſe were of an opinion to fight, in an vnequall and diſaduantageous place. For, with vvhat hope (ſaith he) can vvee aſſault a Campe ſo fortified, both by Nature and Art? Or what haue we gained, if with great loſſe and damage, vvee ſhall goe away and giue it ouer? As though things well & happily atchieued, did not get to the Commaunder, great good will from the ſouldier; and things ill caried, as much hate. Concerning the remouing of our Campe, what doth it inferre but a ſhamefull retreit, a deſpaire in all men, and an alienation of the Army? For, it is not fit, to giue occaſion to the prudent and well-adviſed, to imagine that they are diſtruſted: nor on the other ſide, to the ill diſpoſed, that they are redoubted or feared; and the rather, becauſe feare in this kind, vvill giue them more liberty to do ill, and abate the indeauour of good men in well-deſeruing. And if (ſaith he) theſe things are well knowne vnto vs already, that are ſpoken of the reuolt and alienation of the Army (which, for mine owne part, I think either to be altogether falſe, or at leaſt, leſſe then in opinion they are thought to be) is it not better to diſſemble and hide them, then that they ſhould be ſtrengthened and confirmed by vs?

Tam boni quàm mali euentus cauſæ vulgò in Imperatores referri ſolent. Dio. Halicar. lib. 8

Ought

Ought we not, as we doe hide the wounds of our bodies, to couer the inconueniences of an Armie, least we should minister hope or courage to the Aduersarie? But some there are that aduise to set forward at midnight, to the end (as I imagine) that such as are desirous to offend, may performe it with more scope and licentiousnesse. For, such disorders are repressed and reformed, either vvith shame or feare: to both which the night is an enemy. And therefore, as I am not of that courage, to thinke without hope or meanes, that the Enemies Campe is to be assaulted; so on the other side, I am not so fearefull, as to be wanting in that vvhich is fitting: but am rather of opinion, that we try all things before vvee yeeld to that; and doe assure my selfe, that for the most part, wee are all of one mind concerning this point.

OBSERVATIONS.

AS in matter of Geometry, *Rectum est Index sui, et obliqui*; beeing equall to all the parts of rectitude, and vnequall to obliquity: so is it in reason and discourse. For, a direct and well grounded speech, carieth such a natiue equalitie with all it parts, as it doth not onely approue it selfe to be leueled at that which is most fitting, but sheweth also what is indirect and crooked, concerning the same matter; and is of that consequence in the varietie of projects and opinions, and so hardly hit vpon, in the same discourse of common reason, that Plato thought it a peece of diuine power, to direct a path free from the crookednes of errour, which might lead the straight and ready way to happie ends. And the rather, forasmuch as in matter of debate, there are no words so waighty, but do seeme balanced with others of equall consideration: as heere it happened, frō those that pointing at the cause of this distemperature, conuicted Idlenesse for the Authour of their variable and vnsetled mindes: And, as Zenophon hath obserued, very hard to be indured in one man, much worse in a whole familie, but no way sufferable in an Army; which the Romaines called *Exercitus ab exercitio*. For remedy whereof, they propounded labour without hope of gaine, & such seruice as could bring forth nothing but losse. Others, preferring securitie before all other courses (as beleeuing with Liuie, that Captaines should neuer trust Fortune further then necessitie constrained them) perswaded a retreit to a place of safetie, but vpon dishonourable tearmes. Which vneuennes of opinions, Curio made straight by an excellent Maxime in this kind; thinking it conuenient to hold such a course, as might neither giue honest men cause of distrust, nor wicked men to thinke they were feared. For, so he should be sure (in good tearmes of honor) neither to discourage the better sort, nor giue occasion to the ill affected to doe worse. And thus winding himselfe out of the labyrinth of words (as knowing that to bee true of Annius the Prætor, that it more importeth occasions to do then to say; being an easie matter to fit words to things vnfolded and resolued vpon) he brake vp the Councell.

Consiliū dare, eorum quæ inter homines diuinissimum.

Omni orationi oratio æqualis opponitur. Sext. Philos.

Variam semper dant otia mentē. Luc. lib. 4.

Lib. 1. Cyrope.

Duces nullo loco, nisi quantū necessitas cogit, se committere fortunæ debent. lib. 22.

Ad summā rerū pertinet, cogitare magis quid agendū quā quid loquendū: facile erit, explicatis consilijs accōmodare rebus verba. Liv. 33.

CHAP. XIII.

Curio calleth a generall aſſembly of the ſouldiers; *and ſpeaketh vnto them, concerning their* feare, and retraction.

Cæſar.

HE Councell beeing riſen, he gaue order for a Conuocation of the Armie; and there called to remembrance vvhat they had done for Cæſar, at Corſinium: how by their fauour and furtherance, he had gained the greateſt part of Italie, to bee on his ſide. For, by you (ſaith hee) and by your indeauour, all the reſt of the Municipall townes, were drawne to follow Cæſar: and therefore, not vvithout iuſt cauſe did hee at that time repoſe great aſſurance in your affections towards him; and the aduerſe partie conceiued as great indignation and ſpight againſt you. For, Pompey was not forced away by any battell: but beeing preiudiced by your act hee quitted Italy. Cæſar hath recommended me, whom he held neer vnto himſelfe, together with the Prouinces of Sicily and Affrick (vvithout which he cannot defend the Citty and Italy) to your truſt and fidelitie. There are ſome which ſolicite and perſwade you to reuolt from my commaund: for, what can they wiſh or deſire more, then to make it but one worke, to bring vs both to ruine and ouerthrowe, and to ingage you in a moſt deteſtable vvickedneſs? Or what vvorſe opinion can they conceiue of you, then that you ſhould betray them, that profeſſe themſelues wholly yours? and that you might afterwards come into their power, who take themſelues vndone by your meanes?

Nemo ijs amicus eſſe poteſt, à quibus malum aliquod expectat. Demoſth.

Haue you not vnderſtood what Cæſar hath done in Spaine? two Armies beaten; two Generalls defeated; two Prouinces taken; and all within forty daies, after he came in view of the Enemy? Thoſe, vvhoſe forces vvere not able to make reſiſtance vvhen they were vvhole & entire, how is it poſsible they ſhould hold out, beeing beaten and diſcomfited? You that followed Cæſar when the victory ſtood doubtfull; now Fortune hath adiudged the Cauſe, and determined of the iſſue of the Warre, vvill you follow the vanquiſhed Partie? They gaue out, that they were forſaken and betraied by you, and doe remember you of the former oath you tooke: but did you forſake L. Domitius, or did he forſake you? Did not he thruſt you out, and expoſe you to all extreamity of fortune? Did hee not ſeeke to ſaue himſelfe by flight, without your knowledge or priuitie? Were you not preſerued and kept aliue by Cæſars clemencie, when you were abandoned & betraied by him?

How could he tie you vvith the oath of alleageance, vvhen (hauing caſt away his ſheafe of Rods, and laid downe his authority) he himſelfe was made a priuate perſon, and became captiuated to the commaund of another mans power? It vvere a ſtrange and new religion, that you ſhould neglect that oath, wherein you ſtand now ingaged; and reſpect the other, which vvas taken away by the rendry of

of your Generall, and the losse of your libertie. But I beleeue you thinke vvell of Cæsar, and are offended at Mee, that am not to preach of my merits towardes you; which as yet consist in my good will, and are vnworthy your expectation: & yet souldiers haue alwaies vsed to seeke reward vpon the shutting vp of a vvar; vvhich vvhat euent it will haue, make you no doubt. And why should I omit the diligence vvhich I haue already vsed, and how the busines hath hitherto proceeded? Doth it offend you, that I transported the Armie ouer in safetie, vvithout losse of any one shippe? That at my comming, I beat and dispersed at the first onset the vvhole fleete of the Aduersaries? That twice, in two daies, I ouercame them onely vvith the Caualrie? That I drew two hundred Ships of burthen out of the Road and Port of the Enemy? and haue brought them to that extreamity, that they can be supplied by prouision, neither by sea nor by land? All this good fortune, and these Commaunders reiected and forsaken? which vvill rather imbrace the ignominie you receiued at Corfinium, or your flight out of Italy, or the rendering vp of Spaine, or the preiudiciall successe of the vvarre of Affricke. I truly, for mine owne part, I was desirous and content to be called Cæsars souldier: but you haue stiled me vvith the title of Imperator. Which if it repent you, I doe willingly quit my selfe of your grace, and returne it back vnto you: and doe you, in like manner, restore mee to my name againe; least you should seeme to giue me honour vvhich might turne to my reproche.*

* *Capitis diminutione.*

Diminutus capite appellatur, qui ciuitate mutatus est, aut ex familia in aliam adoptatus: et qui liber alteri mancipio datus est: et qui in hostium potestate venit: et cui aqua ignique interdictum. Liv. In summo Imperatore quatuor hæ virtutes inesse debent: scientia rei militaris, virtus, authoritas, felicitas. Cicero pro leg. Manilia.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IN the handling of this accident, the difference commeth to be obserued, betweene a Councell of warre, and a Concio, or conuocation of the souldiers. The first was more particular, consisting of some choice men, and those the most eminent in the partie; *Is qui non vniuersum populum, sed partem aliquam adesse iubet, non comitia, sed cõcilium edicere debet.* Their convocation or preaching was more generall, the whole Armie beeing convented together, to bee fitted by perswasion and discourse, to follow the resolution taken by a Councell; and was properly called *Adlocutio*, and sometimes *Conuentus: Cicero perlectam Epistolam Cæsaris in conventu militum recitat.* The parties called to a Councell, were according as the Generall valued the occasion: for, some-times the Legates and Tribunes were onely consulted; and now and then the Centurions of the first Orders, together with the Captaines of horse, were called to their assistance: and oftentimes, all the Centurions. But howsoeuer, Curio resolued out of his owne iudgement, as great Commaunders commonly doe; and is specially obserued by Piere Matthien, of the French King: who euer loueth to heare the opinion of his Captaines, but alwaies findes his owne the best.

Aulus Gell. lib. 15. cap. 27.

Com. 5. bell. Galli.

Tom. 2. lib. 4.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

AMongſt other ſtraines of this diſcourſe, it is acknowledged, that Rome could not ſtand without Sicilie; and the reaſon was, for the plentie of Corne which it brought forth: for, Sicily was alwaies reputed as the Granier or Barne of Rome, and accordingly cared by the Senate, as a place without which their Cittie could not continue. The graine of that Iland, is hard, like horne; and cannot well be broken or ground into Meale, vntill it be wet with water, and then dried in the ſhade, rather then in the ſunne: by meanes whereof, it yieldeth ſo exceedingly, that it is accounted twentie in the hundred, better then any ponent Wheate; eſpecially, for that it will keepe long in their Vautes and Caues vnder the earth, and ſildome or neuer take heate, beeing of it ſelfe ſo hard and dry.

The gluttonous vſe of fleſh, hath made men ignorant of the vertue and ſtrength of Corne, which the Romaines better vnderſtood; for, their legions neuer fedde on fleſh, as long as they could get Corne. *Pecora, quod ſecundum poterat eſſe inopiæ ſubſidium*, ſaith Cæſar. And in another place; *Vt complures dies milites frumento caruerint, Pecore è longinquioribus vicis adacto extremam famem ſuſtentarent.* And in the ſame place, *Quo minor erat frumenti copia, Pecus imperabat.* And againe, *Non illis hordeum cum daretur, non legumina recuſabant. Pecus verò, cuius rei ſumma erat in Epiro copia, magno in honore habebant.*

Lib. 1. ciuil. bel. Lib. 3.

By which places it appeareth, that they neuer fell to fleſh, but when they wanted Corne. Which is doubtleſſe a firmer nutriment, leſſe excrementall, & of better ſtrength, then any other foode what-ſo-euer; as containing the prime ſubſtance of Meate, and the ſpirit of Wine: for, *Aqua vitæ*, is as well made of Wheat, as of the lees of Wine. Fleſh is good to make Wraſtlers of a groſſe and heauie conſtitution, as Plutarch noteth: but the Romaine ſouldier ſtood in need of an effectuall and ſinowy vigour, able to vndergoe cariages, fitter for a Mule then a Man; together with ſuch workes, as later ages doe rather heare then believe, and was attained by feeding onely vpon bread.

Muli Mariani.

The Rabbines & Thalmudiſts doe write, That the Giants of the old world, firſt fell to the eating of fleſh; making no difference between a man & a beaſt, but grew ſo execrable, that they made women caſt their fruite before their time, to the end they might eate it with more tenderneſs and delicacie. Which is alſo ſaid to be practiſed by the Caniballs, vpon the firſt diſcouerie of the Indies. Viginere reporteth, that he knew ſome great Men in Fraunce, ſo friand, that they cauſed oftentimes Does ready to foane, to be killed, and the young ones tooke out aliue, to be made meate for monſtrous appetites. But there is no indifferent Parallel to be drawne, betweene the ſobrietie of the auncient Romaine ſouldier, and the gluttony of theſe times; farre exceeding that of Agamemnon, which Achilles noted with words of high reproach, calling him Hogs-head of Wine, eyes of a Dogge, and hart of a Deare.

Sobrietas, quaſi ſine ebrietate.

Homer. Iliad. 1.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

THirdly, from this elaboured and well-couched ſpeech, wee may note, that Eloquence is a very beautifull ornament to Princes, and great Commaunders; beſides the vſe it hath, to leade a multitude to ſuch ends as is wiſhed: for, ſmooth words preuaile where force booteth not. According to that of Cicero, *Cùm populum perſuaderi poſſe diffidimus, cogi fas eſſe non arbitremur.*

Eloquētia principibus maximè ornamento eſt. Cic. 4. de finibus

Lib. 1. famil. Epiſt.

CHAP. XIIII.

Curio bringeth out his troopes, and putteth *Varus Army to flight.*

THE ſouldiers, mooued vvith this Oration, did oftentimes interrupt him in his ſpeech; ſignifying vvith what griefe they did indure the ſuſpicion of infidelitie. And as hee departed from the Aſſembly, euery man exhorted him to be of a good courage, and not to doubt of giuing battell, or to make triall of their fidelitie and valour. By which meanes, the mindes and diſpoſition of all men beeing changed, Curio reſolued (out of a generall conſent) as ſoone as any occaſion was offered, to giue battell.

Cæſar.

The next day, hauing brought out his forces, he made a ſtand, and imbattelled them in the ſame place where he ſtood in Armes the day before. And Varus likewiſe drew out his troopes, vvhether it were to ſolicite the ſouldier, or not to omit the opportunity of fighting, if it might be affoorded in an indifferent place. There vvas a valley (as we haue formerly declared) betweene the two Armies, of no very hard or difficult aſcent; and either of them expected who ſhould firſt come ouer it, to the end they might fight in a place of more aduantage: when vpon a ſuddaine, all Varus Caualry that ſtood in the left Cornet of the Armie, together vvith the light armed ſouldiers that ſtood mingled amongſt them, vvere ſeene deſcending into the Valley. To them Curio ſent his Caualrie, together with two cohorts of the Marrucians. The Enemies horſmen vvere not able to indure the firſt incounter of our men; but hauing loſt their horſes, fledde backe to their party. The light-armed men that came out vvith them, being left and forſaken, were all ſlaine by our men, in the view and ſight of Varus whole Army. Then Rebilius, Cæſars Legate (whom Curio for his knowledge and experience in matter of vvarre, had brought with him out of Sicily) ſaid; Curio, thou ſeeſt the Enemy: why makeſt thou doubt to vſe the opportunitie of time? Curio, without making any other aunſwere, then vvilling the ſouldiers to remember vvhat they had aſſured vnto him the day before, commaunded them to follow him, & ran formoſt himſelfe. The Valley was ſo comberſome and difficult, that in gaining the

the aſcent of the hill, the formoſt could hardly get vp, vnleſſe they were lifted vp by the followers. Howbeit, the Enemy was ſo poſſeſſed vvith feare, for the flight & ſlaughter of their fellowes, that they did not ſo much as think of reſiſting; for, they tooke themſelues all to be already ſurpriſed by the Caualrie: ſo that before any vveapon could be caſt, or that our men could approche neere vnto them, all Varus Armie turned their backs, and fled into their Campe.

In this flight, Fabius Pelignus (a certaine ſouldier of one of the inferior Companies of Curio his Armie) hauing ouertaken the firſt troope of them that fledde, ſought for Varus, calling after him with a loude voice; as though hee had been one of his owne ſouldiers, and would either aduiſe him, or ſay ſome-thing elſe to him. And, as he, being often called, looked backe, and ſtood ſtill (inquiring vvho hee was, & what he would?) he made at Varus ſhoulder (which was vnarmed) with his ſword, and vvas very neere killing him; howbeit, he auoided the danger, by receiuing the blowe vpon his target. Fabius was inſtantly incloſed about, by ſuch ſouldiers as were neere at hand, and ſlaine.

In the meane time, the gates of the Campe vvere peſtered, and thronged, with multitudes and troopes of ſuch as fledde away; and the paſſage was ſo ſtopped, that more died in that place without blowe or wound, then periſhed either in the battell, or in the flight. Neither vvanted they much of taking the Campe; for, many left not running vntil they came to the towne. But the nature of the place, and the fortification of the Campe, did hinder their acceſſe: and Curio his men comming out (prepared onely for a battell) wanted ſuch neceſſaries as vvere of vſe for the taking of the Campe. And therfore Curio caried backe his Army, with the loſſe of no one man but Fabius. Of the Aduerſaries were ſlaine and wounded about ſixe hundred: who vpon Curio his departure, beſides many other that fained themſelues hurt, left the Campe for feare, and vvent into the towne. Which Varus perceiuing, and knowing alſo the aſtoniſhment of the Armie, leauing a Trumpeter in the Campe, and a fewe Tents for ſhew, about the third vvatch, he caried his Armie with ſilence out of the Campe into the towne.

OBSERVATIONS.

Loco ſapientiæ eſt, alienã ſtultitiam operiri.

IT is a part of wiſdome, and oftentimes a maine helpe to victorie, to attend the aduantage of an Enemies raſhneſs, and to ſee if his follie will not make way to his ouerthrowe. Whereof Curio made good vſe: for, he kept his Armie in the vpper ground, vntill the Caualrie of the Aduerſarie were looſely fallen into the Valley; and then ſet vpon them, and cut them all in peeces. The ſight whereof, maskered the whole Armie, & kept Curio in ſafetie, vpon the like diſaduantage, in the comberſome paſſage of the ſame Vale: by meanes whereof, he put to flight the whole forces of the Enemy, and made a great ſlaughter in the Party. Wherin I may not forget that tricke of a Romaine ſpirit, whereby the Authour commeth memorable to poſteritie, in calling after Varus by name, to make him the ſacrifice for both the Hoaſtes. Whence we may obſerue, that when a battell is ioyned pell-mell, no man

man can be assured in his owne valour, nor share out his fortune by the length of his sword; but is often-times subiect to weaknesses of contempt, and vanquished by such as cannot be compared vnto him but in scorne.

I haue heard it reported, that at the battell of Eureux, *Maturine* (that knowen woman in France) tooke prisoner & disarmed a Caualero of Spaine: Who beeing brought before the King, and by him demaunded whose prisoner he was, or whether he knew the partie that had forced him? Answered, no; but that he knew him to be a gallant man of Armes. Where-at the king smiled: and the Gentleman, vnderstanding what fortune he had run, was as much dismaied as a man possible could be, that considered, *Quòd ferrum æquat, in bello, robustioribus imbecilliores.* *Zenoph. lib. 7. Cyropæ.*

CHAP. XV.

Curio leaueth Vtica to meete with king *Iuba*: his *Caualrie ouerthroweth the forces led by* Sabura; which led him on to his ouerthrowe.

HE next day, Curio prepared to besiege Vtica, inclosing it about vvith a ditch and a rampier. There vvere in the towne, a multitude of people vnacquainted vvith vvarre, through the long peace they had inioyed: and the inhabitants stoode very affectionate to Cæsar, for many benefits they had receiued from him. The rest of the multitude consisted of diuers sorts of men, much terrified and affrighted by the former incounters: vvherevpon, euery man spake plainely of giuing vp the towne; and dealt with Pub. Atius, that their fortunes and liues might not come in danger, through his pertinacie and vvilfulnes.

While these things were adooing, there came messengers from King Iuba, signifying the King was at hand with great forces, and vvilled them to keepe and defend the towne: vvhich newes, did much incourage and confirme the vvauering and affrighted mindes of the Enemy. The same vvas also reported to Curio: vvhere-vnto for a vvhile he gaue no credit; such vvas his confidence in the successe of things. And now withall, came Letters and Messengers into Affrick, of that vvhich Cæsar had so fortunately atchieued in Spaine: and being absolutely assured vvith all these things, he was perswaded the king durst attempt nothing against him. But when he found by assured discouery, that his forces were within twenty fiue miles of Vtica, leauing his workes already begunne, he vvith-drew himselfe into Cornelius Campe; and beganne there to fortifie his Campe, to get Corne and other prouisions, and to furnish it with all necessaries materiall for a defence: and sent presently a dispatch into Sicily, that the two legions, and the rest of the Caualry might be sent vnto him.

The

The Campe vvherein he lay, was fitly accommodated to hold out the vvarre, as well by reaſon of the nature of the place, as the artificiall fortifying thereof, the neereneſs of the ſea, and the plenty of vvater and ſalt; vvhereof there vvas great quantitie brought thither, from the Salt-pittes neer adioyning. No ſtuffe could be wanting, through the great ſtore of vvood which was about the place, nor yet any Corne, for the plenty that was to be found in the cõfining fieldes: and there-vpon, by the aduice and approbation of all men, Curio reſolued to attend his other forces, and to draw out the warre in length.

Theſe things beeing thus diſpoſed, by the conſent & liking of all men, he heard by ſome that lately came out of the towne, that Iuba was called back, by occaſion of a vvarre happened vpon the confines: and that by reaſon of the controuerſies and diſſentions of the Leptitani, he was detained at home in his kingdome; but that Sabura his Lieutenant was ſent with ſome competent forces, and vvas not farre from Vtica. To vvhich reports, giuing too light and eaſie credit, he altered his purpoſe, and reſolued to put the matter to triall of battell: vvhere-vnto his youthfull heate, the greatneſs of his courage, the ſucceſſe of former time, & his confidence in the managing of that vvarre, did violently lead him. Being caried on with theſe inducements, he ſent the firſt night all the Caualry to the Riuer Bragada, vvhere the Enemy lay incamped vnder the commaund of Sabura: but the king followed after with all his forces, and lay continually within ſixe miles, or there-abouts.

Callicratides cũ Lacedemoniorũ Dux fuiſſet bello Peloponeſiaco, multaque egregiè feciſſet, vertit ad extremum omnia. Cleombrotus, temerè cum Epaminonda confligens, Lacedemoniorum opes corruerunt.

The horſemen ſent before, and making their iourney in the night, ſet vpon the Enemie at vnawares: and not thinking of their approche: for, the Numidians lodge, ſcattered here and there in a barbarous manner, without any gouernment or order. And ſurpriſing them thus, oppreſſed vvith ſleepe, and ſcattered vpon the ground, they ſlew a great number of them: the reſt, in great terror & amaſement, eſcaped by flight. Which ſeruice, beeing thus executed, the Caualrie returned to Curio, and brought the captiues vnto him. Curio was gone out, about the fourth watch of the night with all his forces, hauing left fiue cohorts for a guarizon to his Campe: and hauing marched ſixe miles, he met with the Caualrie, vnderſtood what was done, and inquired of the captiues, who was Generall of the Campe at Bragadum? They anſwered, Sabura. Omitting for haſte of his way to informe himſelfe of the reſt: but turning himſelfe to the next Enſignes, ſaid; You ſee ſouldiers that the confeſsion of the captiues doe agree, vvith that which was reported by the fugitiues. For, the king is not come; but hath ſent ſome ſmall forces, which cannot make their partie good with a fevv horſemen: and therefore, haſten to take the ſpoile vvith honour and renowne; that we may now at length, begin to thinke of rewarding your merits.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is obſerued by Marcellinus, that when misfortune commeth vpon a man, his ſpirit groweth ſo dull and benummed, as his ſenſes ſeeme to be diſmiſſed of their charges. Which appeared heere in Curio: who, hauing taken a prouident and ſure courſe, ſuch as was approoued in euery mans iudgement, and beſeemed well the wiſedome of a Commaunder, did neuertheleſſe, contrarie to all ſenſe and diſcretion, forgoe the ſame; and caſt himſelfe vpon the hazard of that which fugitiues had vainely reported. Concerning which, as it is noted, that Incredulitie is hurtfull onely to the vnbelieuer; ſo this paſſage proueth, that for a Commaunder to bee too light of belieſe, is a danger to the whole Partie, and bringeth many to ruine, that had no part in that Creede. Cæſar, in the relation heereof, noteth three ſpeciall things in Curio, that caried him head-long to this diſaſter, and may ſerue as markes to auoid the like Syrtes.

Videmus ipſi quotidie, manus inijcientibus fatis, hebetari ſenſus hominum et obtundi. Amm. Marcelli.

Solis incredulis noxia res incredulitas. Philo. de vit. Moſis.

The firſt, was *Iuuenilis ardor*, his youthfull courage and heate: which is alwaies attended with ſtrong affections, ſuting the qualitie and temperature of the bodie, being then in the prime height of ſtrength, & accordingly ledde on with violent motions; where-as age goeth ſlowely and coldly forward, and is alwaies ſurer in vndertaking, then hot-ſpurre youth. And albeit, no man in cold bloud could better aduize then Curio, or fore-ſee with better prouidence: yet his youthfull boldneſſe, ouer-ſwaied his diſcourſe; and drew all to a miſchieſe, in deſpight of his wiſedome.

Hebetiores quã acutiores vt plurimũ melius rempub. adminiſtrant. Thucidides.

The ſecond, was *Superioris temporis prouentus*, the happy iſſue of former proceedings: which of all other conditions, is to be ſuſpected, and needeth Gods aſsiſtance more then any other fortune; for that no man ſooner erreth, or is more vncaple of order, then ſuch as are in proſperitie. And therfore, Plato refuſed to make lawes for them of Syrene; as a matter of great difficulty, to giue ordinances to men that were in happineſſe. And doubtleſs, ſuch is the exorbitancie of our nature, that nothing better informeth it then croſſes; which are as inſtructions and warnings, for the preuenting of ruining calamities. Wherein, Curio was not beholding to Fortune at all; that dandled him in her lap for a while, to caſt him out at length, head-long to his ruine. It had been much better, ſhe had exchanged a frowne with a fauour, rather then to haue giuen him much good together, and reſerue an irrecouerable diſgrace for the vp-ſhot.

Rebus ſecundis maximè deus implorandus. Lib. 1. Cyropæ.

Felicitatis et moderationis diuiduũ contubernium. Sen.

--quem blanda futuru,
Deceptura malis belli fortuna recepit. Luc. lib. 4.

The third, was *Fiducia rei bene gerendæ*: which ſauoureth more of follie then any of the former; beeing alwaies an argument of an imprudent man, to aſſure himſelfe of good fortune: for, Preſumption, beeing euer accompanied with Negligence, is ſubiect to as many caſualties, as thoſe that goe vnarmed vpon extreamitie of danger. And theſe were the three things that miſcaried Curio. Out of which we may obſerue with Xenophon, that *Ingens et arduum opus eſt rectè imperare.*

Imprudentium fiduciaeſt fortunam ſibi ſpondere. Seneca de beneficijs.

Incauta ſemper nimia præſumptio et ſui negligens. Egeſip. Lib. 1. de Inſti Cyri.

CHAP. XVI.

Curio purſueth the Enemy, with more *haſte then good ſucceſſe.*

Cæſar.

THat vvhich the Caualrie had exploited, was certainelie a matter of great ſeruice; eſpecially the ſmall number of them, beeing compared with the great multitude of the Numidians: & yet notwithſtanding, they ſpake of theſe things, with greater oſtentation then the truth would beare; as men are vvilling to divulge their owne praiſes. Beſides, they ſhewed much ſpoile which they had taken: Captiues and horſes were brought out, that whatſoeuer time was omitted, ſeemed to be a let and hinderance to the victory; by which meanes, the deſires and indeauours of the Souldiers, vvere no vvay ſhort of the hope vvhich Curio had conceiued. Who, commaunding the Caualry to follow him, marched forward with as much haſte as he could; to the end he might find the Enemy diſtracted and aſtoniſhed, at the flight and ouerthrowe of their fellowes: but the horſemen, hauing trauelled all night, could by no meanes follow after. Whereby it happened, that ſome ſtaied in one place, ſome in another: yet this did not hinder or diſcourage Curio in his hopes.

Iuba, beeing aduertiſed by Sabura of the conflict in the night, ſent inſtantlie two thouſand Spaniſh and French horſe, which he kept about him for the ſafetie of his Perſon, and ſuch of the foote-troopes as he moſt truſted to ſuccour and relieue him: hee himſelfe, vvith the reſt of the forces, & forty Elephants, followed ſoftly after. Sabura, ſuſpecting by the horſemen comming before, that Curio himſelfe was at hand, imbattelled all his forces; commaunding them, that vnder a pretence of counterfait feare, they ſhould retreit by little and little: himſelfe, when occaſion ſerued, would giue them the ſigne of battell; vvith ſuch other directions as ſhould be expedient.

Curio was ſtrengthened in his former hope, with the opinion of the preſent occaſion. For, ſuppoſing the Enemy had fled, hee drew his forces from the vpper ground into the Plaine; vvherein, after he had marched a good ſpace (the Army hauing trauailed ſixteene mile) hee made a ſtand. Sabura gaue the ſigne to his men of beginning the battell, ledde on his Army, vvent about his troopes, to exhort and courage his ſouldiers: Howbeit, he vſed his foot-men onely for a ſhew a farre off, and ſent the Caualrie to giue the charge. Curio vvas not vvanting to his men; but wiſhed them to ſet all their confidence in their valour. The ſouldiers, howſoeuer harried and wearied, and the horſemen (although but a verie few, and thoſe ſpent with trauell) yet wanted no courage or deſire to fight. But theſe beeing but two hundred in number (for, the reſt ſtaied by the way) vvhat part of the Army ſoeuer they charged, they forced the Enemy to giue way: but they could neither follow them farre as they fledde, nor put their horſes to anie round or long cariere.

At

At length, the Caualrie of the Enemy, beganne from both the wings to circumvent our Army, and to mall them downe behind: and, as our Cohorts issued out from the battell, towards them, the Numidians (through their nimblenesse) did easily auoid the shocke; and againe, as they turned backe to their rankes, inclosed them about, and cut them off from the battell: so that it neither seemed safe to keepe their order and place, or to aduance themselues out, and vnder-goe the hazard of aduenture.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE Principles and Maximes of VVarre, are alwaies to bee held firme, when they are taken with their due circumstances: for, euerie Rule hath a qualified state, and consisteth more in cautions and exceptions, then in authoritie of precept. It is true, that nothing doth more aduantage a victorie, then the counsell of Lamachus, the third Duke of the Athenians; which was, to set vpon an Enemy, when he is affrighted and distracted: for, so there is nothing to be expected (on his behalfe) but despaire and confusion. But, either to be mistaken therein, or otherwise to make such haste to obserue this rule of warre (as Curio did) that the best part of the Armie shall lie by the way, and the rest that goe on, shal be so spent with labour, as they are altogether vnfitte for seruice, and yet (to make the matter worse) to bring them into a place of disaduantage, to incounter a strong and fresh Enemy, is to make the circumstances ouer-sway the Rule, and by a Maxime of VVarre, to be directed to an ouerthrowe: Neglecting altogether that which is obserued by Sextus Aurelius Victor; *Satis celeriter fit, quicquid commodè geritur.* *Thucid. lib. 7.*

CHAP. XVII.

Curio defeated and slaine; Some few of the Armie get *passage to Sicily: the rest, yeeld* themselues to Varus.

THE Enemy was oftentimes renforced by succours from the King: our men had spent their strength, and fainted through wearinesse: such as were wounded, could neither leaue the battel, nor be conuaied into a place of safetie. The whole Army, beeing incompassed about with the Caualrie of the Enemy (whereby despairing of their safety, as men commonly do, when their life drawes towards an end) they either lamented their owne death, or recõmended their friends to good fortune, if it were possible that any might escape out of that danger: all parts were filled with feare and lamentation. *Cæsar.*

Curio, when he perceiued the ſouldiers to be ſo affrighted, that they gaue eare neither to his exhortations nor intreaties, he commanded them (as the laſt hope they had of ſafety) that they ſhould all flie vnto the next hills, and thither hee commaunded the Enſignes to be caried. But the Caualrie, ſent by Sabura, had alſo preoccupated that place; whereby our men began to fall into vtter deſpaire, and partly were ſlaine as they fled by the horſemen, or fell downe without wounding. Cn. Domitius, Generall of the horſe, ſtanding with a few horſemen about him, perſwaded Curio to ſaue himſelfe by flight, and to get the Campe; promiſing not to leaue or forſake him: but Curio confidently replied, that hee would neuer come in Cæſars ſight, hauing loſt the Army committed vnto him; and therevpon, fighting valiantly, vvas ſlaine.

A fevv horſemen ſaued themſelues from the furie of the battell; but ſuch of the Rereward, as ſtaied by the way to refreſh their horſes, perceiuing a farre off, the rout and flight of the vvhole Army, returned ſafe into the Campe. The footmen vvere all ſlaine, to a man. M. Rufus the Treaſurer, beeing left by Curio in the Campe, exhorted his men not to be diſcouraged. They praied and beſought him, they might be tranſported into Sicily. Hee promiſed thē they ſhould; and to that end gaue order to the Maiſters of ſhippes, that the next euening they ſhould bring all the Skiffes to the ſhore. But ſuch was the aſtoniſhment and terrour of all men, that ſome gaue out, that Iuba his forces were already come: Others, that Varus was at hand vvith the legions; and that they ſaw the duſt of the Army marching towards them: whereas there was no ſuch matter at all. Others, ſuſpected the Enemies Nauie would ſpeedily make to them; inſomuch as euery man ſhifted for himſelfe: ſuch as vvere already on ſhip-board, made haſte to be gone. Their departure, gaue occaſion to the ſhips of burthen to follow after.

A few ſmall Barks vvere obedient to the commaund: but the ſhore beeing thronged vvith ſouldiers, ſuch vvas the contention, which of all that multitude ſhould get aboard, that ſome of the Barkes vvere ſunke with preace of people, & the reſt, for feare of the like caſualtie, durſt not come neere them. Wherby it happened, that a few ſouldiers, and Maiſters of families (that through fauour or pitty preuailed, or could ſwim vnto the ſhippes) were caried backe, ſafe, into Sicily. The reſt of the forces, ſending by night ſome of the Centurions as Embaſſadours to Varus, rendered themſelues vnto him.

The next day after, Iuba ſeeing the Cohorts of theſe ſouldiers before the towne, cried out preſently, that they were part of his booty: and therevpon gaue order, that a great number of thē ſhould be ſlaine; and, ſelecting a few out of the reſt, ſent them into his kingdome: Varus complaining in the meane vvhile, that his faith and promiſe was violated, and yet durſt not reſiſt it. The King rode into the towne, attended with many Senators, amongſt whō was Ser. Sulpitius, & L. Damaſippus: and remaining there a few daies, gaue ſuch order for things, as he thought fit, and then returned to his kingdome, with all his forces.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

AND this was the period which Diuine power made, to the hopefull beginning of Curio's designe vpon Affrick; & happened so suddenlie, as they were lost ere they were aware: Like a tempest at Sea; that swalloweth vp vessels in the same place, where a little before they swam most proudly, and in the like irrecouerable manner. For, vvarre is not capable of a second errour; one fault beeing enough to ruine an Armie, and to disable Curio for euer dooing the like: of whom Lucan hath left this memoriall;

Laetis hunc numina rebus crescendi posuere modum. Lucan. Eodem vbi luserunt naugia sorbentur. Seneca Epist. 4. Non est in bello bis peccare. Plutarch.

Haud aliam tanta Ciuem tulit indole Roma,
Aut cui plus leges deberent recta sequenti,
Perdita nunc primum nocuerunt secula, postquam
Ambitus, et luxus, et opum metuenda facultas,
Transuerso mentem dubiam torrente tulerunt,
Momentúmque fuit mutatus Curio rerum,
Gallorum captus spoliis et Cæsaris Auro.

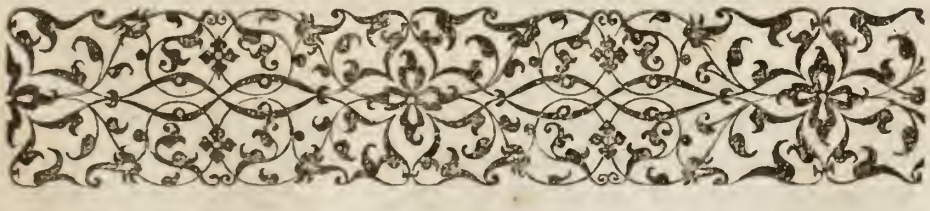
His bodie lay vnburied, as a witnesse of Numidian hate (which is alwaies extreame, like the heat of the Countrey) and of Iuba's particular reuenge, for tendering an Edict to the people, to confisquet his kingdome.

Nullo contectus Curio busto.

To conclude this Commentary; The losse either Partie sustained vnto this stage of the Warre, was in these particulars: Pompey was driuen out of Italie, lost Marselleis, and both the Prouinces of Spaine; Cæsar receiued this losse in Affrick, besides that in the Adriatick sea, where Antonius miscaried, whereof he maketh no mention in these Cōmentaries. And as when Iupiter weighed the fortune of the Greekes, and the Troians, in a paire of Ballance, it fell out the Greekes had more ill lucke then the Troians; so the fortune of these Parties beeing weighed, by the relation made thereof, it falleth plainely out, that Pompey had the worse.

Homer. Iliad. 8.

And thus endeth the second Commentarie.



THE THIRD COMMENTARY of the Ciuill VVarres.

(···)

THE ARGVMENT.

THE former Bookes, containe the drifts and designes which these famous Cheefes attempted, and prosecuted, while they were asunder. And now commeth their buckling at hand to be related; together with the iudgement which the VVarre gaue of the Cause in question, on Cæsars behalfe.

CHAP. I.

Cæsar giueth order at Rome, for matter of Credit *and Vsury, and other things.*

CAESAR the Dictator, holding the assembly for election of Magistrates; Iulius Cæsar, and Pub. Seruilius vvere created Consulls: for, in that yeere he was capable by law to be chosen there-vnto. These things beeing ended, forasmuch as hee found that credit vvas very scant throughout all Italy, and that money lent vpon trust, vvas not paid; he gaue order that Arbitrators should be appointed, to make an estimation of possessions & goods, according as they vvere valued before the vvarre: and that the Creditors should take them at that rate for their moneys. For, this course he thought to be fittest, and most expedient; as vvell for the taking away of any feare of composition, or new assurances, for the quitting and abolishing of all debts (which do commonly fall out vpon vvarres and ciuill broiles) as also for the keeping and preseruing of the Debtors credit. Cæsar.

In like manner, he restored the ancient course of Appeale, made by the Prætors and Tribunes, to the people; as also certaine courses vsed, in suing for Magistracie (which were taken away, by a law made in Pompeis time, when hee kept the legions about him in the Cittie) and likewise reformed such iudgements in sutes and trialls of law, as vvere giuen in Cases, vvhen the matter in controuersie was heard by one Iudge, and the sentence pronounced the same day by another Iudge. Last of all, vvhere-as diuers stood condemned, for offering their seruice vnto him in the beginning of the Ciuill vvarre, if he should thinke it fit to accept

thereof: and holding himſelfe as much obliged vnto them, as if he had vſed it; he thought it beſt expedient for thē, to be acquitted by the people, rather then by his commandement & authority: leaſt hee ſhould either ſeeme vngratefull, in not acknowledging their deſerts; or arrogant, in aſſuming to himſelfe that, which belonged to the people.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

CAeſar, as he was Dictator holding the aſſembly for the choice of Magiſtrates; himſelfe, with P. Seruilius Iſcauricus, were made Conſuls, in the yeere of Rome 705: which was iuſt tenne yeeres after his firſt Conſulſhippe: whereby he became capable thereof, by the law publiſhed by Sylla; wherein it was prouided, That no man ſhould be choſen to an office, within tenne yeeres after he had ſupplied the ſame. In this yeere, happened all theſe things, which are contained in this third Commentarie: as Paterculus noteth in theſe words;

C. Cæſar, and P. Seruilius beeing Conſulls, Pompey was miſerably maſſacred, after three Conſulſhips, and three Triumphes; and was ſlaine, the day before his birth day, beeing aged 58 yeeres. The Choice day, was regularlie the firſt of Ianuary: and the Aſſembly was called *Comitium Centuriatum*.

Touching the difference of theſe Aſſemblies, the parties preſent thereat, the manner of the choice, and other circumſtances appertaining, the Reader may receiue information at large, by Roſsius. Onely it is to be remembred, that *Comitia Centuriata* were neuer holden without conſent of the Senate. And foraſmuch as the cheefe part of them were with Pompey, Lucan taketh exception at this Creation.

Lib. 6. de Comitijs.

Lib. 5.

——— mœrentia tecta
Cæſar habet, vacuáſque domos, legéſque ſilentes:
Clauſaque iuſtitio triſti fora. Curia ſolos
Illa videt Patres, plena quos vrbe fugauit.

The Perſons, that were ſuters for the Conſulſhippe, were called *Candidati*; who oftentimes vſed extraordinarie meanes to attaine the ſame: which moued Pompey to make a law, That no man ſhould ſue for publique offices, by bribes, or other corrupt courſes, and was called *Lex de Ambitu*; which indeed was but renewed: for, the ſame was ſet on foote, *Anno Vrb.* 395, by Petilius, Tribune of the people: and renewed againe, by Pub. Cornelius Cethegus, *Anno* 572: and within a while after, made capitall, as farre as baniſhment concerned the partie. Coponius was ſo condemned, hauing bought a voice, with an * Amphora of Wine. The law, which Pompey now made, was very ſtrict, as Dio noteth: for, it was ordained, That vpon producing of witneſſes, the Proceſs ſhould end in a day, giuing the Accuſer two houres, to lay open the matter; and the Defender three, to make aunſwere: and the Iudgement inſtantlie followed. The rigour of which law, Cæſar here reformed.

Anno Vrb. 701

Liv. lib. 7.
Liv. lib. 9.

*Foure gallons and a halfe.
Pli. li. 35. c. 12
Lib. 39.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE second thing I obserue, is the difficultie of taking vp money vpon credit, in time of trouble or warres: which Cæsar expresseth in these tearmes; *Cùm fides tota Italia esset angustior*. The word *Fides*, hath euer been taken for a reall performance of any promise or agreement; which Tully calleth the foundation of Iustice, and the very prop of a Common-weale: taking the Etymon to growe, *quia fiat quod dictum*. According to that of Nonius Marcellus; *Fides nomen ipsum videtur habere cùm fit, quod dicitur*. And for that Men commonly are couenant keepers, not so much by the perfection of their nature, as out of strictnes of law, it falleth out, that where there are no lawes, there is no performance; and consequentlie, little or no credit either giuen or kept in time of Warre, because *Silent leges inter arma*.

Lib. 1. offic. Nec enim vlla res vehementius rempub. cõtinet quàm fides.

Lib. 2. offic.

Cæsar, to prouide for this inconuenience, appointed Commissioners to rate euery mans lands and possessions, as they were valued before the warres, and to satisfie the Creditors with the same. Which Plutarch explaineth in this manner; That the Creditors should take, yeerely, two parts of the reuenewe of their Debtors, vntill such time as they had paid themselues: and that the Debtors should haue the other third, to liue withall. Whereof it seemed he had some light, by a president in the Consulshippe of Valerius Publicola, which is extant in Liuie; *Noui Consules fœnebrem quoque rem leuare aggressi, solutionem æris alieni, in publicam curam verterant, quinque viris creatis, quos mensarios, ab dispensatione pecuniæ appellarunt.*

In the life of Iulius Cæsar.

Lib. 7.

This generall acquittance for debts, the Romaines called *Nouæ Tabulæ*: In this respect, as Celius Rodiginus hath it, *Quòd cùm pecuniæ creditæ oberratis condonantur, nouæ mox cooriuntur Tabulæ, quibus nomina continentur noua*: and is nothing else, then what is ordinarie amongst our Bankerupts, compoũding for so much in the pound with their Creditors, vpon new assurance, and other securitie, which they called *Nouæ Tabulæ*; agreeing to that of Tullie: *Tabulæ verò nouæ quid habent argumenti, nisi vt emas mea pecunia fundum, eum tu habeas, ergo non habeam pecuniam.*

Lib. 7.

2. Offic.

Concerning matter of Vsurie, which was the ground of this mischiefe, Tacitus noteth it, as an old and deadly disease, and the cause of many seditions in that Empire; and is neuer better likened, then to the biting of a Serpent, called an Aspicke: which, vpon the infusion of her venom, putteth the Patient into a heauie slumber; and in a short time, bringeth all a mans substance to death and destruction. And there-vpon, it is called *Fœnus à fœtu*, from the fertile and ample increase of money. For, as Basill noteth, The Labourer loseth the seed, and contenteth himselfe with the fruit or increase: but the Vsurer, will haue the fruit, and yet not lose the seede. Whereby there must needes growe great increase. The law of the twelue Tables, was, *Ne quis vnciario fœnore amplius exerceto.*

Vetus vrbi fœnebre malum, et seditionum discordiarumque creberrima causa. Annal. 6.

And is vnderstood for one in the hundred. The higheſt rate was *Centesima Vsura*; when the hundred part of the principall was paid euery month to the Credi-

Creditor, and was twelue *per Cent*. The next was *Vſura deunx*, when the Debtor paid eleuen in the hundred for a yeere. The third *Dextans*, which was x.*per Cent*. *Dodrans ix. Bes viij. Septunx vſura, vij. Semis vi. Quincunce v. Triens iiij. Quadrans iij. Sextans ij. Vnciaria*, one in the hundred. Howbeit, Cato condemned all kind of vſury: for, being demaunded, *Quid maximè in re familiari expediret? reſpondit bene paſcere: quid ſecundum? ſatis bene paſcere? quid tertium? bene veſtire: quid quartũ? arare: et cùm ille qui quæſierat dixiſſet, Quid fœnerari? Quid hominẽ inquit occidere?* Allowing (as it ſeemeth) no meanes of getting mony, but thoſe which Ariſtotle tooke to be moſt agreeing to Nature: which is from the fruites of the earth, and the increaſe of our cattell; with ſuch other courſes as are aunſwerable therevnto.

Tull. 2. offic.

Pecuniæ quærendæ ratio, naturæ conſentanea omnibus eſt, à fructibus et animalibus. de repub. lib. 1. cap. 10.

CHAP. II.

A particular view of Pompeis forces.

Caſar.

IN the accompliſhing of theſe things, as alſo celebrating the Latine Holidaies, and holding the Aſſemblies of the people, hauing ſpent eleuen daies, he gaue ouer his Dictatorſhip, left the Cittie, and came to Brunduſium. For, he had commanded ſeauen legions, and all his Caualrie to repaire thither: howbeit, he found no more ſhipping ready, then would hardly tranſport fifteene thouſand legionary ſouldiers, and fiue hundred horſe; the vvant whereof, ſeemed to hinder him from bringing the vvarre to a ſpeedy end. Moreouer, thoſe forces vvhich were ſhipped, were but weak; in regard that many of them were loſt in the vvarres of Galia, and leſſened likewiſe by their long iourney out of Spaine: beſides that, the vnwholſome Autumne in Apulia, and about Brunduſium, had made the whole Army ill diſpoſed; beeing newly come out of the ſweet aire of Gallia and Spaine.

Pompey, hauing had a yeeres ſpace to prouide himſelfe of men and munition, and neither warre nor enemy to trouble him, had got together a great Nauy out of Aſia, from the Cyclad Iles, Corcyra, Athens, Pontus, Bythinia, Syria, Cilicia, Phœnicia, and Egypt; and had cauſed another as great a fleet to bee built in all places fit for that purpoſe; had raiſed great ſummes of money out of Aſia, and Syria, and of all the Kings, Dinaſtes, Tetrarches, and free States of Achaia; and had likewiſe compelled the Corporations of thoſe Prouinces to cõtribute the like ſum. He had inrolled nine legions of Romaine Cittizens, fiue which he had tranſported out of Italy, one old legion out of Sicily (which beeing compounded and made of two, he called the Twin) one out of Creet and Macedonia, old ſouldiers, who beeing diſcharged by former Generalls, had reſided in thoſe Prouinces; two out of Aſia, which Lentulus the Conſull had cauſed to be inrolled: beſides, he had diſtributed amongſt thoſe legions, vnder the name of a ſupply, a great number of Theſſaly, Bœotia, Achaia, and Epyrus.

Gemella.

Amongſt

Amongst these, he had mingled Anthonies souldiers: and besides these, he expected to be brought by Scipio, out of Syria, two legions. Of Archers out of Creta, Lacedemon, Pontus, and Syria, and the rest of the Citties, he had three thousand; sixe cohorts of Slingers; two Mercenary, & seauen thousand horse. Whereof Deiotarus had brought sixe hundred Galls; Ariobarzenes fiue hundred out of Cappadocia; Cotus out of Thracia had sent the like number, vnder the leading of his sonne Sasalis. From Macedonia came two hundred, commaunded by Rascipolis; a Captaine of great fame and vertue. From Alexandria came fiue hundred, part Galls, & part Germaines; which A. Gabinius had left there with King Ptolomy, to defend the Towne. Pompey, the sonne, had brought vvith the Nauie, eight hundred of his shepheards and seruaunts. Tarcondarius, Castor, & Donilaus, had sent three hundred out of Gallogræcia; of whom, one came himselfe, and the other sent his sonne. Two hundred vvere sent out of Syria, by Comagenus of Antioch, whom Pompey had presented vvith great gifts: most of vvhich were Arbalestriers on horsebacke.

To these vvere added Dardanes, Bessi; partly for pay and entertainement, and partly got by commaund or fauour; besides Macedonians, Thessalians, & diuers other Nations and Citties: insomuch as he filled vp the number formerly spoken of. He prouided great quantity of Corne out of Thessaly, Asia, Creta, Cyrenia, & the rest of those Regions. He determined to winter at Dyrrachium, Apollonia, & all the maritimate townes, to keepe Cæsar from passing the Sea: and to that end, he had laid and disposed his Nauie all along the Sea-coast. Pompey, the son, vvas Admirall of the Egyptian shippes; and Lelius Triarius, of those that came out of Asia: Cassius commaunded them of Syria, and C. Marcellus, with Pomponius, the shippes of Rhodes. Scribonius Libo, and M. Octauius, had charge of the Achaian Nauie: Howbeit, M. Bibulus commaunded in chiefe in all sea causes; and to him was left the superintendencie of the Admiraltie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Concerning these *Latinæ Feriæ*, it is to be noted, that the Romaines had two sorts of *Feriæ*, or Holy-daies; the one called *Annales*, which came alwaies to be kept on a certaine day: and there-vpon were called *Anniuersarij*. The other, *Conceptiuæ*; which were arbitrarie, and solemnized vpon such daies, as the Magistrates & Priests thought most expedient, whereof these *Latinæ Feriæ* were chiefe; and were kept on Mount Albane, to Iupiter Latior, for the health and preseruation of all the Latine people, in league and confederacie with the people of Rome, and vvere solemnized in remembrance of the truce betweene those two Nations: during which feast, the Romaines held it vnlawfull to make any warre. The sacrifice was a white Bull, kild and offered by the Consulls, and the flesh distributed to the inhabitants of Latinum: according to an ancient Treatie of alliance between them; engrauen for a perpetuall memory, in a Columne of brasse. The particulars whereof, are expressed at large, by Dionisius Halicarnasseus.

Latinæ Feriæ.

Lib. 4. de Antiqui. Roma.

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſecond thing comming to be noted, is the view taken of Pompeys forces; which are nine compleat legions, beſides the ſupplies heere particularly mentioned, ſent from ſuch as bare affection to that Party: and, by indifferent calculation, might amount in all, neere about three-ſcore thouſand men, together with the fauour of the Countrey, where the triall was to be made by the ſtroke of Warre.

In which Muſter, were the ſouldiers of C. Antonius; whoſe misfortune theſe Commentaries haue either willingly forgot, or ſome other chance hath wip't it cleane out. Howbeit, Florus hath it recorded, that Cæſar hauing ſent Dolabella and Antonius to ſeize vpon the Straights, and entrance of the Adriatick-ſea, the one tooke hold of the coaſt of Slauonia, and the other neere vnto Corfew: when vpon a ſuddaine came Octauius and Libo, Pompeys Lieutenants, and with great forces (they had aboard their ſhippes) ſurprized both the one and the other; whereby Antonius was conſtrained to yeeld vp fifteene Companies, which were theſe ſouldiers of Antonius heere mentioned.

Lib. 4. cap. 2.

Raſcipolis, or Raſcupolis, was a Thracian of great fame, that followed Pompey; and his brother Raſcus tooke himſelfe to Cæſar, vpon an appointment made betweene themſelues: for, finding in the Countrey where they dwelt, two great Factions in oppoſition, & doubting which Partie to take, they diuided themſelues; as the beſt approued part of Newtralitie: And held likewiſe the ſame courſe, in the warre betweene Brutus and Octauius, continuing vnto the battell of Philippi. Vpon the iſſue whereof, Raſcus demaunded no other reward for his ſeruice, then the life of his brother: which vvas eaſilie graunted.

Appian. lib. 4.

This Bibulus, Pompeis high Admirall, was fellow Conſull with Cæſar, in the yeer of Rome 694: but Cæſar ſo out-ſtript him in the managing of things, that he much ſuſpected himſelfe, as inſufficient for the place: which made him keepe his houſe all that yeere. Whereupon came this Diſtich;

Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, ſed Cæſare factum:
Nam Bibulo fieri Conſule nil memini.

CHAP. III.

Cæſar paſſeth ouer into Greece, returneth his ſhipping to *Brunduſium. Octauius beſieg*eth Salones.

Cæſar.

CAeſar, vpon his arriuall at Brunduſium, called the ſouldiers together; and ſhewed them, that foraſmuch as they vvere almoſt come to an end of all their labours and dangers, they would now be content to leaue vvillingly behind them their ſeruants and cariages in Italy, and goe aboard, cleere of thoſe incumberments; to the

the end, the greater number of souldiers might be taken in; and that they should expect the supplie of all these things, from victorie, & his liberality. Euery man cried out, That he should commaund what he would, and they would vvillinglie obay it.

The second of the Nones of Ianuary, he waied Anchor, hauing (as is formerly shewed) shipped seauen legions. The next day, he came to land at the Promontorie of Ceraunium, hauing got a quiet roade amongst the Rocks, and places of danger. For, doubting how he might safely venture vpon any of the knowne Ports of that Coast (vvhich he suspected to be kept by the Enemy) he made choice of that place, which is called Phrasalus: and there arriuing in safetie vvith all his ships, he landed his souldiers.

At the same time, Lucrecius Vispillo, and Minutus Rufus (by order from Lælius) vvere at Orick, with eighteene shippes of Asia: and M. Bibulus, was likewise at Corfew, with one hundred and tenne shippes. But neither of these two durst come out of the Port, although Cæsar had not in all aboue twelue shippes of vvarre, to wast him ouer; amongst which, he himselfe was imbarked. Neither could Bibulus come soone enough, his shippes beeing vnready, and his Mariners ashore; for that Cæsar was descried neere the Continent, before there vvas any bruite of his comming in all those Regions. The souldiers beeing landed, hee sent backe the same night the shipping to Brundusium; that the other legions, and the Caualrie, might be brought ouer.

Fusius Calenus, the Legat, had the charge of this seruice, and was to vse all celeritie in transporting ouer the legions: but, setting out late, and omitting the opportunity of the night wind, they failed of their purpose, & so returned back. For, Bibulus beeing certified at Corfew of Cæsars arriuall, and hoping to meete with some of the shippes of burthen, met with the emptie shippes, going backe to Brundusium: and hauing taken thirty of them, he wreaked his anger (conceiued through griefe and omission) and set them all on fire, consuming therein, both the Maisters, and the Mariners; hoping by the rigour of that punishment, to terrifie the rest.

This beeing done, hee possest all the Coast, from Salones to Orick, with shippes and Men of vvarre; appointing guardes with more ailigence then formerly hath been vsed. He himselfe, in the depth of Winter, kept watch a ship-board, not refusing any labour or duetie, nor expecting any succour, if he happened to meet with Cæsar. But after the departure of the Liburnian Gallies from Illiricum, M. Octauius, with such shippes as he had with him, came to Salones; and there hauing incited the Dalmatians, and other barbarous people, drew Isca from Cæsars partie. And finding that he could not moue them of Salones, neither with promise nor threatnings, he resolued to besiege the Towne. The Place was strong by nature, through the aduantage of a Hill; and the Romaine Cittizens (there inhabiting) had made towres of vvood to fortifie it vvithin: but finding themselues too vveake to make resistance (beeing vvearied out and spent vvith vvoundes) they fell at length to the last refuge of all: vvhich vvas, to enfranchize all their bond-slaues, aboue the age of fourteene yeeres; and cutting their womens haire, made Engines thereof.

Their reſolution beeing knowen, Octauius incompaſſed the towne about with fiue Campes: and at one inſtant of time, beganne to force them by ſiege, and by aſſault. They, beeing reſolued to vnder-goe all extreamities, were much preſſed through vvant of Corne; and there-vpon, ſending Meſſengers to Cæſar, ſought helpe of him: other inconueniences, they indured as they might.

And after a long time, vvhen the continuance of the ſiege, had made the Octauians remiſſe and negligent (taking the opportunitie of the noone time, when the Enemy vvas retired aſide, and placing their children and women on the vvall, that nothing might ſeeme omitted of that vvhich was vſuall) they themſelues, together vvith ſuch as they had lately infranchized, brake into the next Campe vnto the Towne. Which beeing taken, with the ſame violence they ſet vpon another, and then vpon the third, and ſo vpon the fourth, and in the end, vpon the fift; driuing the Enemy out of all the Campes: and, hauing ſlaine a great number, they forced Octauius, and the reſt remaining, to betake them to their ſhips; and ſo the ſiege ended. For, Octauius, deſpairing to take the Towne, the Winter approaching, and hauing receiued ſuch loſſes, retired to Pompey at Dyrrachium.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IT hath beene generally conceiued, that there is little or no vſe of women in times of vvarre, but that they are a burthen to ſuch as ſeek honour by deedes of Armes; and doe better ſute the licentiouſneſſe of peace, then the dangers of warfare. Whereof Andromache is made an inſtance; from that which Homer reporteth of her teares, ſighes, & praiers, to with-draw Hector from thoſe valorous exploits, which hee vnder-tooke for the defence of Troy: and therefore, are by Ouid, wiſhed to handle the diſtaffe and the ſpindle; and leaue the warre, as fitter for men, then the weakeneſſe of their Sex.

Iliad. 6.

——— colúmque
I cape cum calathis, et ſtamina pollice torque:
Bella relinque viris.

12 Metamor.

Neuertheleſſe, it cannot be denied, that howſoeuer the tenderneſſe of women, doth require a paſsiue courſe of life, vnder the ſhelter of a ſafe rooſe, rather then in the bleake ſtormes of actiue indeauour; yet there haue been ſome Viragos, that haue ouer-topped the pride of men in points of war: amongſt whom, Semiramis may leade the reſt; together with Tomyris, Cyrus Miſtreſſe by conqueſt. As alſo Zenobia, that ſubdued the Perſians; and Helena, Queene of the Ruſſes.

Inſt. lib. 1. Herodot. lib. 2 Trebell. Pola. Sigiſm. Bar. in Muſcou.

Beſides other noble ſpirits, that could anſwere ſuch as told them newes of the death of their ſonnes in battell; That they had brought them into the world for that onely purpoſe. Which do proue, as well a reall as a potentiall aptneſs of that Sex, to the vſe and practice of Armes.

And

And if any man (as vnwilling to affoord them so much worth) will knowe wherein they auaile the fortune of a Warre, he may take notice, that euen in expeditions (wherein they are most subiect to exceptions) they alwaies giue acceptable assistances to their Husbands, both in their prouisions, and otherwise; and are such Companions, as can hardly be left at home, without danger of greater hazard.

Quod honestius quã vxoriũ leuamentum? Tac. l. 3. Annal. Vix præsenti custodia manere illæsa coniugia. eodem.

But in places besieged, vvomen doe not onely affoord haire to make ropes, if need require (as it fell out in this siege) but are able to cast peeces of Millstones vpon the Enemie, with better fortune some-times then any other man: and haue thereby slaine the Generall, to the raising of the siege, and sauing of the Cittie.

Iudg. 9.

But to take instances of later times: it is not to bee forgotten, that when the Arch-Duke Mathias (after the death of Count Mansfield) commaunded the Christian Armie, at the siege of Strigonium; while the Turkes, within the Castle, were making works for a retreit, the women (in the meane time) made good the breaches; and there bestowed such store of Wild-fire, that the Italian Squadrons (commaunded by Aldobrandine) beeing ioyned poldron to poldron, to preace into the breach, seemed all of a fire at once, and were forced to fall off with great terrour and confusion.

Anno 1595.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

A Towne assaulted by a warlike Enemie, is not kept or freed with Charmes or Spells; or as the Inhabitants of Tomby, in the East Indies, draue away the Portugalls, with Hiues of Bees, when they were possessed of the walls: but with such valour as may ouer-maister the Enemy, and extend it selfe to the taking of fiue Campes, if need require; which was performed by these Inhabitants of Salones.

CHAP. III.

Cæsar sendeth to Pompey, touching a Peace; *taketh in Oricum, Apolonia, and* other places.

IT is before declared, that Vibullius Rufus (one of Pompeis Lieutenants) vvas twice taken by Cæsar, and dismissed; once at Corfinium, and a second time in Spaine. Him did Cæsar deeme (in regarde of the fauours vvhich he had shewed him) to bee a fitte person, to bee sent vvith a Message to Pompey;

Cæsar.

Pompey; and the rather, for that hee vnderſtood, that hee vvas in good account and credite vvith him.

Qui ſapiunt, bellũ abſolvunt celeriter; pace fruuntur quàm poſſunt diutiſſime. Appian.

The ſumme of his Commiſsion was, to tell him, That it beſeemed them both, to giue an end to their vvilfulneſſe, to lay downe their Armes, and not to tempt Fortune any longer; either ſide had beene ſufficiently afflicted with loſſe and dammages: vvhich might ſerue for inſtruction and example to auoide other inconueniences. Hee, for his part, vvas driuen out of Italy, vvith the loſſe of Sicily, Sardinia, vvith the two Prouinces of Spaine, as alſo of the Cohorts of Italie, together with one hundred & thirty cohorts of Romaine Cittizens in Spaine; Himſelfe, vvith the death of Curio, with the loſſe of the Affricane Armie, and vvith the rendry of the ſouldiers at Corfew: and therefore they ſhould haue regard of themſelues, and of the Common-wealth.

They had good experience by their owne loſſes, what Fortune could do in war. This was the onely time to treat of peace, whilſt either Party ſtood confident in his owne ſtrength, and ſeemed of equall might & power. But, if Fortune ſhould chaunce to ſway to one ſide, he that thought hee had the better end of the ſtaffe, would neuer harken to any conditions of peace, nor content himſelfe with a reaſonable part, becauſe his hope would giue him all.

Concerning the Articles of Treatie, foraſmuch as they could not agree thereof themſelues, they ought to ſeeke them from the Senate and people of Rome. In the meane vvhile, it vvas fitte that the Common-vvealth and themſelues ſhould reſt ſatisfied, if (without further delay) both of them did take an oath in the preſence of their Armies, to diſmiſſe their forces vvithin three daies next following: and ſend avvay their Auxiliarie troopes, vvherein they ſo relied; and conſequently, to depend vpon the iudgement and decree of the people of Rome. For aſſurance whereof, on his behalfe, hee vvould preſently diſcharge as well his forces in the field, as thoſe in guarizon.

Vibullius, hauing receiued theſe inſtructions from Cæſar (thinking it no leſſe requiſite to aduertiſe Pompey of Cæſars arriuall, that hee might conſult of that, before he deliuered vvhat hee had in charge) poſted night and day, taking at euery ſtage freſh horſe; that hee might certifie Pompey, that Cæſar was at hand vvith all his forces.

Pompey was at that time in Caudania, and vvent out of Macedonia, to Winter in Apolonia, and at Dyrrachium. But, being troubled at the newes, he made towards Apolonia by great iourneyes, leaſt Cæſar ſhould poſſeſſe himſelfe of the maritimate Citties.

Cæſar, hauing landed his forces, vvent the next day to Oricum. Vpon his approach, L. Torquatus, who commaunded the towne vnder Pompey, & had there a guarizon of Parthins, ſhutting the gates, vvent about to defend the place, commaunded the Grecians to take Armes, and make good the vvalles. But they, refuſing to fight againſt the power and authoritie of the people of Rome, and the townſmen indeauouring of their owne accord to receiue him in; hee opened the gates, deſpairing of all other ſuccours, and gaue vp both himſelfe and the towne to Cæſar, and was entertained by him in ſafetie. Oricum beeing taken-in by Cæſar, without any further delay he went to Apolonia.

His

His comming beeing heard of, L. Straberius, the Gouernour, began to carie vvater into the Citadell, to fortifie it, and to require pledges of the inhabitants. They, on the other side, denied to giue any, or to shutte their gates against the Consull, or of themselues to take a resolution, contrary to that which all Italy & the people of Rome had thought conuenient. Their affections beeing knowen, he secretly conuaied himselfe away. The Apolonians sent Commissioners to Cæsar, and receiued him into the towne. The Beldinenses followed their example; and the Amatines, together with the rest of the confining Citties. And to conclude, all Epirus sent vnto Cæsar, promising to doe what he commaunded. But Pompey, vnderstanding of these things, which were done at Oricum and Apolonia, fearing Dyrrachium, posted thither night and day. Howbeit, vpon the report of Cæsars approche, the Armie was so astonished, that for haste on their way, they left their Ensignes in Epirus, and the confining Regions: and many of them (casting away their Armes) seemed rather to flie, then to march as souldiers.

As they came neere to Dyrrachium, Pompey made a stand, and caused the Campe to be intrenched, when-as yet the Army was so affrighted, that Labienus stood out first, and tooke a solemne oath, Neuer to forsake Pompey, but to vndergoe what chance soeuer Fortune had allotted him. The same oath tooke the Legates; beeing likewise seconded by the Tribunes of the souldiers, and Centurions, and by all the Army, that tooke the like oath.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Num est tempus (saith Cæsar) *de pace agendi, dum vterque sibi confidit, et pares ambo videntur.* Which may serue for an excellent Rule, to point out the fittest & seasonablest time, for composition betweene two opposite Parties. For, as in quantities, equality begetteth equalitie, and disparitie, a like vneuennesse of nature; so, in other things: as namely, in Treaties of Agreement, the conditions doe commonly rise to either Partie, according as they stand ballanced in the scale of Equalitie; or otherwise, as the difference of their meanes shall allot thē. For, if that be true in the extreamitie, which Curtius hath, That Lawes are giuen by Conquerers, and accepted vpon all conditions, by them that are subdued; it doth consequently follow in the Meane, that men find dealing proportionable to their fortune. To which purpose is that of Plato, where he saith, That Peace and Quietness consist in equalitie; as Trouble and Motion are alwaies in inequalitie.

Leges à victoribus dicuntur; accipiuntur à victis. lib. 4. Quietem, in æquabilitate; motū, in inæqualitate, semper cōstituimus. in Timæo.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Ex rei quæ venerit exemplo, rem intellegere haud difficile. Plato 3 de leg.

IT appeareth heere, by the fright and aſtoniſhment of Pompeis Armie, that the courſe he tooke to abandon Italie, was out of no good aduice or direction. For, where he might with farre more honour, and no leſſe hope of ſucceſſe, haue conteſted with Cæſar, in the place where the warre brake out, and kept him to a taske which ſhould haue held him from the conqueſt of Spaine, or ſuch other atchieuements as he eaſilie wrought in the abſence of his Aduerſaries: it fell out, that his departure into Greece, ſorted to no other end, then by time to abate the edge of the forwardeſt courages, and to ſuffer a numerous Armie, to be daunted with noiſe and clamors of continuall victories, gotten vpon a part of themſelues; and then to giue occaſion to the Conquerour to come in the taile of Fame, and take them diſarmed of expectation, to their great amazement.

CHAP. V.

Cæſar tooke vp his lodging for Winter. Bibulus, *diſtreſſed at Sea for vvant of prouiſions, ſeemed deſirous* of a Treatie: which, being caried on the other ſide with good caution, brake off againe.

Cæſar.

CAeſar, vnderſtanding that his paſſage to Dyrrachium vvas thus intercepted, did forbeare his haſte, and incamped himſelfe vpon the Riuer Apſus, in the confines of the Apolonians; that by the meanes of his Guards and Forts, ſuch Cities as had well deſerued of him, might be in ſafety: & there determined to winter, in Tents of skinne, and to attend the comming of his other legions out of Italy. The like did Pompey, pitching his Campe on the other ſide of the Riuer Apſus; and there aſſembled all his troopes and forraine aydes. Calenus, hauing (according to Cæſars directions) imbarked the legions, and Caualrie at Brunduſium, and taken-in as many as his ſhipping would containe, he ſet ſaile: but beeing gone a little out of the Port, hee receiued Letters of aduice from Cæſar, that all the Hauens and the Sea-coaſt vvas kept with the Enemies fleet. Where-vpon, hee made againe into the Hauen, and called backe all the ſhippes: onely one, holding on her courſe, without regard of the commaund, carying no ſouldiers, but belonging to priuate men, arriued at Oricum, and there was taken by Bibulus; who ſpared neither bond nor free, of as many as were of age, but put all to the ſword. Whereby it happened, that in a moment of time, by great chaunce the whole Army was ſaued.

Bibulus, as is before declared, lay at Oricum with his Nauie. And as hee kept the

the Sea and the Ports from Cæsar; so was hee kept from landing in any of those Countries: for, all the Sea-coast was kept by Guardes and Watches, set along the shore, that he could neither vvater, get vvood, nor bring his shippes to land vpon any occasion: Insomuch as hee was brought into great straightnes and exigent, for want of all necessaries; and vvas constrained (besides all other prouisions) to fetch his vvater and vvood from Corfew. And one time amongst the rest, it happened, that the weather beeing foule, they were forced to relieue themselues, vvith the deaw vvhich in the night time fell vpon the skinnes, that couered the Decks of the shippes. All which extreamities they patiently indured; and would by no meanes be brought to leaue the Ports, or abandon the Sea-coast.

But as they were in these difficulties, and that Libo, and Bibulus were come together, they both of them spake from a-ship-board, to M. Acilius, and Statius Marco, Legates (of whom one was Gouenour of the Towne, & the other had the charge of such Guardes as were along the shore) signifying, that they would willingly talke with Cæsar, of matters of great cõsequence, if they might haue leaue. For a better shew and assurance whereof, they intimated some thing concerning a Composition. In the meane time, they earnestly desired there might be a truce: for, the thing they propounded, imported matter of great weight, vvhich they knew Cæsar exceedingly affected; and it was thought that Bibulus vvas able to worke some-what to that purpose.

Cæsar, at that time, was gone vvith one legion to take-in some townes further off, and to set a course for prouision of Corne, which vvas brought sparingly vnto him; and was then at But hrot, opposite to Corfew. Beeing certified there by Letters from Acilius and Murco, of that which Libo and Bibulus had required, he left the legion, and returned himselfe to Oricum. At his arriuall thither, they vvere called out to treat. Libo came forth, and excused Bibulus, for that he was exceeding cholericke, and had besides conceiued a great anger at Cæsar, about the Aedilitie and Prætorship: and in regard of that, he did shun the Conference, least a matter of that vtility and importance, should be disturbed by his intemperate cariage. Pompey is, and was euer desirous, that matters might be accorded, and that Armes might be laid aside; but they, of themselues, could doe nothing therein; forasmuch as by the generall resolution of a Councell, the superintendency of the vvarre, and the disposition of all things, vvere referred to Pompey: Howbeit, when they vnderstood what Cæsar required, they would send instantly a dispatch vnto Pompey, and be a meanes that he should accomplish all things with good satisfaction. In the meane time, let there be a truce; and vntill an aunswere might be returned from him, let neither Partie offend one another. To this he added some-what concerning the Cause in question. To vvhich, Cæsar did not thinke it fit at that time to make any aunswere: nor doe we thinke there is cause now to make mention thereof.

Cæsar required, that it might bee lawfull for him, to send Embassadours to Pompey vvithout danger; and that they would vndertake, that such as he sent, might be well intreated, or take them into their charge, and bring them safely to Pompey. Concerning the Truce, the course of the vvarre fell out to be so caried, that they, with their Nauie, did keepe his ships and succours from comming vnto him;

him; and he, on the other ſide, did prohibite them frõ landing, or taking in freſh vvater: and if they would haue that graunted vnto them, let them ceaſe guarding of the Coaſt; but if they would continue that, then would he continue the other. Notwithſtanding, hee thought the Treatie of accord might goe on, albeit theſe were not omitted; for, he tooke them to be no impediment therevnto. They vvould neither receiue Cæſars Embaſſadours, nor vndertake for their ſafetie; but referred the whole matter to Pompey: onely they inſtanced, and very vehemently vrged the Truce. But Cæſar, perceiuing that all this ſpeech tended onely to auoid the preſent danger, and to ſupply themſelues of ſuch vvants vvherewith they vvere ſtraightned, and that there was no condition of peace to be expected, he began to thinke of proſecuting the vvarre.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Timendũ ne ſub pacis nomine involutum bellum. Cicero. Phil. 7.

AS in contracting with a Partie, it is duly to be cared, that War be not ſhrowded vnder the faire name of Peace; ſo a Truce demaunded by an Enemy, is to be handled ſparingly & with ſuſpicion: as a thing neuer commonly required, but when neceſsity doth moue them therevnto; and not to be granted, but as it may inferre the like aduantage. But to yeeld to a ſuſpenſion of Armes, aduantageous to an Enemy, & no way gainefull to them that conſent vnto it, is neither allowable by reaſon, nor Cæſars example. And if occaſion proue it requiſite, it muſt be but for a little time: for, a Prince armed in the field, that ſhall entertaine a Truce for any long ſeaſon, ſhall ſee his Armie conſumed both in courage, and in the parts thereof, which will fall aſunder of themſelues; and was the meanes by which Lewis, the eleuenth, put-by Edward the fourth, king of England, from going on with a warre that might haue giuen him the poſſeſsion of the Crowne of France. Whence it is, that ſuch as ſeeke a Peace, deſire no more then a ceſſation of Armes, for ſome reaſonable time, as an introduction inforcing the ſame.

Fœdus Pacis.

Fœdus Cõmercij.

Fœdus mutui Auxilij. 1. Reg. 22.

Concerning leagues, we are to note that there are found three differences. The firſt, is a league of Peace: which by the Apoſtles rule, ſhould extend to all men, *Habete pacem cum omnibus*: and by example of holy Patriarches (Iſack with Abimelech, Iacob with Laban) may lawfully bee made with Heathen Princes; beeing as the golden chaine, that tieth all the Nations of the earth in peaceable communitie. The ſecond, is a league of Entercourſe, ot Cõmerce; which is likewiſe by the ſame Patriach, ſending for Corne into Egypt, and Salomons entercourſe, with Hiram king of Tyre, together with diuers other examples, allowable with Infidels. For, Nature, being rich in variety of commodities, doth therefore diuide her workes amongſt the kingdomes of the earth, that there might be a mutuall entercourſe of exchange, betweene the partes of the ſame. The third, is a league of mutuall Aſsiſtance; ſuch as Iehoſophat made with Achab: & is hardly ſafe with any Prince; but no way allowable with Infidels.

Touching

Touching the Persons to be offered in a Treatie, it is to bee obserued from Bibulus, that no man, whose presence may either giue offence, or whose intemperance may any way interrupt a course sorting to a happy issue, is fit for any such imploiment.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THere were, in Rome, certaine Officers called *Aediles, ab Aedibus*; as hauing the care of houses & buildings, both publique and priuate, that they might be built and maintained in such manner as was agreeable to the ordinances of that State, together with other things whereof they had the charge. *Nunc sum designatus Aedilis* (saith Cicero) *habeo rationem quod à populo Romano acceperim, mihi ludos sanctissimos maxima cum cerimonia, Cereri Liberoque faciendos. Mihi Floram Matrẽ populo plebique Romanæ, ludorum celebritate placandam: mihi ludos antiquissimos qui primi Romani sunt nominati, maxima cum dignitate ac religione, Ioui, Iunoni, Mineruæque esse faciendos. Mihi sacrarum Aedium procurationem; mihi totã vrbem tuendam esse commissam, ob earum rerum laborem et solicitudinẽ fructus illos datos, antiquiorem in senatu sententiæ dicendæ locum. Togam pretextam, cellam curulem, ius imaginis, ad memoriam posteritatémque prodendam.* Wherein it is to be noted, that these shewes and Plaies, were alwaies made and set forth at the charge and costs of the Aediles: and thence it was, that the allowing or disallowing of all Play-bookes belonged vnto them. Moreouer, they had the charge of all the publique buildings and works of the Cittie, together with the prouision of victuall and Corne. And, for the missing of this office, was Bibulus angry with Cæsar; and would not be regained vpon anie condition.

In Verrem.

The publication of their secular Plaies, was cried in these words; *Conuenite ad ludos spectandos, quos neque spectauit quisquam, nec spectaturus est. Sueto. in Claudio.*

Nolentẽ amicũ capere, difficile. Xenop. de factis et dict. Socratis.

CHAP. VI.

Bibulus dieth. Cæsar vseth meanes to procure *a Treaty of Peace; but preuaileth not.*

Bibulus, beeing kept from landing many daies together, and fallen into a grieuous sicknesse, through cold and extreame labour (and hauing no meanes of help, nor yet vvilling to forgoe his charge) could no longer withstand the violence of the disease. Hee beeing dead, there was none appointed to take his charge: but euery man commaunded his owne fleete. The hurly burly beeing quieted, vvhich Cæsars suddaine arriuall had mooued, Vibullius, with the assistance of Libo, together with L. Lucceius, and Theophanes, to whom

Cæsar.

whom Pompey was wont to communicate matters of greateſt importance, reſolued to deliuer what Cæſar had recommended vnto him: & entering into the relation thereof, vvas interrupted by Pompey, forbidding him to ſpeake any further of that matter. What vſe or neede haue I (ſaith he) either of my life, or of the Citty, when I ſhall be thought to enioy it by Cæſars fauour? neither can the opinion thereof be remoued, vntill the warre be ended; that of my ſelfe I returne backe into Italy, from whence I am come.

Cæſar vnderſtood this, from thoſe that were preſent when hee ſpake it: and yet notwithſtanding, hee indeauoured by other meanes, to procure a Parlee of peace. For, the two Campes of Pompey and Cæſar, were onely ſeparated by the Riuer Apſus, that ranne betweene them; where the ſouldiers had often Colloquies, & by agreement amongſt themſelues, threw no vveapon during the time of their treatie. Where-vpon, he ſent P. Vatinius, a Legat, to the Riuer banke, to vtter ſuch things as did chiefely concerne a Peace; and to aske oftentimes with a loud voice, Whether it were not lawfull for Cittizens, to ſend to Cittizens, touching a treaty of peace? being a thing permitted to the Thieues of the Pyreneian Mountaines: or at leaſt, to moue that Cittizens ſhould not in Armes contend with Cittizens? And hauing ſpoken much very reſpectfully, as well concerning his owne well-fare, as the ſafetie of all the reſt, he was heard with ſilence, by the Souldiers on both ſides.

At length, it was aunſwered from the other Party, that A. Varro did offer himſelfe for a conference the next day; ſo that the Commiſsioners on both ſides, might come and goe in ſafety, and deliuer freely their opinions: for vvhich, a certaine time was then appointed. The next day, great multitudes of either ſide, preſented themſelues at the place aſsigned; and great was the expectation thereof, euery man ſeeming to incline to peace. Out of vvhich troope ſtept foorth T. Labienus, and ſpake ſoftly touching the peace: and at laſt, entered into altercation with Vatinius. In the middle of their ſpeech, were vveapons ſuddenlie caſt from all parts: which hee auoided, beeing couered and defended with Armes. Notwithſtanding, many were vvounded; and amongſt others, Cornelius Balbus, M. Plotius, L. Tiburtus, Centurions, beſides many other ſouldiers. Then ſaid Labienus, Leaue off, therefore, to ſpeake of any compoſition: for, vnleſſe Cæſars head be brought, there can be no peace.

OBSERVATIONS.

THis ſmall peece of the Storie, containeth diuers notable paſſages of extreamitie, in the cariage of Pompey, and others of his Partizans. As firſt (to take them as they lie) that of vvilfulneſſe in Bibulus: whō neither ſickneſſe, nor deſpaire of helpe, could moue to intermit the taske he had vndertaken; but choſe rather to ſuffer vnto death, in approuing his zeale to the Cauſe, then to giue himſelfe a breathing time for the ſauing of his life: and may ſerue to admoniſh any other Bibulus, to value his life aboue that, which a ſtiffe and wilfull opinion may leade him vnto, beyond the meaſure of honorable

honourable indeauour, or what elſe may any way be iuſtly expected; leaſt in ſtriuing to doe much, hee happen to doe nothing: for, that cannot be vnderſtood to bee vvell done in an other mans behalfe, that is not well done in his owne.

Fruſtra ſapit, qui ſibi non ſapit.

The ſecond, is Pompeis reſolution; beeing ſo extreame, as no compoſition, or other thing whatſoeuer, could giue him ſatisfaction, but onely a victorious end of that warre. Our prouerbe ſaith, Better a leane agreement, then a fat remedie. And the caſualties of warre, may moue an experienced Commaunder, to imbrace a ſafe and quiet peace; as knowing, that he that goeth about to vex another, ſhall haue his turne of ſuffering the like miſseaſes: and as warre beginneth, when one partie liſteth, ſo it endeth, when the other ſide pleaſeth.

——facilis deſcenſus Auerni:
Sed reuocare gradum, ſuperáſque evadere ad oras,
Hoc opus, hic labor eſt.

Aenead. 6.

And therefore, let no Commaunder, how great ſoeuer, refuſe all peace, but that which is bought by extreamitie of warre; leaſt the euent (whereof there can be no aſſurance) fall out as it happened to Pompey: but rather with the vſe, let him learne the end of Armes: which is, to make ſtraight that which is crooked; and out of diſcord and diſſenſion, to draw meanes of a happie peace.

To which may be added, that other of Labienus, as farre in extreamitie as either of the former; whom nothing would ſatisfie but Cæſars head. It cannot be denied, but that he ſtrooke at the roote; for, his head, was the head of that warre. But to ſay it, rather then to doe it, was no argument of Labienus worthineſſe. For, as Polybius noteth; It is common to moſt men to magnifie themſelues, with words full of wind: yea, and more then that, to follow their deſsignes with impetuous violence. But, to direct their vndertakings to a ſucceſsfull iſſue, and to remoue by induſtrie, or prouidence, ſuch hinderances as happen to trauerſe their hopes, is granted but to a few; and now denied to Labienus, notwithſtanding this Brauado. And therefore, let ſuch Commaunders, as are in good opinion and eſteeme with their Generall, bee well wary of imbarking their partie in any cauſe, further then may beſeeme the wiſdome and experience of iudicious Leaders; as belieuing in that of Metellus to king Bocchus: *Omne bellum ſumi facilè, cæterum acerrimè deſinere: non in eiuſdem poteſtate initium eius et finem eſſe: incipere cuiuis etiam ignauo licere; deponi, cùm victores velint.*

Lib. 16.

Succeſſum fortuna, experientiam laus ſequitur. Varro, ex Gellio.

Saluſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Cælius Rufus, moueth ſedition in Italie, *and is ſlaine.*

Cæſar.

AT the ſame time, M. Cælius Rufus, the Prætor at Rome, vndertaking the buſineſs of debts, in the beginning of his Magiſtracie, placed his ſeate by the Chaire of C. Trebonius, Prætor of the towne; promiſing to be aſsiſting to any man, that vvould appeale vnto him, concerning valuation and paiment to be performed by Arbitrators, according as Cæſar had ordained. But it came to paſſe, as well through the equity and indifferencie of the Decree, as through the lenitie of Trebonius (who was of opinion, that thoſe times required an eaſie and milde execution of iuſtice) that none vvere found, from vvhom the beginning of the Appeale might growe, for to pretend pouertie, or to complaine of particular misfortune, and of the calamity of thoſe times; or otherwiſe, to propound the difficulties of ſelling their goods by an out-rope, was euery mans practice: but for any man to acknowledge himſelfe to bee in debt, and yet to keepe his poſſeſsions whole and vntouched, was held a very ſtrange impudencie: ſo that there was no man found that would require it.

Moreouer, Cælius caried a very hard hand, to ſuch as ſhould haue receiued benefite thereby. And hauing made this enterance (to the end he might not ſeeme to haue vndertooke a ſhamefull or diſhoneſt cauſe) he publiſhed a law, That there ſhould be no Intereſt paid, for any Monies let out vpon conſideration, for thirtie ſixe daies of the time agreed on. But when he perceiued, that Seruilius the Conſull, and the reſt of the Magiſtrates did oppoſe themſelues againſt him, therein, and finding it not to ſort with his expectation (to the end hee might incite and ſtirre vp the humours and ſpirits of men) hee abrogated that law, and in ſteede thereof, made two others. The one, which cut off the yeerely rents that Tenants vvere accuſtomed to pay their Land-lords, for the houſes they dwelt in: and the other, Touching new aſſurances, and the aboliſhing of old debts. Where-vpon, the multitude ranne violently vpon him, and (hauing hurt diuers that ſtood about him) pulled him out of his Chaire.

*Of theſe things, Seruilius the Conſull made relation to the Senate: who thervpon decreed, That Cælius ſhould be remoued frō his Prætorſhip. And by meanes of that Arreſt, the Conſull interdicted him the Senate, and alſo drew him from the * Speaking Place, as he vvent about to make a ſpeech to the people. Cælius, mooued with ſhame and deſpight, made as though hee would goe to Cæſar; but ſent Meſſengers ſecretly to Milo, condemned to banishment for killing Clodius. And hauing recalled him into Italy, that by great gifts and revvards had gained to his party the remainder of the Company of Fencers, hee ioyned himſelfe with him: and then ſent him before to Thurin, to excite and ſtirre vp the Shepheards to ſedition; he himſelfe going to Caſſeline.*

* Roſtra.

At

At the same instant, his Ensignes and Armes beeing staied at Capua, besides his family suspected at Naples, and their attempt against the towne, perceiued; their other dessignes beeing discouered, and their Partizans shut out of Capua: fearing some danger, forasmuch as the inhabitants had tooke Armes, and held him as an Enemy, hee let fall his former determination, and brake off his iourney.

In the meane vvhile, Milo, hauing sent Letters to the Municipall townes, that vvhat he did, was by the authority and commaundement of Pompey, according as he receiued it from Bibulus, he applied himselfe, and solicited such as vvere in debt: vvith whom preuailing nothing, hee brake vp diuers prisons, and began to assault Cosa in Thurin: & there he was slaine by Q. Pedius the Prætor, with a stone which he cast from the vvall.

Cælius, going on (as he gaue out) towards Cæsar, hee came to Tury, vvhere, vvhen he had mooued diuers of the Inhabitants, and promised money to the French and Spanish Caualrie, which Cæsar had put there for a Guarizon, he was in the end slaine by them. And so the beginning of great Matters, which put all Italy in feare and trouble, by the indirect practises of the Magistrates, and the iniquitie of the times, had a speedy and easie end.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is to be noted, for the better vnderstanding these Passages, that of those which were chosen Prætors, the two chiefest remained at Rome; the one, to administer iustice to the Cittizens, which was called *Prætor Vrbanus*, who in the absence of the Consull, had the superintendencie of the affaires of the State, assembled the Senate, receiued Packets, made Dispatches, and gaue order in all things: which place was now supplied by Trebonius. The other was called *Prætor Peregrinus:* whose office was, to order the causes and sutes of forrainers and strangers; where-vnto Cælius was chosen: and, beeing of a turbulent and vnquiet spirit, tooke occasion vpon this rent in the State, to raise new garboiles, fit for his owne purposes; as hauing learned, what Aristotle teacheth, That all things which are already stirred, are more easily mooued, then other natures, that are yet in quiet. And there-vpon, hauing power by his office, to decide causes of Controuersie, hee remoued his Tribunall, and placed it hard-by where Trebonius sate, to the end he might oppose the Decrees he made, for the prising of goods, to satisfie Creditors, and draw the people to appeale vnto him; publishing with-all, certaine dangerous Edicts, on the behalfe of those that were in debt.

Omnia commota facilius quàm quiescentia mouentur. De Mechanicis.

This Cælius was Ciceros scholler, for Oratorie; and in the opinion of Quintilian, was thought worthy to haue liued longer, if he had been of a staied and settled cariage; but now must stand for an example of a wilfull Magistrate.

Touching *Rostra*, which I haue translated the Speaking-place, it vvas a part of their *Forum*, vvhere the Consulls, and other Magistrates, spake vnto the people, wherein was built a Chaire or Pulpit, of the beake-heads of ships, which

Liuie, lib. 8.

which the Romaines tooke from the *Antiatij*, and there-vpon tooke the name of *Roſtra*; memorable amongſt other things, for-that Antonie ſette Tullies head betweene his two hands, in the Chaire, where he had often ſpoken moſt eloquently, and with as many good words, as were euer found in humane Oratorie.

Liuie. li. 8. Plutarch.

CHAP. VIII.

Libo taketh an Iland right ouer-againſt the Hauen *of Brunduſium; and is beaten off* by a ſtratagem.

Cæſar.

Ibo, departing from Oricum, with his fleete of fifty ſhippes, came to Brunduſium, and tooke an Iland, which lieth ouer-againſt the Hauen, as a place of great importance, by which our Army muſt neceſſarily come forth: & ſhutting in all the Ports, and parts of that ſhore, as alſo ſurpriſing by his ſuddaine comming, certaine ſhippes of burthen, hee ſette all on fire, ſauing one laden vvith Corne, vvhich hee tooke along vvith him. Whereby he put our men into a great feare; and landing certaine ſouldiers and horſemen in the night time, hee diſlodged the Caualrie that vvere there in Guariſon: and ſo preuailed, through the aduantage of the Place, as hee vvrit to Pompey, that he might draw the other ſhipping on ſhore, and new trimme them; for, hee vvould vnder-take, with his fleet alone, to hinder thoſe forces from comming to Cæſar.

Antonius vvas then at Brunduſium: and truſting to the valour of the ſouldiers, armed out threeſcore Skiffes, belonging to great Shippes; and fencing them vvith hurdles and planks, put certaine choice ſouldiers in them, diſpoſing them in ſeuerall places along the ſhore: and further cõmaunded two Triremes (which hee had cauſed to bee made at Brunduſium, for the exerciſe of the ſouldiers in rowing) to goe out to the mouth of the Hauen.

Libo, perceiuing theſe to come out ſome-what looſely, and hoping to intercept them, ſent out fiue Quadriremes to attack them: which vvere no ſooner come neere vnto our ſhippes, but the old ſouldiers that were aboard, fledde backe into the Port.

The Enemy, caried on vvith a deſire of taking them, preaced after ſomewhat raſhly, and vnaduiſedly: vvhen at length, vpon a ſignall giuen, the Skiffes came ſuddainely out from all parts, ſette vpon them, and at the firſt ſhock tooke one of the Quadriremes, vvith all the oare-men and ſouldiers in her; the reſt, they compelled to flie away ſhamefully. To vvhich loſſe, this vvas further added, that they vvere kept from vvater, by the Caualry vvhich Antonius had diſpoſed along the Coaſt: through neceſsity vvherof (as alſo by reaſon of the ignominie receiued) Libo departed from Brunduſium, and gaue ouer the ſiege.

Many

Many moneths vvere now past, and the Winter came hard on, and yet neyther the shipping nor the legions, came from Brundusium to Cæsar. And some opportunities seemed to be omitted, for that the wind was good oftẽtimes; which Cæsar thought they would haue taken. And the longer they staied there, the straighter was all the Coast guarded and kept, by such as commaunded the fleet; beeing now in great hope to hinder their passage. Which they did the rather indeauour, because they vvere oftentimes reproued by Letters from Pompey, for-that they did not impeach Cæsars comming at first: which hee did to make them the more carefull, to hinder those supplies. And, in attending so from day to day an opportunity of passage, it vvould wexe worse & worse, the winds growing more easie and gentle.

OBSERVATIONS.

BY how much easier it is to keepe the out-let of one Port, then to guard the Coast of a large Country: by so much was Libo more likely to preuaile, in seeking to shut vp the Hauen of Brundusium, to hinder these supplies from cõming vnto Cæsar; then the other, that went about to guard all the Maritimate parts of Epirus, to keepe them from landing, after they were at Sea.

But such is the vncertaintie of enterprises of vvarre, that albeit our course be rightly shapen, yet it doth often faile of leading vs to that which is desired. For, howsoeuer hee was possessed of this Iland, that lay thwart the mouth of the Hauen, and had thrust out the guard of horsemen, and so became confident of blocking vp the Port: yet there was means found by the aduerse Partie, to giue him such an affront, as made him quit the place with more dishonour, then could be recompenced by any thing he got.

Incertæ sunt res bellicæ. Thucid.

CHAP. IX.

Cæsars supplies passe ouer into Greece, *and take landing.*

Cæsar.

CAesar, troubled at these things, vvrit very sharply to them at Brundusium, not to omit the opportunity of the next good vvind, but to put to Sea, and to shape their course to Oricum, or to the Coast of Apolonia; because there they might runne their ships on ground: & these places were freest from Guardes, by reason they could not ride farre from the Ports.

They, according to their accustomed courage and valour (Marcus Antonius, and Fusius Calenus directing the businesse, and the Souldiours them-selues beeing forvvard there-vnto, as refusing no danger for Cæsars sake) hauing

got a South vvind, waied Anchor, and the next day, paſſed by Apolonia and Dyrrachium: but beeing diſcouered from the Continent, Quintus Coponius, Admirall of the Rhodian Nauie, lying at Dyrrachium, brought his ſhippes out of the Hauen. And as he had almoſt (vpon a ſlack wind) ouer-taken our men, the ſame South wind began at length to blowe ſtiffe, by which meanes they eſcaped: yet did not he deſiſt from purſuing them; but was in hope, by the labour & induſtrie of the Mariners, to ouer-way the force of the tempeſt, and followed them, notwithſtanding they were paſt Dyrrachium, with a large wind. Our men vſing the fauour of Fortune, were neuertheleſſe afraid of the Enemies Nauie, if the wind ſhould chance to ſlacke: & hauing got the Port called Nimphaum, three miles beyond Liſſus, they put in with their ſhippes.

This Port lay ſheltered from the South-weſt vvind, but was not ſafe from a South vvind: howſoeuer; they accounted an ill roade leſſe dangerous then the Enemies fleete: & yet they were no ſooner put in, but the wind (which had blown ſoutherly for two daies together) did now moſt happily come about to the South-weſt.

And heere a man may ſee the ſuddaine alteration of Fortune; for, they which of late ſtood in feare of a dangerous Roade, were now by that occaſion, receiued into a ſafe harbour: and thoſe which threatned danger to them, vvere forced to bethinke themſelues of their owne ſafetie. So that the time thus changing, ſaued our Partie, and ſunke theirs. Inſomuch, as ſixteene of the Rhodian ſhippes were all ſhaken in peeces, and periſhed with ſhipwrack; and of the great number of oare-men and ſouldiers, part were daſhed againſt the Rocks & ſlaine, and part were taken vp by our men: all which, Cæſar ſent home in ſafetie. Two of our ſhippes comming ſhort, and ouer-taken with the night, and not knowing where the reſt had taken ſhore, ſtoode at an Anchor, right ouer againſt Liſſus. Them did Otacilius Craſſus, Gouernour of Liſſus, goe about to take with Skiffes, and other little ſhippes, which he had prepared for that purpoſe; & withall, treated with them, of yeelding themſelues, promiſing life and ſafety, vpon that condition.

One of the ſhippes carried two hundred and twentie men, of the legion made of young ſouldiers; in the other, vvere leſſe then two hundred old Souldiers. And heere a man may ſee, vvhat aſſurance and ſafety conſiſteth in courage and valour of mind; for, the new made ſouldiers, terrified with the multitude of ſhippes that came againſt them, and ſpent vvith Sea-ſickneſſe, vpon oath made not to receiue any hurt, did yield themſelues to Otacilius: vvho, being brought all vnto him, vvere contrary to his oath, moſt cruelly ſlaine in his ſight. But the ſouldiers of the old Legions (howſoeuer afflicted vvith the inconuenience of the tempeſt, and noiſomneſſe of the Pumpe) did not ſlacke any thing of their ancient valour: for, hauing dravven out the firſt part of the night in conditions of treatie, as though they meant to yeeld themſelues, they compelled the Maiſter to runne his ſhippe a-ſhore: and hauing got a conuenient place, they there ſpent the reſt of the night.

As ſoone as it was day, Otacilius ſent foure hundred horſe, which had the guard of that part of the coaſt, with others of the guarizon, to aſſault and take them:

them: but they, valiantly defending themselues, slew diuers of them; and so got to our men in safetie. Where-vpon, the Romaine Cittizens, residing in Lissus (vvhich towne, Cæsar had formerly giuen them to bee kept and guarded) receiued-in Antonius, and assisted him with all things needfull. Otacilius, fearing himselfe, fled out of the towne, and came to Pompey.

Antonius sent backe the greatest part of the shippes that had brought ouer his troopes (vvhich were three legions of old souldiers, one of new souldiers, and eight hundred horse) to transport the rest of the souldiers, and horse, that remained at Brundusium: leauing the Pontones, which are a kind of French shipping, at Lissus; to this end, that if happely Pompey, thinking Italy to be emptie and vnfurnished, should cary ouer his Army thither, Cæsar might haue meanes to follow him: and withall, sent Messengers speedily to Cæsar, to let him knowe vvhere the Armie vvas landed, and what men he had brought ouer.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Olus an virtus quis in hoste requirat, is not so iustifiable by the lawes of true vertue, as that of Achilles; who professed to hate that man more then the gates of hell, that promised one thing, and purposed another. Neither do the Iutistes conclude otherwise; hauing, for the more apparencie of truth, drawne it to a Question, *An perfidia in perfidum vti, Ius sit?* alleaging Labienus practice, against Comius of Arras, together with that which admitteth no Aunswer, that their example standeth as a president, to deale with them, as they deale with others. But, to falsifie religion, as Otacilius did, and to make an oath the Broaker of vnworthy ends, is abhorred by God and Man, and accordingly succeedeth.

Aenead. 2. Homer 9. Iliad.

Hirtius lib. 8. de bello Gallico.

The most remarkeable instance in this kind, is that (which is to be vvished were forgotten) of Lewis King of Hungaria: who, hauing concluded the honourablest peace, that euer Christian Prince had before that time made, with any of the Turkish Sultanes, and confirmed the same by an oath, taken vpon the holy Euangelist, did neuertheleſſe, at the perswasion of Iulian, a Cardinall (who tooke vpon him, by power from the Pope, to disannull the league, & absolue him from the oath) breake the peace, & gaue battell to Amurath at Varna (where the Infidell tooke occasion impiously to blaspheme, in calling for vengeance on such, as in their deedes had denied the God-head of their most sacred and blessed Lord) and was there slaine, to the vtter ruine of his kingdome, and the reproche of Christian Name. Neither did the Cardinall escape the vengeance, which his treacherie had drawne vpon that roiall Armie: but beeing there wounded vnto death, was found lying in the high way, by *Gregorie Sanose*, ready to giue vp the ghoste; & seemed but to stay to take with him, the bitter curses of such as passed by, flying from the battell, as the due reward of his perfidious absolution.

Vladislaus.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

Audaces fortuna iuuat. Virtus omnia poteſt. Virtute faciendũ eſt, quicquid in rebus bellicis eſt gerendum.

IN caſe of difficultie and hazard (as Cæſar noteth) there is alwaies great helpe in a good courage. For, whether it be, that good hap attendeth a valourous cariage, or that vertue bee able to remoue all oppoſition, or what other cauſe there is beſides; but thus it falleth out, that ſuch as entertaine a noble reſolution, are euer ſafeſt in extreamitie of perill; and in ſteed of loſſe, get honour and renowne.

Plutarch.

Braſidas found a Mouſe amongſt dried figs, which bit him ſo that hee let her goe, and there-vpon ſaid, to thoſe that ſtood by; That there was nothing ſo little, that could not ſaue it ſelfe, if it had a hart to defend it ſelfe againſt ſuch as aſſaulted it.

6 Metamorpho.

And heerein we may obſerue that to be true, which the Poet hath deliuered; *Seris venit vſus ab annis:* Time and Practice, doe much auaile to perfit this courage in the mindes of Men of Warre; as knowing afore-hand the weight of ſuch labours, and hauing incountered the like dangers, euen to the redeeming of themſelues from the iawes of death. Whence it is, that the Comick ſaith, No man can poſsibly come ſo well furniſhed to any courſe of life, but that time and experience doe alwaies teach him what he knew not before: where-as others, that goe raw lie to worke, are ſo daunted with the vnuſuall lookes of war, as they (forgetting the profeſsion of Armes) doe run head-long into the danger they ſeeke to auoid; beeing able to giue no other account of their ſeruice, but that they marched Many bodies, and but a few Men.

Nunquam ita quiſquam bene ſubducta ratione ad vitam fuit, quin res, ætas, vſus, ſemper aliquid adportet noui. Teren. Adelp.

Multi homines, pauci viri. Herod. lib. 7.

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

PLutarch, Valerius Maximus, Appian, Suetonius, and Lucan, doe all write, that Cæſar, impatient of the ſtay of his forces at Brunduſium, imbarked himſelfe in a ſmall Frigat, of twelue oares, diſguiſed in the habit of a ſlaue, and put to ſea to fetch his Legions; notwithſtanding, all the Coaſt ſwarmed with the Enemies ſhipping: but meeting with a cõtrarie wind, which would not ſuffer him to get out of the Riuer Anius, the Maiſter commaunded the Mariners to caſt about, and get to ſhore. Wher-vpon, Cæſar diſcouering himſelfe, incouraged him to goe forward, for-that he carried Cæſar and his fortunes.

Livie ſaith, that the Romaines at the ſiege of Veiente, being out of humane hope, turned their eyes to Fate, and the hope they had in Deſtinie.

The Maiſter, forgetting all danger, made out againe, to get to ſea; but was by force of the tempeſt driuen to returne, to Cæſars great griefe. And albeit there is no mention made heereof in theſe Commentaries, yet the authoritie of ſo many graue Authors, is not to be contemned.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Cæsar hasteth to meet with Antonius, and *preuenteth Pompey.*

Caesar and Pompey, had both intelligence, almost at one instant of time, of Antonius fleet; for, they saw it passe by Apolonia, and Dyrrachium, and directed their iourneys along the Coast after them: but they vnderstood not for a vvhile vvhere they were landed. Howbeit, hauing notice thereof, either of them tooke a contrarie resolution. For, Cæsar purposed to ioyne with Antonius, as soone as possibly he might: and Pompey resolued to hinder their meeting, and by ambushments (if he could) to set vpon them at vnawares. Cæsar.

The same day, either of them drew their Armie out of their standing Camps, vpon the Riuer Apsus: Pompey secretly, and by night; Cæsar openly, and by day: but Cæsar had the greater circuit to fetch, and a longer iourney to goe vp the Riuer, to find a Foord. Pompey, hauing a ready way, and no Riuer to passe, made towards Antonius by great iourneys: and when hee vnderstood that hee came neere vnto him, chose a conuenient place, and there bestowed his forces; keeping eucry man vvithin the Campe, and forbidding fires to be made, that his cõming might be the more hidden. Whereof Antonius beeing presently aduertised by the Greekes, he dispatched Messengers to Cæsar, and kept himselfe one day vvithin his Campe. The next day, Cæsar came vnto him. Vpon notice thereof, Pompey left that place; least he should be intrapped betweene two Armies, and came with all his forces to Asparagus (which appertained to them of Dyrrachium) and there, in a conuenient place, pitched his Campe.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHere two Armies are in a Countrey, and one of them hath succours comming to renforce them, each of those Parties, are by the example of these glorious Commaunders (*cæteris paribus*) to make towards those succours: the one, to cut them off; and the other, to keepe thē standing. And to that end, it suted Pompeis condition to go secretly; howsoeuer Cæsar noteth it, as a touch to his valour: so on the other side, it stood not onely well enough with Cæsars Party, to goe openly, but also was an argument of his courage and magnanimity, and might raise him estimation in the opinion of the Greekes. The disaduantage which Pompey could take thereby, was the danger to bee inclosed with Armies: which he, foreseeing, auoided.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Scipios preparation in Aſia, to come into *Greece, to aſsiſt Pompey.*

Caſar. A hill, ſeparating Syria from Cilicia.

Bout this time, Scipio, hauing ſuſtained diuers loſſes, neere the Mount Amanum, did neuertheleſſe call himſelfe by the name of Imperator; and, there-vpon, commaunded great ſummes of money to be leuied of the Citties and Potentates of thoſe quarters: taking, frõ the generall Receiuers of that Prouince, all the Moneies that vvere in their hands for two yeeres paſt, and commaunding them to disburſe (by vvay of loane) the receit for the yeere to come; and requiring horſemen to be leuied throughout all the Prouince. Hauing gathered theſe together, hee left the Parthians, being neere Enemies vnto him (vvho a little before had ſlaine M. Craſſus, the Generall, and beſieged M. Bibulus) and drew the ligions out of Syria; beeing ſent ſpecially thither to keepe and ſettle that Prouince, much amuzed through feare of the Parthian vvarre.

At his departure, ſome ſpeeches vvere giuen-out by the ſouldiers, that if they vvere ledde againſt an Enemy, they vvould goe; but againſt a Cittizen and Conſull, they would not beare Armes. The Army beeing brought to Pergamum, and there guarizoned for that Winter in diuers rich Citties, he diſtributed great largeſſe and gifts; and for the better aſſuring of the ſouldier vnto him, gaue them certaine Citties to rifle.

Columnar a Oſtiaria.

In the meane time, he made bitter and heauie exactions of money, throughout all the Prouince: for, he put a tribute vpon ſlaues and free-men by pole, ſet impoſitions vpon the pillars and doores of houſes, as alſo vpon graine, oare-men, armes, ingines, and cariages; and whatſoeuer had a name, was thought fitte to yeeld money, by way of impoſition: and that not onely in Citties and Townes, but almoſt in euery Village and Caſtle: wherein, he that caried himſelfe moſt cruelly, was held both the vvorthieſt man, and the beſt Cittizen.

The Prouince was at that time full of Officers and Commaundements, peſtered with Ouer-ſeers and Exactors: vvho, beſides the money leuied by publique authoritie, made their particular profit by the like exactions. For, they gaue-out, they vvere thruſt out of their houſes, and their Countrey, and in want of all neceſſaries; to the end they might with ſuch pretences, couer their wicked & hatefull courſes. To this vvas added, the hard and heauie Vſury, which oftentimes doth accompany vvarre, when all moneyes are drawen and exacted to the publique: vvherein the forbearance of a day, vvas accounted a diſcharge for the vvhole. Whereby it happened, that in thoſe two yeeres, the whole Prouince vvas ouer-growne with debts: and yet, for all that, they ſtuck not to leuie round ſums of money, not onely from the Cittizens of Rome, inhabiting in that Prouince; but alſo, vpon euery Corporation, and particular Cittie: which they gaue out, vvas

by

by way of loane, according to a Decree of Senate, commaunding the Receiuers to aduaunce the like summe by way of loane, for the yeere to come.

Moreouer, Scipio gaue order, that the Moneis vvhich of old time had beene treasured-vp in the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, should be taken out, with other Images of that Goddesse: but as hee came into the Temple (hauing called vnto him many of the Senators that were there present) hee receiued a Dispatch from Pompey, That Cæsar had passed the Sea with his legions; and that, setting all things apart, hee should hasten to him with his Armie. These Letters beeing receiued, he dismissed such as he had called vnto him, and beganne to dispose of his iourney into Macedonia, setting forward vvithin a few daies after: by vvhich accident, the Treasure at Ephesus was saued.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is Seneca his conceit, that Iron, beeing of that excellent vse in things pertaining to Mans life, and yet so much vnder-valued to Gold and Siluer, will admit of no peace, as often as there is question of Money; but raiseth continuall garboiles & extreamities, as a reuenge that the World doth misvalue it: and fell out as true in those better Ages, as it dooth in these daies, that are of baser Metall. For, what greater violences in the State of Rome, then those concerning Tributes and Impositions? A particular whereof, may be made out of this Chapter. For, first, wee find a Tribute by pole, without respect of state or condition; which they called *Capitatio.* And then a second, as grieuous as that, beeing a taxe laid vpon euerie dore in a house, which they called *Ostiaria:* whereof Tully maketh mention, in the eight Epistle of his third Booke. And lastly, an other vpon euery piller in a mans house, which they called *Columnaria:* mentioned likewise by Cicero, *Columnarium vide vt nullum debeamus.* Howbeit, Alciatus vnderstandeth this, to be that we read in Dionysius Halicarnasseus, That when Treasure failed at the siege of Modena, they laid an Imposition vpon euery tile that was found on the Senators houses in Rome: which gaue the *Trium-virat* occasion, to make the tiles as heauie to the rest of the Romaine Cittizens; and this, saith he, was called *Columnaria.*

Propter Aurum et Argentum nunquã pacem facit ferrum. li. 14. Epist. 93. Ferrum omnis artis instrumentum. Aurum et argentum mortis Mancipia. Epicletus.

Capitatio.

Ostiaria.

Columnaria. 13 ad Atticum. Epist. 1.

Some Popes, out of their occasions, haue gone farre in this kind, & found meanes to lay Impositions vpon all things pertaining to the vse of man. Insomuch as Pasquill begged leaue to dry his shirt in the Sunne, before there were an Imposition laid vpon the Light. The rule is diuersly giuen in this behalfe, That the Fiske doe not swell aboue his proportion. Alexander is commended for making his Subiects the keepers of his Treasure. And Claudianus, giueth Honorius this Elogium;

Nec tua priuatis crescunt æraria damnis.

Basilius aduiseth, that money thus raised, be not at any time dipped, either in the teares or in the blood of the people. But Tully draweth it to a more certaintie, by making Necessitie the square of such cõmaunds. *Da operam* (saith hee)

In the Papacie of Sixt. Quintus.

Fiscus reipub. lieni quòd eo crescente, artus reliqui tabescunt. Sext. Aurelius Victor. In Paranet.

2 De offic.

hee) *vt omnes intelligant, ſi ſalui eſſe velint, neceſsitati eſſe parendum.* And ſo the opening of priuate mens purſes, is but to keepe them ſhut and ſafe, from ſuch Enemies as would conſume all; according as Scipio once aunſwered, when the Romaines blamed him, for ſpending their Treaſure: Howſoeuer, Scipio knew well what he did, in getting into his hand ſuch ſtore of Treaſure; for, Warre cannot any way be maintained, but with plenty of Money: neither can any State continue, if the reuenew which ſupporteth the Common-weale, bee abated; as Tacitus hath well obſerued, *Diſſoluitur imperium, ſi fructus quibus reſpub. ſuſtinetur diminuantur.*

Plutarch. Bella ſuſtentantur pecuniarum abundantia. Dion. Halicar. lib. 6.

Annal. 13.

CHAP. XII.

Cæſar ſendeth forces into Theſſalia, Aetolia *and Macedonia; Scipio commeth* into Greece.

Cæſar.

Aeſar, beeing ioyned vvith Antonius, drew that legion out of Oricum, which hee had formerly lodged there, to keepe the Sea-coaſt; and thought it expedient to make triall of the Prouinces, and to aduaunce further into the Countrey. And, vvhere-as Embaſſadours came vnto him out of Theſſalia & Aetolia, aſſuring, that if hee would ſend forces to protect them, the Citties of thoſe Prouinces would readily obay what hee commaunded: Hee ſent L. Caſsius Longinus, with the legion of young ſouldiers, called the ſeauen and twentith, and two hundred horſe, into Theſſalia: and C. Caluitius Sabinus, with fiue cohorts, and a few horſe, into Aetolia; exhorting them ſpecially, to take a courſe for prouiſion of Corne in thoſe two Prouinces, which lay neere at hand.

*He ſent likewiſe Cn. Domitius Caluinus, with two legions, the eleuenth and the twelfth, and fiue hundred horſe into Macedonia: of which Prouince (for that part thereof, which is called Franke or Free) Menedemus, a principall man of that Countrey, beeing ſent as an Embaſſador, had profeſſed exceeding great forwardneſſe on their behalfe. Of theſe, Caluitius, vpon his comming, was entertained with great affection of the Aetolians: and, hauing caſt the Guariſon of the Enemy out of Caledone and * Naupactum, became Maiſter of all Aetolia. Caſsius arriued vvith the legion in Theſſalia; and finding there two Factions, was accordingly receiued, with contrary affections.*

Quæ libera appellabatur.

** Lepanto.*

Egeſaſetus, a man of ancient power and authoritie, fauoured Pompeis partie: and Petreius, a man of a moſt noble houſe, endeauoured by all meanes, to deſerue vvell of Cæſar. At the ſame time alſo, came Domitius into Macedonia: and as Embaſſadours began to come thicke vnto him, from diuers States of that Prouince, it was told him, that Scipio vvas at hand with the legions, and came with great

great fame and opinion of all men: vvhich is oftentimes a fore-runner of nouelties. He, making no stay in any part of Macedonia, marched directly with great furie towards Domitius; and when he came vvithin twenty miles of him, turned his course suddainely, to Cassius Longius, in Thessalia: which he did so speedilie, that newes came together of his comming, and of his arriuall. For, to the end he might march with greater expedition, he left M. Fauonius at the Riuer Haliacmon (vvhich diuideth Macedonia from Thessalia) vvith eight cohorts, to keepe the cariages of the legions: vvhere hee commaunded them to build a Fort.

In Macedonia, quæ velint sibi candida nasci, ad Haliacmon ducere, quæ nigra et fusca ad Axium.

At the same time, the Caualrie of King Cottus, which vvas wont to keepe in the Confines of Thessalia, came flying suddainely to Cassius Campe: whereat, he beeing astonished (vnderstanding of Scipios comming, and seeing the horsemen, whom he thought to be his) made towards the hills which inclose Thessalia, and from thence marched towards Ambracia. And, as Scipio made haste to follow after, Letters ouer-tooke him, sent from Fauonius, that Domitius was at hand with the legions, and that he could not hold the place wherein hee was left, without Scipios helpe.

Vpon the receit of vvhich Letters, Scipio altered both his purpose and his iourney; & leauing Cassius, made haste to help Fauonius: so that continuing his iourney night and day, he came vnto him in very good time. For, as the dust of Domitius Armie, approaching, was seene to rise, the fore-runners of Scipio his Armie was likewise discouered. Whereby it happened, that as Domitius industry did helpe Cassius, so did Scipio his speede saue Fauonius.

OBSERVATIONS.

CAesar, beeing now ready with his forces to proceed against Pompey; the first thing he did, was to make triall of the Prouinces of Greece, and to get their fauour and assistance, for his better furtherance in contesting his Aduersarie. For, as an Armie standeth firme by two speciall meanes, first, in themselues, as they are able to resist any opposing force; and secondly, through the fauour of the Country, wherein they are ingaged: so, on the other side, their ouer-throw either proceedeth frō their owne weakenesse; or otherwise, when the Prouinces adioyning, doe refuse such mutuall respects, as may relieue the wants of a consuming multitude. And therfore, hauing got all the forces together which he looked for, or could any way expect, hee sent out to try the affection of the Countrey, and to alter that in a moment, which Pompey had beene settling for a yeere together, and then resolued to attack him neerer.

And doubtlesse, if Scipio had not by chaunce interrupted their course, vpon his comming out of Asia, to aide Pompey, they had as easily got all Thessalia and Macedonia, as they did Aetolia: and were neuertheless so ordered & disposed, as they got more honour of Scipio, then he could win of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Paſſages betweene Domitius *and Scipio.*

Cæſar.

Cipio aboade two daies in his ſtanding Campe, vpon the Riuer Haliacmon, which ranne betweene him and Domitius Campe. The third day, as ſoone as it began to be light, he paſſed his Armie ouer the Riuer by a Foord, and incamped himſelfe. The next day in the morning, he imbatteled his forces before the front of his Campe. Domitius, in like manner, made no difficultie of bringing out his legions, reſoluing to fight. And whereas there lay a field of ſixe miles, betweene both the Campes, he led his troopes imbattelled vnder Scipios Campe; who neuertheleſſe refuſed to moue any iote from his ſtanding: yet for all that, Domitius ſouldiers were hardly kept from giuing battell: but ſpecially a Riuer, lying vnder Scipios Campe, with broken and vneaſie bankes, did hinder them at that time.

Scipio, vnderſtanding of their alacrity, and deſire to fight; ſuſpecting it might happen, that the next day he ſhould be forced to fight againſt his will, or vvith great diſhonour keepe himſelfe vvithin his Campe, hauing vvith great expectation in the beginning, gone on raſhly, and vnaduiſedly, was now dishonoured vvith a reproachfull end. For, in the night time he roſe, vvithout anie noiſe or vvarning for the truſing vp of the baggage; and paſsing the Riuer, returned the ſame vvay he came: and in an eminent place, neere vnto the Riuer, he pitched his Campe.

A few daies after, he laid an ambuſhment of horſemen in a place, vvhere our men had formerly accuſtomed to forrage. And, as Q. Varus, Generall of the horſe in Domitius Army, came out according to his ordinary vſe, they ſet vpon him at a ſuddaine: but our men did valiantly ſuſtaine the on-ſet; and euery man betaking himſelfe ſpeedily to his ranke, they altogether of their owne accord, charged the Enemy: and hauing ſlaine foure-ſcore, they put the reſt to flight, vvith the loſſe onely of two of their men.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT appeareth heere, that to ſhew a readineſs and reſolution to fight, vpon ſuch grounds as are iuſtifiable by the rules of Warre, is no ſmall aduantage to the proſperous cariage of the ſame. For, albeit Scipio was great in his owne ſtrength, and as great in the opinion and expectation of men: yet when he found ſuch an alacritie in the Enemie, to giue and take blowes, and a deſire to entertaine ſeriouſly all occaſions of giuing battell; he was ſo farre from proſecuting what he had pretended, as hee rather

rather chose the fortune of a safe retreit, and consequentlie, to turne the aduantage which the world in opinion had giuen to his Armie, to his owne reproach, and disaduantage: vvhere-as on the other side, to bee found for the most part vnwilling to hazard the triall of a Field, or indisposed to fight vpon any occasion, doth inuite an Enemie to attempt that, which otherwise hee would not; and giueth them courage to beate him from all his purposes, as knowing the resolution of their Aduersarie, and the meanes they haue, either to take or leaue at their pleasure.

CHAP. XIIII.

Domitius draweth Scipio to a losse, by an Ambushment. *Young Pompeis attempt* vpon Oricum.

Fter these things, Domitius hoping that Scipio might be drawne to fight, hee made as though hee vvere in great vvant and scarcitie of Corne: and there-vpon, rising from the place vvherein hee vvas incamped, vvith the vsuall cry of remoouing, according to the custome of Warre, and hauing marched three miles, hee lodged all his Armie, with the Caualrie, in a conuenient and secret place. Caesar.

Scipio, beeing readie to follow after, sent his horsemen, and a great part of his light-armed souldiers, to discouer vvhat way Domitius tooke: vvho, marching forward, as the first troopes came within the Ambushment (suspecting some-what by the neighing of the horses) fell backe againe. Those that followed after, seeing the former troopes so suddainly to retire, stood still.

Our men, finding themselues discouered, & thinking it in vaine to attend the rest, hauing got two troopes of horse within their reache, they contented themselues vvith them: amongst vvhom, was M. Opimius, the Generall of the horse. The rest of those two troopes, they either put to the sword, or tooke aliue, and brought them to Domitius.

Caesar, as is before shewed, hauing vvithdrawne the Guarizons from along all the Sea-coast, left onely three Cohorts at Oricum, for the defence of the Towne: and to them, he committed the custodie and safe keeping of the Gallies, vvhich he had brought out of Italy; whereof Acilius the Legate had the charge, being left Gouernour of the towne. Hee, for the better securitie of the shipping, had drawen all the fleet into a back angle, behind the towne, and there fastened them to the shore: and in the mouth of the Hauen, had sunke a great ship, and set another by her, vpō which he built a towre, to keepe the entrance of the Port; & filled the same with souldiers, to defend the Hauen from any suddaine attempt.

Vpon notice vvhereof, Pompeis ſonne, beeing Admirall of the Egyptian fleete, came to Oricum, and with many haulſers and hookes, waied vp the ſunk ſhippe; and aſſaulted the other ſhippe, ſet by Acilius for the defence of the Hauen, with ſhippes vvherein hee had made towres, which ſtood by counterpoize, that hee might fight vvith aduantage of height, ſupplying continually freſh men: and attempting alſo, as well from the Land ſide, to take the towne by ſcaling Ladders, as by Sea vvith his Nauie; to the end he might diſtract and diſmember the forces vvithin.

*In the end, with extreame labour, and multitude of vveapons, hee ouercame our Partie, and tooke the ſhippe, hauing caſt out ſuch as had the guard: who fled all away vvith Skiffes and Boates. At the ſame time, beeing likewiſe ſeized of a ſmall height, on the other ſide of the towne, in the nature of a Pene-inſule, hee conuaied ouer foure ſmall *Gallies, with Rollers and Leuers, into the inner part of the Harbor, lying behind the towne; inſomuch, as ſetting on each ſide vpon the Gallies tied vnto the ſhore, emptie & vnfurniſhed, he caried foure of them away, and burned the reſt.*

* Biremes.

This beeing done, he left D. Lælius, whom hee had taken from the Egyptian fleete, to keepe the paſſage, that no victualls, or other prouiſions, might bee brought into the towne, either from Helide or Amantia: and hee himſelfe, going to Liſſus, found thirty ſhippes of burthen, vvhich Antonius had left vvithin that Hauen, and ſet them all on fire. And as hee vvent about to take Liſſus, the ſouldiers which Cæſar had put there for a guarizon to the Towne, together with the Romaine Cittizens, & the townſmen thereof, did ſo vvell defend the ſame, that after he had continued there three daies, and loſt a few men in the ſiege, he left the place, without effecting any thing.

OBSERVATIONS.

AN Ambuſhment is eaſily at all times laid: but to do it ſo that it may not bee ſuſpected, and in ſuch manner, that the Enemie may fall into the danger thereof, is that which is to be aymed at therein. And therefore, to giue the better colour to ſuch deſsignes, the tricke hath beene to pretend feare (and ſo flight) or want of Corne, or ſome-what elſe, to draw the Enemie to follow after, with more boldneſſe and reſolution. And ſo to haue it wel done, there muſt be two deceits to aſſiſt each other; as in this of Domitius, to make ſhew of remouing, through ſcarcitie and want: and then to lie in waite for an aduantage: According to that of the Spaniard; *Avn Traydor, dos Aleuoſos.* For, the preuention of ſuch ſnares of deceit, the rule is generally giuen by Onoſander, That the departure or falling away of an Enemie, is alwaies to bee ſuſpected.

Oportet hoſtium diſceſſiones ſemper ſuſpectas habere. Cap. 5.

And for the more ſecuritie therein, experienced Commaunders haue been carefull before they ſtirred their Armie, to make exact diſcouerie, euen to the place

place where they intended to lodge. For, as in Physicke, it is the greatest part of the cure, to know the disease: so in matter of war, the danger is almost ouer, when it is perceiued whence it may growe.

The manner obserued in discoueries, hath vsually been to send the Parties out in three Companies or troopes; The first, consisting of a small number, to beat the way at ease, and to range about from place to place, as shall be found conuenient: the second Companie, beeing some-what stronger, to second and relieue the first, if there be occasion: and the third, able to ingage a good number of the Enemie.

And after this manner, Cyrus disposed of his fore-runners: as appeareth in Zenophon. But this, being subiect to the consideration of time and place, and other circumstances, may varie, as shall seeme expedient to the wisedome of the Generall. *5 Cyropæ.*

CHAP. XV.

Cæsar marcheth towards Pompey; offereth him *battaile; cutteth him off from* Dyrrachium.

AFter Cæsar vnderstood that Pompey was at Asparagus, he marched thitherward with his Armie: and taking by the vvay the towne of the Parthinians, wherein Pompey had put a Guarizon, the third day he came to Pompey, in Macedonia, and lodged himselfe fast by him. The next day hee drew out his forces; and putting them in order, presented him battaile. But vvhen he found that he would not accept thereof, hee drew backe his Army into the Campe, and bethought himselfe of some other course. For, the next day, taking a difficult and narrow way, hee set forward with all his forces towards Dyrrachium: hoping either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the towne, or at least to cut him off, from all Conuoies and Munition, which vvas there stored vp for the vvhole prouision of the vvarre; as afterwards it came to passe. For, Pompey beeing ignorant at first of his purpose, inasmuch as he tocke a contrarie way, thought he had been driuen thence, through scarcitie and want of Corne. But, beeing afterwards aduertised by the discouerers vvhat course hee tooke, he rose the next day, in hope to meet him a neerer way. Which Cæsar suspecting, exhorted the souldiers to indure a little labour with patience. And resting a small part of the night, in the morning he came before Dyrrachium, euen as the first troope of Pompeis Armie was discouered afar off: and there incamped himselfe. *Cæsar.*

Pompey, beeing cut off from Dyrrachium, when hee could not accomplish his purposes, fell to a second resolution, and fortified his Camp in an eminent place, called Petra: from whence there was an indifferent passage to the shippes, and *Quémque vocat collem Thaulantius incola Petram. Lucan.*

ſheltered likewiſe the Hauen from certaine winds. Thither he commanded part of the ſhippes to be brought, together vvith Corne, & prouiſion of victuall, from Aſia, and ſuch other Countries as were in his obedience.

Cæſar, doubting that the warre would proue long and tedious, and deſpairing of any ſuccour of victualls from the Coaſt of Italie, for-that all the ſhore was (with great diligence) kept by Pompeis partie: And that the ſhipping which in Winter hee had made in Sicilia, Gallia, and Italia, were ſtaied and came not to him, hee diſpatched L. Canuleius, a Legate into Epirus, to make prouiſion of Corne.

And foraſmuch as thoſe Regions vvere farre off, hee appointed ſtore-houſes and Magaſins in certaine places, & impoſed cariage of Corne vpon the Countrey bordering about them. In like manner, hee commaunded, what graine ſoeuer ſhould be found at Liſſus, Parthinis, or any other place, to be brought vnto him: vvhich was very little, foraſmuch as the Countrey there-about, was rough and Mountainous, and affoorded no Corne, but that which was brought in from other places; as alſo, that Pompey had taken order in that behalfe, and a little before, had ranſacked the Parthinians, & cauſed his horſemen to carie away all the Graine, vvhich was found amongſt them.

OBSERVATIONS.

Actus actiuorũ in patientis ſunt diſpoſitione. Ariſtot. Metaph.

THE firſt thing that Cæſar did, after their approach neere one vnto another, was to offer battaile; as the beſt Arbitrator of the Cauſe in queſtion, and moſt fitting the vſance of the auncient Romaines. But, foraſmuch as the indeuours of ſuch as are in action, are alwaies ordered by him that is the Sufferer: and that Pompey refuſed to accept thereof, knowing himſelfe to bee much ſtronger in forces, better accommodated, hauing a farre greater partie in the Country, and the Sea whollie at his command (which aduantages, were like to end the buſineſs, without hazard of a battaile) Cæſar bethought himſelfe of ſome other project, which might take away the ſcorne of that refuſall, by vndertaking ſuch things, as much imported the ſtate of his Aduerſarie. For, in ſuch caſes, when an Enemie will not fight, ſome-what muſt be done, to caſt diſhonour, or greater inconueniences, vpon him; or at leaſt, to make ouertures of new opportunities. And therefore, hee tooke a courſe, either to draw Pompey to fight, or to force the Towne, wherin all his prouiſions of warre were ſtored vp; or other-wiſe, to cut him off from the ſame. The leaſt of which, was a ſufficient acquittance of any diſgrace, which the neglect of this offer might ſeeme to inferre; Hauing thereby occaſion to vſe that of the Poet, *Iam ſumus ergo pares.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Cæsar goeth about to besiege *Pompey.*

Caesar.

Caesar, beeing informed of these things, entered into a deliberation, vvhich he first tooke from the very nature of the place vvherein they vvere; for, vvhere-as Pompeis Campe vvas inclosed about vvith many high and steepe Hilles, hee first tooke those Hills, and built Forts vpon them: and then, as the condition of each place would beare, hee made works of fortification, from one Fort to another, and determined to inclose Pompey about vvith a Ditch and a Rampier. And especially, vpon these considerations; for-that hee was greatly straightned through want of Corne, and that Pompey beeing strong in horse, hee might vvith lesse danger, supply his Army from all parts with prouision: as also to the end hee might keepe Pompey from forraging, and so make his Caualry vnseruiceable in that kinde. And further, that hee might abate and vveaken the exceeding great reputation, vvhich Pompey had attained vnto amongst forraine Nations, vvhen it should bee noised throughout the world, that hee was besieged by Cæsar, and durst not fight.

Pompey would by no meanes bee drawne to leaue the commoditie of the Sea, and the towne of Dyrrachium, hauing there laid vp all his prouision of vvarre, Armes, vveapons, Engines, of what sort soeuer; besides Corne, vvhich vvas brought from thence to his Armie by shipping. Neither could hee hinder Cæsars fortifications, vnlesse hee would accept of battaile, vvhich for that time he was resolued not to doe; onely it remained, as the last thing hee could thinke of, to possesse himselfe of as many Hills as he might, and to keepe as much of the Countrey as hee could, vvith good and strong guard: and by that meanes, to distract, as much as posiblie hee might, Cæsars forces, as accordinglie it fell out. For, hauing made twentie foure Castles and Forts, hee tooke-in twentie fiue miles of the Countrey in circuit, and did forrage within that space, and there caused many things to be set and planted by hand, which in the Interim, *serued as foode for horses.*

And, as our men perceiued their fortifications to be caried, and continued, from one Castle to another, without intermission; they beganne to feare, least they had left some places to sallie out, and so vvould come vpon them behind, before they were aware.

And the reason they made their vvorkes thus perfect, throughout the vvhole inward circuit, was, that our men might not enter in vpon them, nor circumuent them behind. But they (abounding in number of Men) exceeded in their works, hauing also on the inside a lesse compasse to fortifie.

And as Cæſar went about to take any place, albeit Pompey was reſolued not to fight, or interrupt him with all his forces: neuertheleſſe, hee ſent out his Archers and Slingers, of which he had great numbers; by whom many of our men were wounded, and ſtood in great feare of the arrowes: and almoſt all the ſouldiers, made them coates, either of quilt or ſtiffening, or of leather, to keep them from danger.

Ex ſubcoactis et centonibus.

To conclude, either Party vſed all force and meanes to take places, and make fortifications; Cæſar, to ſhut vp and ſtraighten Pompey what he could: & Pompey, to inlarge himſelfe, and poſſeſſe as many hills as conueniently hee might; which gaue occaſion of many skirmiſhes and encounters.

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere take notice, of the ſtrangeſt enterprize, that euer vvas vndertakē by a iudicious ſouldier. For, where elſe may it be read or vnderſtood, that a weaker Partie, went about to beſiege a ſtrong aduerſarie, and to incloſe a whole Country by Caſtles and Towres, and perpetuall fortifications from hill to hill; to the end he might ſhut him vp, as he lay incamped in the field? But herein appeare the infinite and reſtleſs indeauours of a Romaine ſpirit, and the workes they wrought to atchieue their owne endes: and yet not beſides the limits of reaſon. For, if that of Seneca haue any affinitie with truth, That a man is but a common, or rather contemptible thing, vnleſſe he raiſe himſelfe aboue ordinary courſes; it is more ſpecially verified in a Souldier: whoſe honour, depending vpon the ſuperlatiue degree, muſt ſeeke out projects beyond all equalitie: and the rather, vpon ſuch inducements, as are heere alleadged; which ſhew good reaſon he had to be ſo madde.

Contempta res eſt homo, niſi ſupra humana ſe erexit.

Cum ratione inſanire.

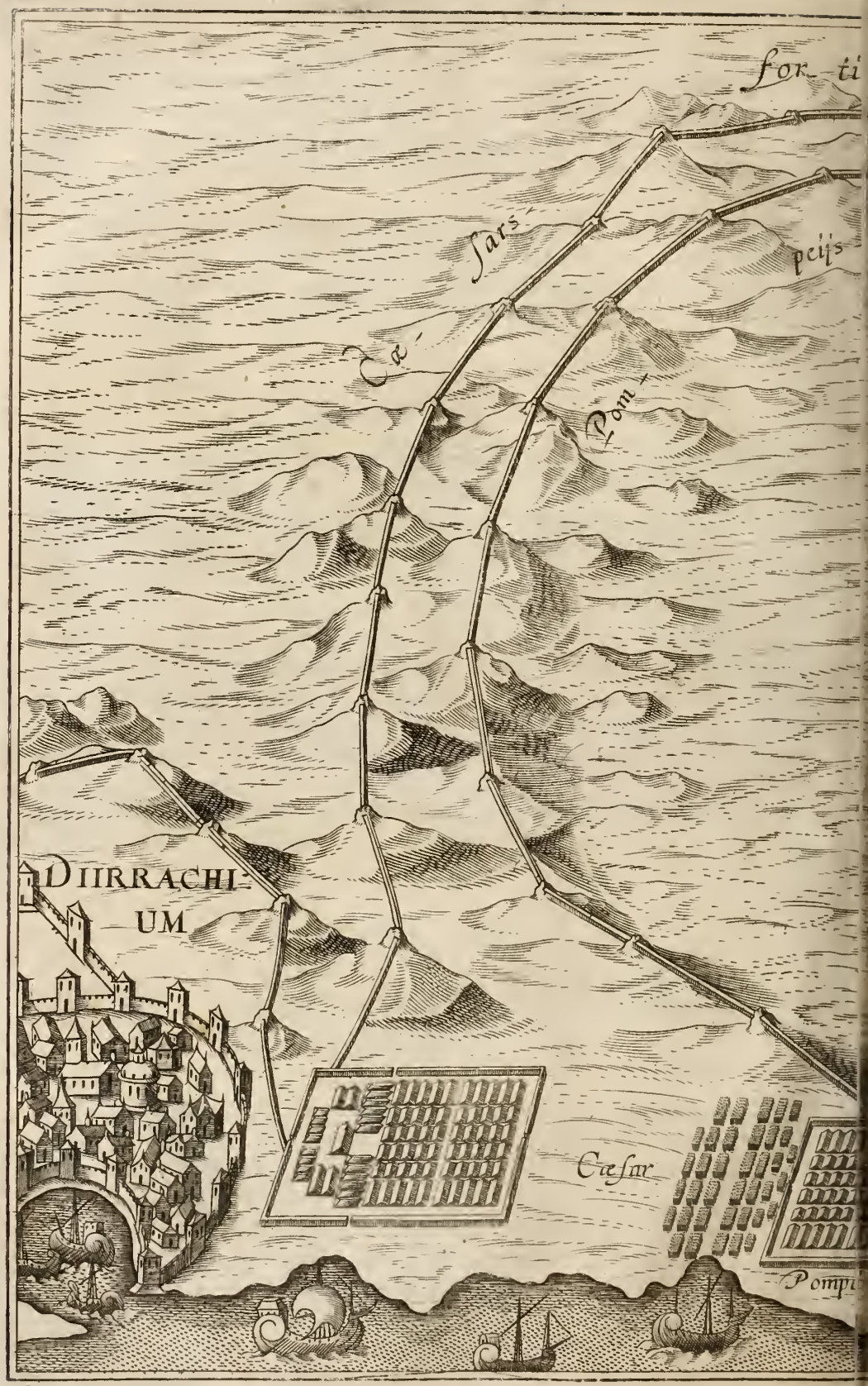
CHAP. XVII.

A Paſſage that happened betweene both Parties, *about the taking of a Place.*

Cæſar.

AMongst theſe fights and incounters, it happened, as Cæſars ninth Legion had taken a certaine Place, and there began to fortifie, Pompey had poſſeſt himſelfe of the Hill next adioyning there-vnto, and beganne to hinder our men from their worke. And hauing from one ſide an eaſie acceſſe vnto it; firſt with Archers and Slingers, and afterwards with great troopes of light-armed men, and engines of Battery, hee beganne to diſturbe them in their buſineſs. Neither were our men able, at one and the ſame time, to defend themſelues, and goe on with their fortifications.

Cæſar,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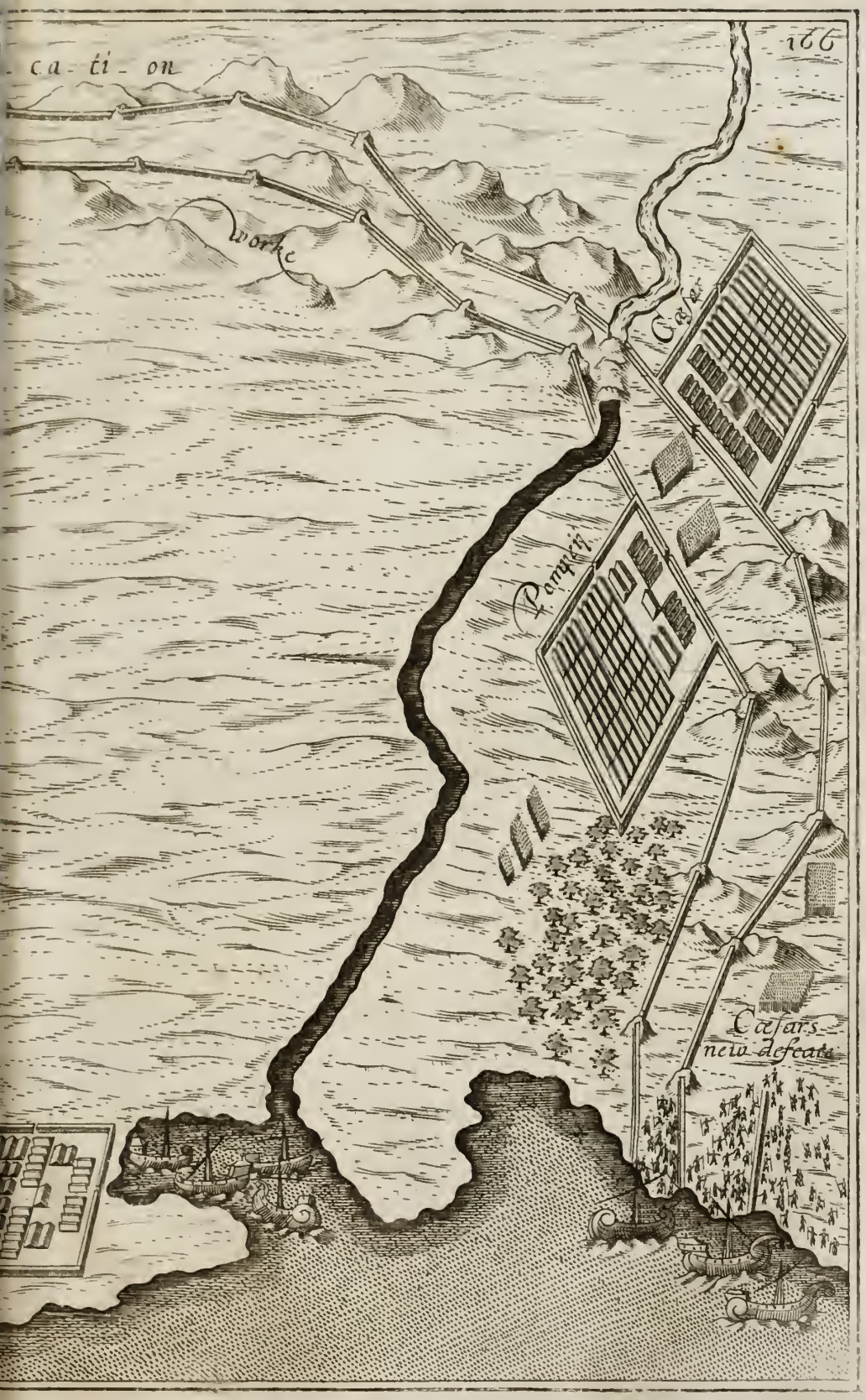
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Cæsar, seeing his souldiers wounded, and hurt from all parts, commaunded them to fall off, and leaue the Place. But, forasmuch as they were to make their retreit downe the Hill, they did the more vrge and preace vpon them; & would not suffer them to fall backe, for that they seemed to forsake the Place for feare. It is reported, that Pompey should then, in a vaine-glory, say to those that vvere about him, That he would be content to be taken for a Generall of no woorth, if Cæsars men could make any retreit from thence (where they were so rashly ingaged) without great losse.

Cæsar, fearing the retreit of his souldiers, caused Hurdles to be brought, and sette against the Enemie, in the brimme of the Hill; and behind them, sunke a trench of an indifferent latitude, and incombered the place as much as possibly hee could. Hee lodged also Slingers in conuenient places, to defend his men in their retreit.

These things beeing perfited, hee caused the legions to be drawne backe. But Pompeies partie, beganne vvith greater boldnes and insolencie, to presse our people: and putting by the Hurdles, which were set there as a Baricado, they passed ouer the ditch. Which when Cæsar perceiued, fearing, least they should rather seeme to be beaten off, then be brought backe, whereby a greater scandale might consequently ensue, hauing almost from the mid-way incouraged his men, by Antonius, who commaunded that legion, hee willed that the signe of charging the Enemy should be giuen by a Trumpet, and gaue order to assault them.

The souldiers of the ninth legion, putting themselues suddainly into order, threw their Piles: and running furiously from the lower ground, vp the steepe of the Hill, draue the Enemy head-long from them; who found the Hurdles, the long poles, and the ditches, to be a great hinderance vnto them in their retreit. It contented our men to leaue the place without losse: so that hauing slaine many of them, they came away very quietly, with the losse of fiue of their fellowes. And hauing staied about that place awhile, they tooke other hills, & perfited the fortifications vpon them.

OBSERVATIONS.

His Chapter sheweth, that aduantage of place, and some such industrious courses, as may be fitted to the occasion, are of great consequence in extreamities of warre: but, aboue all, there is nothing more auaileable to cleere a danger, then valour. Valour is the Hercules that ouer-commeth so many Monsters: and verifieth that saying, which cannot be too often repeated; *Virtute faciendum est, quicquid in rebus bellicis est gerendum.* But of this, I haue already treated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

The ſcarcitie which either Partie endured *in this ſiege.*

Cæſar.

THE cariage of that warre was in a ſtrange & vnuſuall manner, as well in reſpect of the great number of Forts and Castles, containing ſuch a circuit of ground within one continued fortification, as alſo in regard of the whole ſiege, and of other conſequents depending there-vpon. For, whoſoeuer goeth about to beſiege an other, doth either take occaſion frō the weakeneſs of the Enemy, daunted, or ſtriken with feare, or ouercome in battaile, or otherwiſe beeing moued there-vnto by ſome iniurie offered; Whereas now it happened, that they were farre the ſtronger, both in horſe and foote: and generally, the cauſe of almoſt all ſieges, is to keepe an enemy from prouiſion of Corne. But Cæſar, beeing then farre inferiour in number of ſouldiers, did neuertheleſſe beſiege an Armie of intire and vntouched forces, eſpecially at a time when they abounded with all neceſsary prouiſions: for, euery day came great ſtore of ſhipping from all parts, bringing plenty of all things needfull: neither could there any wind blowe, which was not good, from ſome part or other.

On the other ſide, Cæſar, hauing ſpent all the Corne he could get, far or neere, was in great want & ſcarcitie: and yet notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers did beare it with ſingular patience; for, they remembred how they had ſuffered the like the yeere before in Spaine, and yet with patience and labour, had ended a great and dangerous warre. They remembred, likewiſe, the exceeding great want they indured at Aleſia, and much greater at Auaricum. And yet, for all that, they vvent away Conquerers of many great Nations. They refuſed neither Barlie nor Peaſe, when it was giuen them in ſtead of Wheate. And of Cattell (whereof they were furniſhed with great ſtore out of Epirus) they made great account.

There is alſo a kind of roote, found out by them that were with Valerius, called Chara, which eaten with Milke did much reliene their want; & made withall, a kind of bread, whereof they had plenty. And when Pompeis Party happened in their Colloquies, to caſt in their teeth their ſcarcitie and miſery, they vvould cōmonly throwe this kind of bread at them, and ſcatter it in diuers places, to diſcourage them in their hopes. And now Corne beganne to be ripe, and hope it ſelfe did relieue their want, for-that they truſted to haue plenty within a ſhort time. And oftentimes the ſouldiers, in their watches and conferences, were heard to let fall ſpeeches, that they would rather eate the barke of trees, then ſuffer Pompey to eſcape out of their hands.

Beſides, they vnderſtood, by ſuch as ranne away from the Enemy, that their horſe of ſeruice could ſcarce be kept aliue; and that the reſt of their Cattell were all dead: and that the ſouldiers themſelues, were in no good health, through the narrowneſs of the place wherin they were pent: as alſo by meanes of the ill ſauor and

and multitude of dead bodies, together with continuall labour, beeing vnaccustomed to trauaile and paines; but especially, through the extreame want of water: For, all the Riuers and Brookes of that quarter, Cæsar had either turned another way, or dammed vp with great works. And, as the places were mountainous, vvith some intermission, and distinction of Valleies, in the forme and fashion of a Caue or Denne: so hee stopped the same with great piles beaten into the ground, and interlaced with fagots and hurdles, and then strengthened with earth, to keepe backe the vvater; Insomuch, as they were constrained to seeke lowe grounds, and Marish places, and there to sinke Welles. Which labour, they vvere gladde to vnder-take besides their daily works, albeit these Welles stoode farre distant from their Guarizons, and were quickly dried vp with heat.

But Cæsars Armie was in exceeding good health, and had plenty of water, together with all kind of prouisions, excepting Wheate; vvhich the season of the yeere daily brought on, and gaue them hope of store, Harueſt beeing so neere at hand.

In this new course of vvarre, new policies and deuices of vvarfare were inuented, and put in practice by either Partie. They, perceiuing by the fires, that our Cohorts in the night time kept watch at the works, came stealing out, and discharged all their Arrowes vpon them, and then presently retreited. Wherewith, our men beeing warned, found out this remedy; that they made their fires in one place, and kept their watch in another.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

FOrasmuch as all matter of attempt, doth much import the fortune of a warre, wee may not omit to take notice of the reasons heere expressed by Cæsar, which are the true motiues of vndertaking a siege. The first is drawen, either from the weakness of an Enemie, or as hee is daunted with feare, or ouer-come in battaile. For, hauing thereupon no confidence in his owne power, doth rest himselfe in the strength of the Place, which he holdeth and possesseth: which giueth their aduersaries occasion, to lay siege vnto their Hold; and either to force them, or shut them vp like women.

The second is, when one State hath offered iniurie to another (which alwaies importeth losse) beyond that which stood with the course of respect formerly held betweene them. For reuenge whereof, the other side laieth siege to some of their Townes, to repaire themselues by taking-in the same.

And thirdly, the finall cause of all sieges, is to keep an Enemie from victuall, and other manner of prouisions; and so to take them by the belly, when they cannot take them by the eares. Which is a part so violent, in requiring that which is due to Nature, as it hath made the Father and the Sonne fall out for a Mouse: as it hapned at Athens, besieged by Demetrius. *Plutarch.*

THE

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THE ſecond thing worthy our conſideration, is the patience and deportment of Cæſars ſouldiers, in their ſo great wants and neceſsities; as firſt, in helping themſelues, with this roote called Chara, deſcribed by Dioſcorides, to be a little ſeed, taſting ſome-what like Aniſ-ſeede, good to help digeſtion, and hauing ſuch a root as a Caret, which beeing boiled, is very good meat; and is the ſame which our Phyſicians call Caraway-ſeed: where-with they ſerued their turne with ſuch contentment, as they ſeemed to haue been trained vp in the Schoole of Frugalitie; a vertue worthy of all regard, and the onely meanes to make eaſie the difficulties of warre; beeing as neceſſary for a ſouldier, as the vſe of Armes: and is that which was aimed at in the aunſwere of Cyrus, to ſhew the ſeruices in a ſouldiers diet. For, beeing demaunded, what he would haue made ready for ſupper? Bread; ſaith he; for, we will ſuppe at the Fountaine.

Lib. 3. cap. 59.

Labor militiæ aſſidua frugalitatis conſuetudine facilior eſt. Iuſtin.

Cyrus contented with bread and water. Xenophon.

Neither hath it been thought fit, to giue way to the naturall looſneſs of the ſtomacks appetite, vpon any occaſion: but, to vſe the like moderation in the time of plentie. For, Zeno tooke the aunſwere of them, that would excuſe their liberall expenſes, by their abilitie of meanes, for no better paiment, then they themſelues would haue taken the excuſe of their Cookes, for putting too much ſalt on their meat, becauſe they had ſalt enough.

Cæſar puniſhed his Baker, for giuing him better bread then his ſouldiers had. And Scipio caſsiered a cupple of Romaines at the ſiege of Carthage, for feaſting a friend in their Tent, during an aſſault. Which auſteritie of life, raiſed the Romaines to that height of honour, and made them Maiſters of the world, from the Eaſt to the Weſterne Ocean.

Aequalē oportet ſemper eſſe Imperatoris animū: mutari enim pro rerum varietatibus, mentis inſtabilis argumētum efficitur. Agapetus.

Secondly, as a conſequent of this contentment, we may note their reſolution to hold on their courſe of ſiege, purpoſing rather to eate the bark of trees, then to ſuffer Pompey to eſcape their hands. It is an excellent point in a Generall, to keepe himſelfe from irreſolution; beeing a weakeneſs of ill conſequence, and not vnlike the diſeaſe of the Staggers, variable, vncertaine, and without bottom or bound: where-as conſtancie to purpoſes, produceth noble and worthy ends.

Vnus homo nobis cunctando reſtituit Rem. Enni.

An inſtance whereof, is Fabius Maximus, who notwithſtanding the reproach and ſcandall caſt vpon him, continued firme in his determination, to the ſauing of his Country. And if it bee ſo well beſeeming a Leader, it is of much more regard in the ſouldier: eſpecially conſidering that of Xenophon; *Non facile in officio poteſt miles contineri ab eo qui neceſſaria nō ſubminiſtrat.* For, as the ſame Author obſerueth in another place, *Nullus eſt adeo fortis aut validus, qui poſsit aduerſus famem aut frigus pugnando militare.*

Li. 6. de Cyropæ.

THE

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

Mongſt all the parts of the Romaine diſcipline, their Watch deſerueth a particular deſcription; ſupplying in the Armie, the office of the naturall eye in the bodie: which is, to giue notice of any approaching danger, for the preuenting of the ſame. Polybius hath left it to poſteritie in this manner; Of each ſort of the Legionarie foote, as namely, the *Haſtati*, *Principes*, and *Triarij*, and likewiſe of the horſe, there was choſen one, out of the tenth and laſt Maniple, that was made free from watch and ward. This partie, as the Sunne began to decline, came dailie to the Tent of the Tribune, & there had giuen him a little Tablet, wherein the watch-word was writ; which Tablet, they called *Teſſera*: and then returning to his Companie, deliuered it to the Centurion of the next Maniple, and that Centurion to the next; and ſo in order, vntill it came to the firſt and chiefeſt Companie, which was lodged next vnto the Tribunes: and by the Centurion thereof, was returned to the Tribune before Sunne ſetting.

And if all the Tablets were brought-in, then did the Tribune knowe, the word was giuen to all. If any wanted, they made inquirie, and by the notes of inſcription, finding which was miſsing, they puniſhed the default as they ſaw cauſe. And this was their watch-word, by which their Party was diſtinguiſhed from an Enemie; and in likelihood (for, Polybius doth not affirme ſo much) was by the Centurion giuen, to ſuch of his Maniple as were to watch that night.

Their night watches were thus ordered; A Maniple, or Companie, was alwaies appointed to watch at the Generalls Pauilion. The Treaſurer had three watches, and euery Legat, two; A watch conſiſting of foure men, according to the generall diuiſion of their night into foure parts: each of thoſe foure hauing his turne appointed him by lotte, for the firſt, ſecond, third, or fourth watch, and the reſt ſitting by. The *Volites* kept watch without the Camp, and the *Decuries* of horſe at the gates: beſides, euery Maniple had a priuate watch within it ſelfe.

Of thoſe that were appointed to watch, a Lieutenant of each Maniple, did bring to the Tribune in the euening, ſuch as were to keepe the firſt watch of the night: and to them were deliuered leſſer Tablets, then were giuen out at firſt, called *Teſſerulæ*, appropriated to euery particular watch; one for himſelfe, and three other for his fellowes.

The truſt of going the Round, was committed to the horſemen: for, it belonged to the firſt Commaunder of horſe, in each legion, to giue order to his Lieutenant, to appoint before dinner, foure young men of his troope, to goe the Round the next night; and in the euening, to acquaint the next Commander to appoint Rounders for the night following. Theſe horſemen, being thus appointed, did caſt lots for the firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth watch; and then repaired to the Tribune: of whom they had order what, and how many watches

ches to viſit, hauing receiued the watch-word before, from their Commaunder: and then all foure went to attend at the Tent of the *Primipile*, or chiefeſt Centurion of a Legion; who had the charge of diſtinguiſhing the foure watches of the night by a Trumpet.

When time ſerued, for him that was to goe the Round the firſt watch, hee went out accompanied with ſome of his friends, and viſited thoſe watches which were aſsigned vnto him. And if he found the watch-man waking, and in good order, he then tooke that Tablet from him which hee had receiued of the Tribune, and departed. But, if he found him ſleeping, or out of his place, he tooke witneſſe thereof, and departed. The ſame did the reſt of the Rounders, as their watches fell out in courſe. And as the day beganne to breake, all the Rounders brought in the Tablets to the Tribunes. And if all were brought in, there was no more to doe: but if any wanted, it was found out by the Character, what watch had failed; which beeing knowne, the Centurion was called, and commaunded to bring thoſe that were faultie. If the offence were in the watch-man, the Rounder was to proue it by witneſſes: if not, it fell vpon himſelfe; and a Councell of warre beeing preſently called, the Tribune gaue iudgement to kill him with a club. And in this manner did the Romaines keep watch in the Campe.

CHAP. XIX.

A relation of diuers incounters, that happened *betweene both Parties.*

There is a great part of the hiſtorie in this place omitted.

Cæſar.

IN the meane time, Pub. Sylla, whom Cæſar (at his departure from the Campe) had left to commaund the Armie, beeing certified thereof, came with two legions to ſuccour the Cohort: at whoſe approach, Pompeys partie was eaſily beaten off, beeing neither able to indure the ſhocke, nor ſight of our men. For, the firſt beeing put off, the reſt gaue backe, and left the place: but as our men purſued them, Sylla called them backe, & would not ſuffer them to follow farre after. Howbeit, many men thinke, that if hee vvould haue preſſed hard vpon them, the warre had ended that day. But in my opinion, he is not to be blamed; for, there is one charge and power peculiar to a Lieutenant, and another to him that commaundeth in Chiefe: the one, dooing nothing but by order and preſcription; and the other, diſpoſing euery thing as hee ſhall thinke fit.

Aliæ ſunt Legati partes, atque Imperatoris.

Sylla (in Cæſars abſence) hauing freed his men, was content there-vvith, & would no further ingage them in fight (which might happely prooue ſubiect to ill fortune) leaſt he ſhould ſeeme to aſſume vnto himſelfe, the place and authoritie of a Generall. There vvere certaine things that made the retreit of Pompeis men very difficult and hazardous. For, hauing aſcended from a bottome to a Hill,

Hill, they now found themselues vpon the top thereof. And as they were to make their retreit downe againe, they stood in feare of our men, preacing on thē from the higher ground, neither was it farre from sunne-setting; for, hoping to end it speedily, they drew out the busines vntill it was almost night: whereby, Pompey was forced to take a resolution from the time, and to possesse himselfe of a Mount, no further from the Fort then out of shot. There hee made a stand, fortified the place, and kept his forces.

At the same time, they fought in two other places: for, Pompey, to separate and distract our troopes, assaulted diuers forts together, to the end they might not be succoured from the next Guarizons. In one place, Volcatius Tullius, with three Cohorts, sustained the assault of a Legion, & made them forsake the place. In another part, the Germaines sallying out of our works, slew many of the Enemie, & returned back to their fellowes in safetie. So that in one day, there were sixe seuerall fights; three at Dyrrachium, and three at the fortifications: of all which an account beeing taken, there were found slaine of Pompeys Partie, to the number of two thousand; with many Centurions, and other speciall men, called out to that vvarre. Amongst vvhom, vvas Valerius Flaccus, the sonne of L. vvho, beeing Prætor, had obtained the Prouince of Asia: besides, there were sixe Ensignes taken. Our Partie, lost not aboue twentie men in all those fights; howbeit, in the fort, there was not one man but was hurt. Euocati.

Foure Centurions of one Cohort lost their eyes; and, for argument of their indeauour, and great danger, they made report to Cæsar, of thirtie thousand arrowes shot into the fort, together with a Target of one Sæua, a Centurion, which was shewed vnto him, beeing pearced through in two hundred and thirty places, whom Cæsar (as hauing well deserued of him, and the Common-wealth) rewarded with sixe hundred pound sterling; and aduaunced him from the Companies of the eight ranke, to be the chiefest Centurion, or Primipile of the Legion: for, it appeared, that by his meanes specially, the fort was saued. For, the Cohort, hee doubled their pay, as well in Money, as in Corne and Apparrell: and rewarded them nobly, with ornaments of Militarie honour. Millibus ducentis æris. Primipilus.

Pompey, hauing vvrought all that night, to fortifie his Trenches, the daies following, he built towres xxv. foote high; which beeing finished, he added mantilets to that part of the Campe. And after fiue daies, hauing gotte a darke night (shutting all the Ports of his Campe, and ramming them vp) in the beginning of the third vvatch, hee drew out his Armie in silence, and betooke himselfe to his old fortifications.

OBSERVATIONS.

He breach of the Historie in this place, is like a blotte in a faire Table, or as a gappe in a daunce of Nymphes, and dooth much blemish the beautie of this Discourse: But, for-as-much as it is a losse which cannot bee repaired, wee must rest contented with the vse of that vvhich remaineth.

Out of which, we may obſerue the notice they tooke of well deſeruing: according to the inſtitution of their diſcipline, ſupported ſpecially by *Præmium* and *Pœna*. The recognition whereof (according to the iudgement of the graueſt Law-giuers) is the meanes to raiſe a State to the height of perfection. *Eo enim impendi laborem et periculum, vnde emolumentũ et honos ſperatur.* The Romaines, ſaith Polybius, crowned the valour of their ſouldiers with eternall honours. Neither did any thing ſo much excite them to the atchieuement of noble Acts, as their Triumphs, Garlands, and other Enſignes of publique renowne: which Cæſar ſpecially obſerued aboue the reſt. For, beſides this which he did to Caſsius Sæua (recorded by all the Writers of theſe warres) Plutarch relateth, that at his being in Britaine, he could not containe from imbracing a ſouldier, that caried himſelfe valiantly in defence of diuers Centurions. And where-as the poore man, falling downe at his feete, asked nothing but pardon for leauing his Target behind him; he rewarded him with great gifts, & much honour. Howbeit, the difference which Saluſt hath made in this kind, is too generally obſerued, that It more importeth a Common-weale to puniſh an ill member, then to reward a good act: for, a vertuous deſire, is by neglect a little abated; but an ill man becomes vnſufferable. And thence it is, that merit is neuer valued but vpon neceſsity. It is fit, that hee that will haue the honour of wearing a Lions skin, ſhould firſt kill the beaſt, as Hercules did: but, to kil a Lion, and not to haue the skin, is not ſo auaileable as a meaner occupation. Anthony Gueuara giueth another rule, obſerued in that gouernement, which is the true *Idea* of Perfection: *En la caſa de Dios jamas fue, ni es, ni ſera, merito ſin premio, ni colpa ſin pena.*

Solon. Plato 5 de leg. Livie. lib. 4. Lib. 6.

In vita Cæſaris.

In repub. multò præſtat beneficij quàm maleficij immemorẽ eſſe: bonus, ſegnior fit vbi negligas; malus improbior. Salu. Iugur.

CHAP. XX.

Cæſar moueth Scipio to mediate a Peace.

Cæſar.

Etolia, Acarnania, & Amphiloclis, being taken by Caſsius Longinus, and Caluiſius Sabinus, as is before declared, Cæſar thought it expedient to attempt and try Achaia, and to proceed further in that courſe: vvherevpon he ſent thither L. Calenus, and Q. Sabinus, and to them he added Caſsius, with his Cohorts. Their comming being bruited abroad, Rutilius Lupus, to whom Pompey had left the charge of Achaia, determined to fortifie the Iſthmus, to keepe out Fuſius. Calenus in the meane time, vvith the fauour and aſſent of the States, tooke-in Delphos, Thebes, & Orcleomenum, beſides ſome other places, which he tooke by force. The reſt of the Citties, he laboured to draw to Cæſars party, by Embaſſages ſent about vnto them: & therin was Fuſius occupied for the preſent. Cæſar, euery day following, brought-out his Army into an equal & indifferent place, to ſee if Pompey would accept of battel; inſomuch as he led them vnder Pompeis Camp, the vaward being within ſhot of the Rampier. Pompey, to hold the fame & opinion he had attained, drew out his forces, & ſo imbattelled them before his Camp, that their rere-ward did touch the Rampier;

Rampier; and the vvhole Armie was so disposed, that euery man vvas vnder the protection of such vveapons as might be shot from thence.

While these things were dooing at Achaia, and at Dyrrachium, it was certainly knowne, that Scipio was come into Macedonia. Cæsar, not omitting his former purpose, sent Clodius vnto him; a familiar friend to both of them, and one vvhom Scipio had formerly so commended to Cæsar, that hee had taken him in the number of his neerest fauourites. To him hee gaue Letters and Messages, to be deliuered to Scipio: whereof this was the effect; that he had vsed all meanes for peace, and yet had preuailed nothing at all: which he tooke to be the fault of such as had the charge of the busines, being fearefull to treat with Pompey thereof in an vnseasonable time. But Scipio had that credit & respect, that he might not onely deliuer freely what he thought fitting, but might also (in some sort) restraine him, and reforme his errour. For, being Commaunder in chiefe, ouer an Armie; besides his credit, he had strength to compell him. Which, if he did, euerie man vvould attribute the quiet of Italie, the peace of the Prouinces, and the safetie & preseruation of the Empire, to him onely. All these things did Clodius make knowne to Scipio: and for the first daies, was well heard: but afterwards, could not be admitted to speech; Fauonius, reprehending Scipio, for going so far with him, as afterwards we vnderstood vpon the ending of the vvar: vvhereby he was forced to returne to Cæsar, without effecting any thing.

Cæsar, that he might with greater facilitie keepe-in Pompeis Caualrie at Dyrrachium, and hinder them from forrage, fortified and shutte vp two passages (vvhich, as we haue before declared, were very narrow) with great works, and there built Castles. Pompey, vnderstanding that his horsmẽ did no good abroad, within a few daies, conuaied them within his fortification by shipping. Howbeit, they vvere in extreame necessitie, and want of forrage: insomuch, as hauing beaten off all the leaues of the trees, they fed their horses with young Reedes, brused, and beaten in peeces. For, they had spent the Corne which was sowed within the works, & were forced to bring food for their Cattel, from Corcyra and Acarnania, by long & tedious nauigation; and where it fell short, they made it vp with Barly, and so kept life in their horses: but afterwards, when-as not onelie their Barly, and other food was spent in all places, & the grasse & hearbs dried vp, but the fruit also wasted, and consumed off the trees, their horses beeing so leane, as they were not able to stand on their legges, Pompey thought it expedient, to thinke of some course of breaking out.

Et morsu spoliare nemus, lethumque minantes, vellere ab ignotis dubias radicibus herbas.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT may seem a cunning trick of Cæsar, & perhaps it was his end, to indeauor with faire pretenses, to ingage Scipio so far in contriuing a Peace, as being Generall of an Armie, he might assume vnto himselfe a commaunding authority; and there-vpon, bred such a iealousie, as would keepe Pompey and him asunder.

Neuertheleſſe, it is euery way worth a mans labour, to make ouertures of peace howsoeuer: especially considering, how it changeth the relatiue in the

condition of men, which in warre, is *Homo homini Lupus*, and in peace, *Homo homini Deus*. And, prouing good, will doubtleſſe continue, if inconuenient, the ſooner broken; and ſo the caſe is but the ſame it was before.

Si bonam dederitis, fidam et perpetuam; ſi malam, haud diuturnam. Liv. lib. 8.

Secondly, we may note, that there is nothing ſo difficult, but pertinacie and reſtleſſe labor, directed with diligent & intent care, wil in the end ouercome it: For, Cæſar, that at the firſt ſeemed to vndertake impoſsibilities, going about to beſiege a great part of a Country, & to ſhutte vp a huge Armie in an open place, did neuertheleſſe (by indeauour) bring thē to ſuch extreamitie of want, that if, as Democritus ſaid, the Bodie ſhould haue put the mind in ſute, for reparation of loſſe, which her ambition and wilfull obſtinacie had drawne vpon it, ſhee would neuer be able to pay damages.

Nihil eſt quod non expugnet pertinax opera, et intenta et diligens cura. Senec. li. 6. Epi. 51

Touching the *Iſthmus*, which Rutilius Rufus went about to fortifie, it is a necke of earth, ioyning an Iland vnto the Continent. For, as the Inlet of the Sea, betweene two Lands, is called *Porthmus* (wher-vpon the towne of Portſmouth in Hampſhire hath that appellation, as ſited vpon the like Inlet) ſo any ſmal langet, or neck of earth, lying between two Seas, is called *Iſthmus*. Wherof, this of Achaia is of ſpeciall note in Greece; beeing the ſame that ioyned Peloponeſus to the Continent, & was of ſpeciall fame for the ſite of Corinth.

Theſe necks of earth, called *Iſthmus*, are of the nature of thoſe things, as haue been often threatned, and yet continue the ſame. For, albeit the ambition of great Princes haue ſought to alter the faſhion of the earth in that behalfe, yet I know not how their deſires haue ſorted to no end. *Perfodere nauigabili Alueo has anguſtias tentauere Demetrius Rex, Dictator Cæſar, Caius Princeps, at Domitius Nero, infauſto vt omnium patuit exitu incepto.* In the time of King Seſoſtris, and ſince, in the Empire of the Othomans, they went about to bring the Red-ſea into Nile; but fearing it would be a meanes to drowne the Land, one Sea beeing lower then another, they gaue ouer the enterpriſe. And it may be vpon like conſideration, or otherwiſe, fearing to correct the workes of Nature, they forbare to make a paſſage betweene *Nombre de Dios*, and *Panama*: and ſo to ioyne one ſea to the other, as was ſaid to be intended.

Plin. lib. 4. ca. 4.

CHAP. XXI.

An Accident which fell out by two Bretheren of *Sauoy, in Cæſars Armie.*

Cæſar.

Here vvere in Cæſars Campe, two brethren of Sauoie, Roſcillus and Aegus, the ſonnes of Abucillus, who for many yeeres together, was accounted the principall and chiefe man of that State: theſe were men of ſingular worth, and had done Cæſar verie great ſeruice in all the vvarres of Gallia; and in that reſpect, Cæſar had aduaunced them to great & honorable Charges in their Countrey, and cauſed them

them (extraordinarily) to be taken in the number of the Senators, and bestowed much of the Enemies lands vpon them, besides great summes of ready money, & of poore had made them rich.

These men were not onely well respected by Cæsar, but were in good account throughout all the Armie. Howbeit, relying too much on Cæsars fauour, and puffed vp with foolish & barbarous arrogancie; they disdained their owne men, deceiuing the horsemen of their pay, and averting all pillage from publique distribution, to their owne particular. The horsemen, prouoked with these iniuries, came all to Cæsar, and complained openly thereof: adding further, that their troopes vvere not full, nor answerable to the List or Master-role, by which they required paiment.

Cæsar, thinking it no fit time of punishment, and withall, attributing much to the worth of the men, put off the whole matter, and chid them priuatly, for making a gaine of their troopes of horse; willing the Caualrie to expect a supply of all their wants frō his fauour, according as their seruice had well deserued. Neuertheless, the matter brought them into great scandall and contempt vvith all men: Which they plainely perceiued, both by the speeches of other men, as also by that they might iudge themselues, their owne consciences accusing them. With which reproach, and shame, they were so moued (& thinking peraduenture that they were not quit thereof, but deferred vntill some other time) that they resolued to leaue the Armie, to seek new fortunes, and make proofe of other acquaintances. And, hauing imparted the matter to a few of their followers, to whom they durst communicate so great a disloialtie, first they vvent about to kill C. Volusenus, Generall of the horse (as after the vvarre was ended was discouered) that they might come to Pompey, vpon some deserued seruice: but after they found it hard to accomplish, they tooke vp as much money as they could borrow, as though they meant to haue paid their troopes, what they formerly had defrauded them of; and hauing bought many horses, they went to Pompey, together with such as were acquainted with their purposes.

Pœnam semper ante oculos versari putant qui peccauerunt. Cic. in orati. pro Milone.

Pompey, finding them Gentlemen of sort, liberally brought vp, attended with a great retinew, and many horses, and both of them very valiant, & in good account with Cæsar; and vvithall, for-that it was an vnusuall and strange accident, he ledde them about the works, and shewed them all the fortifications: for, before that time, no man, either souldier, or horseman, had fledde from Cæsar to Pompey; where-as daily they came frō Pompey to Cæsar: especially, such as were inrolled in Epirus and Aetolia, which were at Cæsars deuotion.

These two Bretheren, exactly vnderstanding all things in Cæsars Campe (as well concerning such works as were perfect, as such others wherein men skilfull in warre might find defect; together with the opportunitie of time, & distances of places: as also the diligence of the Guardes, with the nature and indeauour of euery man that had a charge) related all particularly to Pompey.

OBSERVATIONS.

WE may heere obſerue the ſinceritie, & direct cariage of inferior Commaunders in the Romaine Armie, by the ſcandall theſe two Sauoiens ranne into, for making falſe Muſters, and defrauding the ſouldiers of their due: A matter ſo ordinarie in theſe our times, as cuſtome ſeemeth to iuſtifie the Abuſe. For, what more common in the courſe of our moderne warres, then to make gaine of Companies by muſtering more then they haue in pay? & by turning that which is due to the ſouldier to their own benefit? The firſt wherof, if it be duelie weighed, is an offence of a high nature againſt the State; and the ſecond, ſuch an iniurie to the ſouldier, as can hardly be anſwered.

It is merilie (as I take it) ſaid by Collumella, That, *in foro conceſſum latrocinium*. But, for thoſe to whom is committed the ſafetie of a kingdom, to betray the truſt repoſed in them, by raiſing their meanes with dead paies, & conſequently, ſteading the Cauſe with dead ſeruice; as alſo, by diſabling their Companions & fellow-ſouldiers, from doing thoſe duties which are requiſite, for want of due entertainement, is a thing deſeruing a heauie cenſure, & will doubtleſſe fall out vnto them, as it did to theſe two Bretheren. The ſequell whereof, will appeare by the ſtorie, and confirme that of Xenophon; *Dij haud impunita relinqunt impia et nefaria hominum facta.*

Lib. 5. Cyrop.

CHAP. XXII.

Pompey, attempting to breake out, put Cæſars *Partie to great loſſe.*

Cæſar.

Pompey, beeing informed of theſe things, and hauing formerly reſolued to breake out, as is already declared, gaue order to the ſouldiers, to make them couerings for their Morions, of Oſiers, and to get ſome ſtore of Bauins and Fagots: which beeing prepared, hee ſhipped a great number of the light-armed ſouldiers, and Archers, together with thoſe fagots, in Skiffes and Gallies. And about mid-night, drew threeſcore Cohorts out of the greater Campe, and the places of Guarizon, and ſent them to that part of the fortification vvhich was next vnto the Sea, and furtheſt off from Cæſars greateſt Campe. Thither alſo he ſent the ſhippes before mentioned, filled with light-armed men and fagots; together vvith as many other Gallies as were at Dyrrachium: and gaue directions how euery man ſhould imploy himſelfe.

Cæſar had left Lentulus Marcellinus the Treaſurer, with the Legion newly inrolled, to keepe that fortification; who, for-that he was ſickly, and of an ill diſpoſition of body, had ſubſtituted Fuluius Poſthumus as his coadiutor.

There

There was in that place, a Trench of fifteene foote deepe, and a Rampier against the Enemie, of tenne foote in altitude, and as much in breadth. And about sixe hundred foote from that place, was raised another Rampier, vvith the front the contrary way, but some-what lower then the former. For, some few daies before, Cæsar (fearing that place, least our men should bee circumuented with their shippes) had caused double fortifications to be made in that place; that if (peraduenture) they should bee put to their shifts, they might neuertheless make good resistance. But the greatness of the works, and the continuall labour they daily indured, the fortifications beeing caried eighteene miles in circuit, would not suffer them to finish it. Whereby it happened, that hee had not, as yet, made a Rampier along the Sea-shore, to ioyne these two fortifications together, for the defence thereof: which was informed Pompey, by these two Sauoiens, & brought great damage and losse to our people. For, as the Cohorts of the ninth Legion kept watch and guard vpon the Sea; suddainely, by the breake of day, came Pompeis Armie; vvhich seemed very strange vnto our men: and instantly there-vpon, the souldiers from a-shipboard, assaulted with their vveapons, the inner Rampier; and the rest began to fill vp the Trench.

The legionary souldiers, appointed to keepe the inner fortifications, hauing planted a great number of Ladders to the Rampier, did amuse the Enemie vvith weapons, and Engines of all sorts; and a great number of Archers vvere thronged together on each side. But, the couerings of Osiers which they ware on their head-peeces, did greatly defend them from the blowes of stones, vvhich vvas the onely weapon our men had for that purpose. And as our men vvere ouer-laid with all these things, and did hardly make resistance, they found-out the defect of the fortification, formerly mentioned: and landing their men betweene the two Rampiers, they charged our people in the reare, and so driuing them from both the fortifications, made them turne their backs.

This Alarum beeing heard, Marcellinus sent certaine Cohorts to succour our men: who seeing them flie, could neither reassure them by their comming, nor vvithstand the furie of the Enemy themselues: insomuch, as what reliefe so-euer was sent, was distracted by the feare and astonishment of them that fled away. Whereby, the terrour and the danger was made much the greater, and their retreit vvas hindered, through the multitude of people.

In that fight, the Eagle-bearer beeing grieuously wounded, and fainting for want of strength, looking towards the horsemen; This haue I, said he, in my life time, carefully and diligently defended for many yeeres together; and now, dying, with the same fidelitie doe restore it vnto Cæsar: suffer not (I pray you) such a dishonour, the like whereof, neuer happened in Cæsars Armie, but returne it vnto him in safetie: by vvhich accident, the Eagle vvas saued; all the Centurions of the first Cohort beeing slaine, but the first of the Maniple of the Principes: *and now the Enemy, with great slaughter of our men, approached neere Marcellinus Campe.*

The rest of the Cohorts beeing greatly astonished, M. Antonius holding the next Guarizon to that place, vpon notice thereof, was seene to come downe from the vpper ground, with twelue Cohorts. Vpon whose comming, Pompeis Partie

was

was repreſſed and ſtated, and our men ſome-what reaſſured, giuing them time to come againe to themſelues, out of that aſtoniſhment. And not long after, Cæſar hauing knowledge thereof by ſmoak made out of the Forts, according to the vſe of former time, came thither alſo, bringing with him certaine Cohorts out of the Guarizons.

OBSERVATIONS.

IT is an old ſaying, that Thieues handſell is alwaies naught. But, Traytors handſell is much worſe: as appeareth by the falling away of theſe two Sauoiens; who were the firſt that left Cæſar in this war, and the firſt that brought Pompey good fortune: themſelues ſtanding culpable of as great an offence, as if they had alienated the whole Army. In the courſe whereof, we may ſee plainly that which I haue formerly noted; that it is an excellent thing to be ſtill attempting vpon an Enemie, ſo it be done vpon good grounds and cautions: for, while Pompey ſtood vpon the defenſiue ward, the honour of the contention fell continually vpon Cæſar. And doubtleſſe, he that obſerueth Cæſars proceedings in the cariage of all his wars, ſhall find his fortune to haue ſpecially growne, from his actiue and attempting ſpirite.

Arma alienaſſe graue crimẽ eſt: et ea pœna deſertioni exequatur vtique ſi tota alienauit. Li. 14. §. de re militari.

In this Eagle-bearer, we may ſee verified, that which Paterculus affirmeth of Mithridates, That a valiant ſpirit is ſometimes great by the fauour of Fortune; but alwaies great in a good courage.

Vir virtute eximius, aliquando fortuna, ſemper animo maximus.

For theſe titles of degrees, as *Princeps prior*, and the reſt here mentioned, hauing formerly diſcourſed at large of the parts of a legion, & the Hierarchie of their diſcipline, I will rather referre the Reader there-vnto, then bumbaſt out a volume with diſtaſtefull repetitions.

CHAP. XXIII.

Cæſar purpoſeth to alter the courſe of VVarre; *attempteth to cut off one of Pompeys Legions.*

Cæſar.

CAeſar, vnderſtanding of the loſſe, and perceiuing that Pompey was got out of the fortifications, and was incamped vpon the Sea, in ſuch ſort as he might freely goe out to forrage, & haue no leſſe acceſſe with ſhipping then formerly hee had; changing his courſe of vvarre, which had not ſucceeded to his expectation, he incamped himſelfe faſt by Pompey. The vvorks beeing perfected, it was obſerued by Cæſars Diſcouerers, that certaine Cohorts, to the number of a Legion, were brought behind a wood into the old Campe.

Campe. The site of the Campe was after this manner: The daies before, Cæsars ninth Legion, opposing themselues against Pompeis forces, and working vpon the fortifications (as is before declared) had their Campe in that place, adioyning vnto a wood, and not distant from the sea aboue foure hundred paſes. Afterwards, Cæsar, changing his mind for some certaine causes, transferred his lodging some-what further off from that place. A few daies after the same Camp was possest by Pompey. And forasmuch as hee was to lodge more legions in that place, leauing the inner Rampier standing, hee inlarged the fortification, so that the lesser Campe beeing included in the greater, serued as a Castle or Citadell to the same. Besides also, hee drew a fortification from the right angle of the Campe, foure hundred paſes out-right, to a Riuer, to the end the souldiers might vvater freely, without danger. And he also changing his mind, for some causes not requisite to be mentioned, left the place too: so that the Camp stood empty for many daies together; and all the fortifications were as perfit as at the first.

The Discouerers brought newes to Cæsar, that they had seene an Ensigne of a Legion caried thither. The same was likewise confirmed, from certaine Forts which stood vpon the higher grounds. The place was distant from Pompeis Camp, about D. paſcs. Cæsar, hoping to cut off this legion, and desirous to repaire that daies losse, left two Cohorts at worke, to make a shew of fortifying, and he himselfe (by a contrarie way, in as couert a manner as he could) ledde the rest of the Cohorts, in number thirtie-three (amongst whom was the ninth legion, that had lost many Centurions, and was very weake in souldiers) tovvards Pompeys legion, and the lesser Campe, in a double battaile. Neither did his opinion deceiue him: for, he came thither before Pompey could perceiue it.

*And albeit the fortifications of the Campe were great, yet assaulting it speedily with the left Cornet, wherein he himselfe was, hee draue Pompeys souldiers from the Rampier. There stood a *Turne-pick in the Gate, which gaue occasion of resistance for a vvhile: and as our men would haue entered, they valiantlie defended the Campe; T. Pulcio, by whose meanes C. Antonius Armie was betraied, as we haue formerly declared, fighting there most valiantly: yet neuertheleſſe, our men ouercame them by valour; and cutting vp the Turne-pick, entered first into the greater Campe, and afterwards into the Castle, and slew manie that resisted, of the legion that was forced thither.* * Eritius.

But Fortune, that can doe much in all things, and specially in vvarre, doth in a small moment of time, bring great alterations; as it then happened: for, the Cohorts of Cæsars right Cornet, ignorant of the place, followed the Rampier vvhich went along from the Campe to the Riuer, seeking after the Gate, and taking it to be the Rampier of the Campe: but when they perceiued, that it ioyned to the Riuer, they presently got ouer it, no man resisting them; and all the Caualrie followed after those Cohorts.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

POmpey, hauing cleered his Armie of that ſiege, it booted not Cæſar to proſecute his purpoſe any longer: for, when the end is miſſed, for which any courſe is vndertaken, it were folly to ſeeke it by that meanes. We muſt rather chuſe new waies, that may lead vs to the end of our hopes, then follow the old track, which ſorted to no effect. And yet neuertheleſſe, the ſufficiencie of the Generall, is no way diſabled: for, Albeit a wiſe man doth not alwaies keep one paſe, yet ſtil he holdeth one and the ſame way.

Sapiens nõ ſemper it vno gradu, ſed vna via.

Secondly, that of Xerxes appeareth to be true, that Great attempts are alwaies made with great difficultie and danger. Wherein, the wiſedome of the heathen world aſcribed all to Fortune, as the ſole cauſe of all Markable euents; and that which filled vp both the pages of all the Bookes, wherein men noted the courſe of things: *Clades in bello acceptæ, non ſemper ignauiæ, ſed aliquando Fortunæ temeritati ſunt imputandæ*, ſaith Archidamus; and is that which is aymed at by Cæſar.

Magna negotia magnis cum periculis ſuſcipiuntur. Herodot.

Fortunæ omnia expenſa, omnia ferũtur accepta: et in tota ratione mortalium, ſola vtramque paginam facit. Plin. lib. 2. cap. 7.

CHAP. XXIIII.

The fight continueth, and Cæſar *loſeth.*

Cæſar.

IN the meane while, Pompey, after ſo long a reſpite of time, hauing notice therof, tooke the firſt Legion from their works, and brought them to ſuccour their fellowes: and at the ſame time, his Caualry did approach neere our horſemen; and our men that poſſeſſed the Campe, did diſcouer an Army imbattelled comming againſt them: and all things were ſuddainlie changed. For, Pompeys legion, aſſured with a ſpeedy hope of ſuccour, began to make reſiſtance at the Decumane gate, and voluntarily charged our men.

Cæſars Caualrie, beeing got-ouer the Rampier, into a narrow paſſage, fearing how they might retreit in ſafetie, beganne to flie away. The right Cornet, ſecluded, and cut-off from the left, perceiuing the terrour of the horſemen (leaſt they might be indangered within the fortifications) betooke themſelues to the other ſide, from whence they came: and moſt of them (leaſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed in the ſtraites) caſt themſelues ouer workes of ten foote high, into the ditches: and ſuch as firſt got ouer, beeing troden vnder-foote, by ſuch as followed after; the reſt, ſaued themſelues, in paſsing ouer their bodies.

The ſouldiers of the left Cornet, perceiuing from the Rampier, that Pompey was at hand, and that their owne ſide fledde away, fearing leaſt they ſhould bee ſhut vp in thoſe ſtraights, hauing the Enemy both vvithout and vvithin them, thought

thought it their best course to returne backe the same way they came. Whereby there happened nothing but tumult, feare, and flight: insomuch, as when Cæsar caught hold with his hand, of the Ensignes of them that fledde, and commaunded them to stand; some for feare left their Ensignes behind them, others, forsaking their horses, kept-on their course: neither was there any one of them that would stand. Notwithstanding, in this so great a calamity and mishap, these helps fel out to relieue vs; that Pompey fearing some treachery (for that, as I think, it happened beyond his expectation, who a little before saw his men flie out of his Camp) durst not for a good while approach neere the fortifications: and our men, possessing the narrow passages and the Ports, did hinder the horsemen from following after. And so, a small matter fell out to be of great moment, in the carriage of that accident, on either side. For, the Rampier, which was caried from the Campe to the Riuer (Pompeys Campe beeing already taken) was the onely hinderance of Cæsars expedite and easie victory: and the same thing, hindering the speedy following of their horsemen, was the onely safetie and help of our men.

In those two fights, there vvere wanting of Cæsars men, nine hundred and threescore; and horsemen of note, R. Felginas, Tuticanus Gallus, a Senators son, C. Felginas, of Placentia, Agrauius, of Puteolis, Sacrativirus, of Capua, fiue Tribunes of the souldiers, and thirtie Centurions. But the greatest part of these perished in the Trenches, in the fortifications, and on the Riuer bankes, prest to death with the feare and flight of their fellowes, without any blowe or vvound giuen them. There vvere lost at that time, thirtie two militarie Ensignes.

Pompey, vpon that fight, was saluted by the name of Imperator; which title he then obtained, and so suffered himselfe to be stiled: howbeit, he vsed it not in any of his Missiues, nor yet wore any Laurell in the bundle of Roddes caried before him.

Labienus, hauing begged all the Captiues, caused them (for greater ostentation) to bee brought out in publique; and to giue the more assurance to such as were fledde there, from Cæsars partie; calling them by the name of fellow souldiers, in great derision asked them whether old souldiers were wont to flie? and so caused them all to bestaine.

Pompeis partie tooke such an assurance and spirit vpon these things, that they thought no further of the course of vvar, but carried themselues as though they vvere already Victors: not respecting (as the cause of all this) the paucitie of our men, nor the disaduantage of the place, and the straightnesse thereof, the Campe beeing possessed, and the doubtfull terror both within, and without the works: not yet the Armie diuided into two parts, in such sort, as neither of them were able to help or succour the other. Neither yet did they adde to this, that the fight was not made by any valiant Incounter, or in forme of battell, but that they receiued more hurt from the narrownesse of the place, and from their owne disorder, then from the Enemy.

And to conclude, they did not remember the common chances, and casualties of vvarre: wherein oftentimes, very small causes, either of false suspicion, or of suddaine feare, or out of scruple of Religion, doe inferre great and heauie losses; as often as either by the negligence of the Generall, or the fault of a Tribune,

bune, the Armie is miſordered: but as though they had ouercome by true force of their proweſſe, & that no alteration of things could after happen; they magnified that daies victorie, by Letters and report throughout the whole world.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Ometimes we may thinke to repaire a loſſe, and thereby hazard a greater misfortune. For, albeit the ſaying be common, that A man muſt ſeek his coate where he loſt it, as Dicers do; yet there is alwaies more certaintie in ſeeking, then in finding: For, the circle of humaine affaires, beeing caried round in a courſe, doth not ſuffer happineſſe to continue with one Partie. And there-vpon it was, that Pittacus dedicated a Ladder to the Temple of Mitylene, to put men in mind of their condition: which is nothing elſe but going vp and downe. The life of a ſouldier is a meere Hermaphrodite, and taketh part of either ſexe of Fortune; and is made by Nature, to beget Happineſs of Aduerſitie, and Miſchances of Good-happe; as if the Cauſe of all cauſes, by intermixing ſweet with ſower, would lead vs to his Prouidence, and conſequently to himſelfe, the firſt Mooner of all Motions.

Humanarũ rerũ circulus eſt, quæ rotatus ſemper, eoſdem fortunatos eſſe non ſinit. Herodot. lib. 1.

Habet has vices conditio mortalium, vt aduerſa ex ſecundis, ſecunda ex aduerſis naſcantur. Plin. in Panieg.

The diuerſitie of theſe euents are ſo inchained together, as one ſeemeth to haue relation to the other: for, this taske admitted not of *Veni, vidi, vici*; nor went on with Alexander, marching ouer the Plaines of Aſia, without rub or counterbuffe. But the buſineſs was diſpoſed, heere to receiue a blowe, & there to gaine a victory: And ſo, this loſſe at Dyrrachium, made the battell at Pharſalia the more glorious; and beautified the courſe of this vvarre, with variety of chances. The beſt vſe of theſe Diſaſters, is that which Crœſſus made of his croſſe fortunes, *Mei caſus, etsi ingrati, mihi tamen extitere diſciplinæ.*

Herodot. lib. 1.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

S the Mathematicks, by reaſon of their certaintie, doe admitte demonſtration, as well from the concluſion to the principles, as from the principles to the concluſion: ſo, in the actions of mans life, it is not hard to aſsigne the precedent cauſes, by the ſequell; the euent, beeing oftentimes an vnderſtanding Iudge of things that are paſt. And although it doe no where appeare, what was the cauſe of Labienus leauing Cæſar, yet his inſolent cariage towards theſe Captiues, may make at leaſt a probable coniecture, that his reuolt proceeded from his owne diſpoſition, rather then from any cauſe on Cæſars behalfe. For, where a man hath once done an iniurie, he wil neuer ceaſe heaping one wrong after another, and all to iuſtifie his firſt errour: Where-as on the other ſide, a noble ſpirit, free from ill deſert, will demeane himſelfe, anſwerable to his firſt innocencie.

L'euento è ſpeſſo iudice non imperito delle coſe. Guich. li. 5.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Cæsar speaketh to the Souldiers concerning *this mishap; and forsaketh* the Place.

Caesar.

Caesar, beeing driuen from his former purposes, resolued to change the vvhole course of the warre; so that at one & the same time omitting the siege, and vvithdrawing the Guarizons, hee brought all the Armie into one place, and there spake vnto the souldiers: exhorting them not to thinke much at those things that had happened, nor to be amuzed therewith; but to counterpoise this losse (which vvas in a mediocritie) vvith manie happie and fortunate battailes they had gained.

Let them thank Fortune, that they had taken Italy without blowe or wound; that they had quieted and put in peace, both the Prouinces of Spaine, full of warlike men, and directed by skilfull and practised Commaunders; that they also had subdued the fertile bordering Prouinces: and likewise, that they should remember, vvith what facilitie they were all transported in safetie through the midst of the Enemies fleets; not onely the Hauens and Ports, but all the coast being full of shipping.

If all things fell not out prosperously, Fortune was to bee helped by their industrie. The losse which was receiued, might bee attributed to any man rather then vnto him: for, he had giuen them a secure place to fight in; had possest himselfe of the Enemies Campe; driuen them out, and ouercome them in fight. But whether it vvere their feare, or any other errour, or Fortune herselfe, that would interrupt a victorie alreadie gained, euery man was now to labour to repaire the damage they had sustained, with their valour: vvhich if they did indeauour, hee vvould turne their losse into aduantage, as it formerly fell out at Gergonia; that such as before were affraid to fight, did of their owne accord, offer themselues to battell.

The Philosopher Crator, was wont to say, that To be no occasion of an ill hap, is a great comfort in any manner of aduersity. Plut. in conso. Apo.

Hauing ended his speech, hee displaced some Ensigne-bearers. The Armie, there-vpon, conceiued such a griefe of the blowe that was giuen them, and such a desire they had to repaire their dishonour, that no man needed the commaund either of a Tribune, or Centurion; and were withall, inflamed with an earnest desire of fighting: insomuch, as many of the higher Orders, thought it requisite to continue in the place, and referre the cause to a battell. But contrariwise, Caesar vvas not assured of the terrified souldiers, and thought it expedient besides, to interpose some time for the setling of their minds; fearing likewise, least he should be straightned through scarcity of Corne, vpon the leauing of his fortifications. And therefore, without any further delay, giuing order for such as were

Ignominia notauit.

vvounded and ſicke; as ſoone as it vvas night, hee conuaied all the cariages ſecretly out of the Campe, and ſent them before, towards Apolonia, forbidding them to reſt vntill they came to their lodging; & ſent one legion withall to conuoy them.

That beeing done, he retained two Legions within the Campe: and the reſt, beeing ledde out at diuers Ports, about the fourth watch of the night, hee ſent them the ſame way. And after a little pauſe (for the obſeruing of Military order, and to the end his ſpeedy departure might not be diſcouered) he commaunded them to take vp the cry of truſsing vp their baggage; and preſently ſetting forward, ouertooke the former troope, and ſo vvent ſpeedily out of the ſight of the Campe.

Pompey, hauing notice of his purpoſe, made no delay to follow after: but ayming at the ſame things, either to take them incombered in their march, or aſtoniſhed with feare, brought forth his Armie, and ſent his horſemen before, to ſtay the Reareward. But Cæſar went with ſo ſpeedy a march, that he could not ouertake them, vntill hee came to the Riuer Genuſus; vvhere, by reaſon of the high and vneaſie bankes, the Caualrie ouertooke the taile of the Armie, and ingaged them in fight. Amongſt whom, Cæſar oppoſed his horſemen, and intermingled vvith them foure hundred expedite ſouldiers, of them that had place before the Enſignes: Who ſo much preuailed in the incounter, that they draue them all away before them, ſlew many of them, and returned themſelues in ſafetie to their troopes.

Cæſar, hauing made a iuſt daies march, according to his firſt determination, and brought his Armie ouer the Riuer Genuſus, he lodged in his old Camp ouer-againſt Aſparagus, and kept all the ſouldiers within the Rampier, commaunding the horſe that went out to forrage, to be preſently taken in, by the Decumane Port.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Præliorum delicta emendationem non accipiunt. Vegeti. lib. 1. cap. 14.

ALbeit that of Cato be true, that an Errour in fight is not capable of amendement: yet out of that which happeneth amiſſe, may alwaies be ſome-what gathered, to repaire the diſaduantage, and to diſpoſe a Partie to better cariage for the future. Accordingly we may note Cæſars notable temper and demeanour, after ſo great a loſſe; recalling the courage of his ſouldiers, & ſetling their minds in a courſe of good reſolution, with as many valuable reaſons as humane wiſdom was able to afford him: without which, all their other aduantages, either of valor or experience & vſe of Armes, or their aſſurednes after ſo many victories, or what other thing ſoeuer, that made thē excell all other Armies, had beene vtterlie buried in this ouerthrow. For his better furtherance wherein, he thought it fit to vſe the help of time, before he brought them to the like triall. For, that which is ſaid of griefe, If reaſon wil not giue an end

end vnto it, time will; is to be vnderstood of any other passion of the mind: which cannot possible be so great, but time will consume it.

Finem dolendi, qui consilio non fecerit, tempore inuenit. Senec. Epist. 64.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THe second thing which commeth to bee handled, is the manner of Cæsars retreit; beeing as exquisite a patterne in this kind, as is extant in any storie: and is the rather to be considered, forasmuch as it is one of the principall points of Militarie Art, and woorthiest the knowledge of a Generall, To be able, vpon all occasions, to make a safe and sure retreit. For, those that can doe nothing else, can easily put themselues into a vvarre: but, to returne them home againe in safetie, is that which concerneth the honour of a Leader.

Many are the causes, that may mooue a Commaunder to dislodge himselfe, and to leaue his Aduersarie for a time: but, the meanes to doe it safely depend specially vpon these two points; The one is, to aduaunce himselfe onward at first, as farre as possibly he can, to the end he may get the start, before the enemie be ready to follow him: and is taught by Xenophon; who, after the death of Cyrus, in the battell against King Artaxerxes, brought backe a thousand men into Greece, from an Armie of two hundred thousand horse, that preaced hard vpon them, for fiue hundred leagues together. Which retreit is exactlie storied by the said Author, in seauen bookes containing all the difficulties concerning this point: amongst which, we find this passage.

It much imported vs, saith hee, to goe as farre at first as possiblie we could; to the end wee might haue some aduantage of space before the Enemie, that preaced so neere behind: for, if we once got before, and could out-strip them for a daies iourney or two, it was not possible for them to ouertake vs; forasmuch as they durst not follow vs with a small troope, & with great forces they could neuer reach vs: besides the scarcitie and want of victuall they fell into, by following vs, that consumed all before them. *Lib. 2.*

Thus farre goeth Xenophon. And according to this rule, Cæsar ordered his retreit: for, he got the start of Pompey so farre the first day, by that eight mile hee gained in the after-noone, as it followeth in the next Chapter, that he was neuer able to ouer-take him.

The second thing for the assuring of a retreit is, So to prouide against the incomberances of an Enemie, that hee may not find it easie to attack him that would be gone. Of all retreits which may any way be taken from example of Beasts, that of the Wolfe is most commended: who neuer flies, but with his head turned back vpon his aduersaries; and shewes such teeth, as are not to be trusted.

After the Wolfes manner marched Cæsar: for, howsoeuer the body of his Armie retreited one way, yet they turned so terrible a countenaunce towards the Enemie, as was not to be indured. And vpon these two hinges, is turned the carriage of a skilfull retreit.

Howbeit, for the better furtherance heereof, it ſhall not bee impertinent to adde heere-vnto ſome inuentions, practiced by great Commaunders, which may ſerue to amuſe an Enemie, vvhile a Generall doth prepare himſelfe to obſerue the former points.

Liuie. 31. King Philip of Macedon, deſirous to leaue the Romaine Armie, ſent a Herauld to the Conſull, to demaund a ceſſation of Armes, while hee buried his dead: which hee purpoſed to performe the next day, with ſome care and ſolemnitie. Which beeing obtained, he diſlodged himſelfe ſecretlie that night, and was got farre on his way before the Romaines perceiued it.

Liuie. 27 Hanniball, to cleere his Armie from that of the Romaines, which was commaunded by the Conſull Nero, about midnight made manie fires, in that part which ſtood next the Romaine Campe: and leauing certaine Pauillions and Lodgings, with ſome few Numidians, to ſhew themſelues vpon the Rampier, hee departed ſecretlie towards Puteolis. As ſoone as it was day, the Romaines (according to their cuſtome) approaching the Counterſcarpe, the Numidians ſhewed themſelues; and then ſuddainely made after their fellowes, as faſt as their horſes could carry them. The Conſull, finding a great ſilence in the Campe, ſent two Light-horſmen to diſcouer the matter: who returning, told him of the Enemies departure.

Lib. 2. de bello Ciuili. In like manner, Varus (as is formerlie related) left a Trumpeter in the Campe, neere Vtica, with certaine Tents; and about midnight, caried his Armie ſecretly into the Towne.

Front. lib. 1. cap. 1. Mithridates, willing to leaue Pompey, that cut him off ſhort; the better to couer his departure, made ſhew of making greater prouiſion of forrage then hee was accuſtomed: appointed conferences the next day: made great ſtore of fires in his Campe; and then in the night eſcaped away.

The Perſians, in the voiage which Solyman the Turke made againſt them, in the yeere one thouſand fiue hundred fiftie foure, beeing driuen to a Place where the Ottomans thought to haue had a hand vpon them, gathered euerie man a fagot; and making a great heape thereof, ſet them all on fire, in the paſſage of the Turkes Armie: which burned ſo furiouſlie, as the Perſian eſcaped before the Enemie could paſſe by the fire.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Cæsar goeth-on in his retreit: Pompey *ceaseth to follow him.*

(·.·)

IN like manner, Pompey hauing that day marched a full iourney, betooke himselfe to his former lodging at Asparagus. And, for-that the souldiers vvere not troubled with fortifying their Campe, by reason all the vvorkes were vvhole and intire, many of them went out farre off to get vvood; and to seeke forrage. Others, rising hastily, had left a great part of their luggage behind them; and induced by the necrenesse of the last nights loding, left their Armes, and vvent backe to fetch those things that vvere behind. Insomuch, as Cæsar, seeing them thus scattered (as before hee had conceiued how it vvould fall out) about high noone gaue vvarning to depart, and so ledde out his Armie; and doubling that daies iourney, hee vvent from that place about eight mile: Which Pompey could not doe, by reason of the absence of his souldiers. Cæsar.

The next day, Cæsar, hauing in like manner sent his carriages before, in the beginning of the night, set forward himselfe, about the fourth watch; that if there vvere any suddaine necessity of fighting, he might (at all occasions) be readie with the whole Armie. The like he did the daies following: by which it happened, that in his passage ouer great Riuers, and by difficult and cumbersome waies, he receiued no detriment or losse at all. For, Pompey being staied the first day, and afterwards striuing in vaine, making great iourneys, and yet not ouertaking vs, the fourth day gaue-ouer following, and betooke himselfe to another resolution.

Cæsar, as well for the accommodating of his vvounded men, as also for paying the Armie, reassuring his Allies and Confederates, & leauing Guarizons in the townes, was necessarily to goe to Apolonia: but hee gaue no longer time for the dispatch of these things, then could be spared by him that made haste. For, fearing least Domitius should bee ingaged by Pompeys arriuall, hee desired to make towards him vvith all possible celeritie: his vvhole purpose and resolution, insisting vpon these reasons; That if Pompey did follow after him, hee should by that meanes draw him from the Sea-side, and from such prouisions of vvarre as hee had stored vp at Dyrrachium: and so should compell him to vnder-take the vvarre, vpon equall conditions. If hee vvent ouer into Italie, hauing ioyned his Armie vvith Domitius, hee vvould goe to succour Italie by the way of Illiricum. But, if hee should goe about to besiege Apolonia, or Oricum, and so exclude him from all the Sea-coast, he would then besiege Scipio, and force Pompey to relieue him.

And therefore, hauing writ and ſent to Cn. Domitius, what he would haue done (leauing foure Cohorts to keepe Apolonia; one at Liſſus, and three at Oricum, and diſpoſing ſuch as vvere weake through their wounds, in Epirus and Acarnania) he ſet forward.

OBSERVATIONS.

Lib. 5. de Mil. Ro. cap. 14.

Lib. 1. cap. 1.

Confecto iuſto itinere eius diei, ſaith the ſtorie. Which giueth occaſion to inquire, how far this iuſt daies iourney extended. Lipſius ſaith, it was twentie-foure miles, alleaging that of Vegetius; *Militari gradu* (ſaith he) *viginti millia paſſuum horis quinq; duntaxat æſtiuis conficienda: pleno autem gradu qui citatior eſt, totidem horis viginti quatuor*; vnderſtanding *iuſtum iter*, to bee ſo much as was meaſured *militari gradu*. But he that knowes the marching of an Armie, ſhall eaſilie perceiue the impoſsibilitie of marching ordinarilie twentie-foure miles a day. Beſides, this place doth plainly confute it; for, firſt, hee ſaith that hee made a iuſt daies iourney: and then againe, riſing about noone, doubled that daies iourney, and went eight miles. Which ſhewes, that their *Iuſtum iter* was about eight mile: and ſo ſuteth the ſlowe conueiance of an Armie, with more probabilitie then that of Lipſius.

CHAP. XXVII.

Pompey haſteth to Scipio. Domitius heareth *of the ouerthrowe.*

Cæſar.

Pompey alſo, coniecturing at Cæſars purpoſe, thought it requiſite for him to haſten to Scipio, that he might ſuccour him if Cæſar ſhould chaunce to intend that way: but if it ſo fell out that he would not depart from the Sea-ſhore, and Corcyra, as expecting the legions and Caualrie to come out of Italie, he would then attack Domitius. For, theſe cauſes, both of them made haſte, as well to aſsiſt their Parties, as to ſurprize their enemies, if occaſion vvere offered: but Cæſar had turned out of the way, to goe to Apolonia; whereas Pompey had a ready way into Macedonia by Caudania. To which there happened an other incouenience: that Domitius, who for many daies together had lodged hard-by Scipios Campe, vvas now departed from thence, to make prouiſion of Corne, vnto Heraclea Sentica, which is ſubiect to Caudania; as though Fortune would haue thruſt him vpon Pompey. Moreouer, Pompey had writ to all the States and Prouinces, of the ouerthrowe at Dyrrachium, in farre greater tearmes then the thing it ſelfe was: and had noiſed it abroad; that Cæſar vvas beaten, had loſt all his forces, and fled away.

Which

Which reports, made the waies very hard and dangerous to our men, & drew many States from Cæsars partie: whereby it happened, that many Messengers beeing sent, both from Cæsar to Domitius, and from Domitius to Cæsar, vvere forced to turne back againe, and could not passe. Howbeit, some of the followers of Roscillus and Aegus (who as is before shewed, had fled vnto Pompey) meeting on the way vvith Domitius Discouerers (vvhether it were out of their old acquaintance, hauing liued together in the vvarres of Gallia; or otherwise, out of vaine-glorie) related all vvhat had happened; not omitting Cæsars departure, or Pompeis comming. Whereof Domitius being informed, and beeing but scarce foure houres before him, did (by the helpe of the enemy) avoide a most eminent danger, and met with Cæsar at Eginum: which is a towne situate vpon the frontires of Thessalia.

OBSERVATIONS.

IOy is an opening and dilating motion; and oftentimes openeth the bodie so wide, as it letteth out the soule: which returneth not again. And in like manner, the causes of all such exsultations, doe for the most part, spread themselues further then is requisite.

Pompey, hauing victorie in hope, rather then in hand, boasted as though all were his: Not considering, that the happinesse or disaster of humane actions, doth not depend vpon the particulars, rising in the course thereof, which are variable and diuers; but according as the euent shall censure it. Wherevpon, the Russes haue a saying in such cases, that Hee, that laughes afterward, laughes too: as Cæsar did.

Humanarũ actionum felicitas infelicitasque non è singularibus rerum particulis quæ multæ sunt et variæ, sed ex euentu iudicantur. Dionys. Hal. lib. 9.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Cæsar sacketh Gomphos, in Thessalia.

Cæsar, hauing ioyned both Armies together, came to Gomphos, vvhich is the first towne of Thessalia by the way leading out of Epirus. These people, a few daies before, had of their owne accord, sent Embassadours to Cæsar, offering all their meanes and abilities to be disposed at his pleasure; requiring also a Guarizon of souldiers from him. But now they had heard of the ouer-throwe at Dyrrachium: which vvas made so great, and so preuailed vvith them, that Androstenes, Prætor of Thessalia (chusing rather to be a partaker of Pompeis victorie, then a companion with Cæsar in aduersitie) had drawne all the multitude of seruaunts and children out of the Country, into the towne; and shutting vp the Gates, dispatched Messengers to Scipio & Pompey, for succour to be sent vnto him, in that hee was not able to hold out a long siege. Scipio, vnderstanding of the departure of the Armies from Dyrrachium, had

had brought the legions to Lariſſa: and Pompey did not as yet approach neere vnto Theſſalia.

Cæſar, hauing fortified his Campe, commaunded Mantilets, Ladders, and Hurdles to be made ready for a ſurprize: which beeing fitted and prepared, hee exhorted the ſouldiers, and ſhewed them what need there was (for the relieuing of their vvants, and ſupplying of all neceſſaries) to poſſeſſe thẽſelues, of an opulent and full towne; as alſo by their example, to terrifie the other Citties: and what they did, to doe ſpeedily, before it could be ſuccoured. Where-vpon, by the ſingular induſtrie of the ſouldiers, the ſame day he came thither, giuing the aſſault after the ninth houre (notwithſtanding the exceeding height of the walls) hee tooke the Towne before ſunne-ſetting, and gaue it to the ſouldiers to bee rifled: And preſently remoouing from thence, came to Metropolis, in ſuch ſort, as he out-went as well Meſſengers, as newes of taking the Towne.

After three of the clocke in the afternoone.

The Metropolitanes, induced with the ſame reſpects, at firſt ſhutte vp their gates, and filled their vvalls with Armed men: but afterwards, vnderſtanding by the Captiues (whom Cæſar cauſed to be brought forth) what had happened to them of Gomphos, they preſently opened their gates; and by that meanes vvere all preſerued in ſafetie. Which happineſſe of theirs, beeing compared vvith the deſolation of Gomphos, there was no one State of all Theſſalia (excepting them of Lariſſa, which were kept in with great forces by Scipio) but yeelded obedience to Cæſar, and did what he commaunded. And, hauing gotte a place plentious of Corne, which was now almoſt ripe, he reſolued to attend Pompeis comming; and there to proſecute the reſidue of that warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

Iuie ſaith, that the ſiege of that Place which we would quicklie take, muſt be proſecuted & vrged hard. Which rule, Cæſar obſerued: for, he followed it ſo hard, that he tooke the Towne fortified with exceeding high walls, in foure houres ſpace, or thereabouts, after he beganne to aſſault it. Which, Plutarch ſaith, was ſo plentifully ſtored of all neceſſarie prouiſion, that the ſouldiers found there a refection of all the miſeries and wants they ſuffered at Dyrrachium: inſomuch as they ſeemed to be new made, both in bodie and courage; by reaſon of the vvine, victuals & riches of that place: which were all giuen vnto them, according to that of Xenophon; *Lex inter omnes homines perpetua eſt, quando belligerantium vrbs capta fuerit, cuncta eorum eſſe qui eam ceperint, et corpora eorum qui in vrbe ſunt et bona.*

Lib. 5. Obſidio eius vrbis quam citò capere velis, et vrgenda et premẽda.

Lib. 6. de Inſti. Cyri.

Appian ſaith, the Germaines were ſo drunke, that they made all men laugh at them: and, that if Pompey had ſurpriſed thẽ in theſe diſorders, they might haue paid deare for their entertainement. Hee addeth moreouer (to ſhew the ſtiffeneſſe of the inhabitants againſt Cæſar) that there were found, in a Surgeons Hall, twentie-two principal Perſonages, ſtiffe-dead vpon the ground, without appearance of any wound, hauing their goblets by them: and hee that gaue

Bello lex acquirendi iuſtiſsima. Diony. Halicar. in exper. legat.

gaue the poison, sitting vpright in a Chaire, as dead as the rest. And as Phillip, hauing taken Acrolisse, in the Country of the Ictirians, drew all the rest to his obedience, through the feare they conceiued of their vsage: so the consideration of the calamitie which befell Gomphos, and the good intreatie which the Metropolitans found, by yielding vnto Cæsar, brought all the other Citties, vnder his commaund. *Polyb. lib. 8.*

CHAP. XXIX.

Pompey commeth into Thessalia: his Armie *conceiued assured hope of* victorie.

Pompey, a few daies after, came into Thessalia; & there, calling all the Armie together, first gaue great thanks to his owne men, and then exhorted Scipios souldiers, that the victorie beeing already obtained, they would be partakers of the bootie, and of the rewards: and taking all the legions into one Campe, he made Scipio partaker both of his honour and authoritie, commaunding the Trumpets to attend his pleasure, for matter of direction, and that he should vse a Prætoriall Pauillion. *Cæsar.*

Pompey, hauing strengthened himselfe, vvith an addition of another great Armie, euery man was confirmed in his former opinion; and their hope of victorie vvas increased: so that the longer they delaied the matter, the more they seemed to prolong their returne into Italie. And albeit Pompey proceeded slowelie and deliberatly in the business, yet it was but a daies worke, howsoeuer hee might be well pleased with authoritie and commaund; and to vse men both of Consular dignitie, and of the Prætorian order, as his vassalls and seruaunts.

And now they began to dispute openly, concerning rewards, and dignities of Prelacie: and quoted out those, which from yeere to yeere were to be chosen Consuls. Others begged the houses and goods of such as vvere with Cæsar. Besides, a great controuersie that further grew betweene them in open councell, whether L. Hertius were not to be regarded at the next election of Prators, beeing absent, and imploied by Pompey against the Parthians. And, as his friends vrged Pompey with his promise giuen at his departure, requiring hee might not now be deceiued through his greatnesse & authoritie; the rest, running a course of as great danger and labour, saw no reason (by way of contradiction) why one man should bee respected before all others. And now Domitius, Scipio, and Spinther Lentulus, began to grow to high words in their daily meetings, concerning Cæsars Priesthood: Lentulus alleadging, by way of ostentation, the honour that was due to his age and authoritie; Domitius vaunting of the credit and fauour he had at Rome: and Scipio, trusting to Pompeis alliance. Moreouer, Atius Rufus accused L. Affranius to Pompey, for betraying the Armie in Spaine. L.

Domitius

Domitius gaue out in councell, That all ſuch as vvere of the rank of Senators, ſhould be inquired-vpon by a triple Commiſsion: and that thoſe which were perſonally in the warre, ſhould be of the Commiſsion to iudge the reſt; as well ſuch as vvere at Rome, as thoſe that did no ſeruice in this warre. The firſt Commiſſion, ſhould be to cleare ſuch as had well-deſerued, from all danger. The ſecond, Penall: and the third, Capitall. And to conclude, euery man laboured, either to haue a reward, or to bee auenged of his Enemie. Neither did they thinke ſo much of the meanes how to ouercome, as how to vſe the victorie.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

Comineus.

THe Tale which the Emperour Frederick related to the Commiſsioners of Lewis the eleuenth, King of Fraunce (concerning the parting betweene them of the Territories of Charles, Duke of Burgundie) Not to ſell the skin before they had killed the Beare; might well haue fitted theſe of Pompeis Partie, that contended for offices before they fell, and diſpoſed of the skinnes ere they had tooke the Beares: Not ſparing out of their impatiencie to tax Pompey of ſpinning out the warre, for the ſweetneſſe he found in authoritie & commaund; as Agamemnon did at Troy. Inſomuch, as Plutarch reporteth, That one Fauonius, imitating Catos ſeuerity & freenes of ſpeech, went about throughout all the Campe, demaunding, Whether it were not great pitie, that the ambitious humour of one man, ſhould keepe them that yeere, from eating the figs and delicate fruite of Thuſculum? And all men, generally, ſtood ſo affected, as Pompey could not withſtand their inforcements. For, as Florus ſaith; *Milites otium, ſocij morã, principes ambitum Ducis increpabant.* Onely Cato thought it not fitte, to hazard themſelues vpon a deſperate man, that had neither hope or help, but in Fortune. But, as in moſt things beſides, ſo in this he ſtoode alone, and could not preuaile againſt a multitude.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

PLacere ſibi ternas tabellas dari, ad indicandum ijs, qui erant ordinis Senatorij, ſaith the ſtorie; which *Tabellas*, I haue tranſlated Commiſsions, as beſt ſuting our Engliſh phraſe: but the meaning was as followeth.

It appeareth by hiſtorie, that the Romaine people, as well in election of Magiſtrates, as in cauſes criminall, did giue their voices openly & aloud, for ſixe hundred yeeres together; vntill one Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, perceiuing that the Commons, for feare of the great Ones, durſt not diſpoſe of their voices freely, and as they would, publiſhed an Edict, that The people ſhould giue their voices by Balating. Which law, Tully commendeth; *Grata eſt tabella quæ frontes operit, hominum mentes tegit, datque eam libertatem quod velint faciant.* And in another place, hee calleth it *Principiũ iuſtiſsimæ*

In orat. pro Planco.

iustissimæ libertatis. Vpon an election of Magistrates, the balls were giuen according to the number of the Competitors; that euery man might chuse as he pleased.

In criminall Causes, euery man had three: one marked with A. signifying Absolution, and another with C. for Condemnation, and another with N.L. for *Non liquet*, which they called *Ampliatio*, desirous to be further informed; which our Grand Iuries doe expresse by an *Ignoramus*. And in this manner, would Domitius haue had his fellow Senators either quitted or condemned. The balls which were giuen vpon the making of a law, were two: one marked with V.R. which signified *Vti rogas*, that it might goe on: and the other with A. signifying *Antiquo*; reiecting it. For, as Festus noteth, *Antiquare est in modum pristinum reducere.*

And in this manner they would haue proceeded against Cæsars Partizans, beeing altogether mistaken, in the assurance of their happinesse: the continuance whereof, depended vpon Vertue, and not vpon Fortune.

Virtus felicitatis mensura: nõ fortuna Dio. Halicar. lib. 2.

CHAP. XXX.

Cæsar, finding the Enemy to offer battell in an *indifferent Place, prepareth to* vndertake him.

Cæsar.

Rouision of Corne beeing made, and the souldiers well resolued (to which end he had interposed a sufficient space of time, after the battell at Dyrrachium) Cæsar thought it time now to try what purpose or will Pompey had to fight. And therefore, drawing the Armie out of the Campe, hee imbattelled his troopes, first, vpon the place, and some-what remooued from Pompeis Campe: but euery day following, he went further off his own trenches, and brought his Armie vnder the hills whereon the Enemy lay incamped: vvhich made his Armie daily the more bold and assured, keeping continually his former course with his horsemen; who because they were lesse in number by manie degrees then those of Pompeis partie, hee commaunded certaine lusty young men, chosen out of them that stood before the Ensignes for their nimble & swift running, to fight amongst the horsemen: and by reason of their daily practise, had learned the vse of that kind of fight. So that one thousand of our Caualrie, in open and Champaine places, would when need were, vndergoe the charge of seauen thousand of theirs, and were not much terrified vvith the multitude of them. For, in that time they made a fortunate incounter, and slew one of the two Sauoiens, that had formerly fled to Pompey, with diuers others.

Pompey, hauing his Campe vpon a hill, imbattelled his Armie at the lower foote thereof, to see if he could get Cæsar to thrust himselfe into an vnequall and disaduantageous place. Cæsar, thinking that Pompey vvould by no meanes bee drawne

drawne to battell, thought it the fitteſt courſe for him to ſhift his Campe, and to be alwaies in moouing: hoping by often remooues from place to place, he ſhould be better accõmodated for prouiſion of Corne; and withall, might vpon a march, find ſome occaſion to fight. Beſides, hee ſhould wearie Pompeis Armie, not accuſtomed to trauell, with daily and continuall iourneys: and there-vpon, he gaue the ſigne of diſlodging.

But, as the Tents were taken downe, it was a little before obſerued, that Pompeis Armie was aduaunced ſomewhat further from their Trenches, then ordinarily they were accuſtomed; ſo that it ſeemed they might fight in an equall and indifferent place. Wherevpon, Cæſar, when his troopes were already in the gates ſetting out; It behoueth vs, ſaith he, to put off our remouing for the preſent, and bethinke our ſelues of fighting, as we haue alwaies deſired; for, we ſhall not eaſily hereafter find the like occaſion: and preſently drew out his forces. Pompey alſo, as it was afterwards knowne, was reſolued (at the inſtance of all that were about him) to giue battell; for, hee had giuen out in councell ſome few daies before, that he would ouerthrowe Cæſars Armie, before the troopes came to ioyne battell.

Prima egregiorum ducum ſapientia victoriã ſine periculo cõparare. Polyæ. li. 1. ſtratage.

And, as many that ſtood by wondered at it, I know, ſaith he, that I promiſe almoſt an incredible matter: but take the ground whereupon I ſpeake it, that you may vndergoe the buſineſs with more aſſurance. I haue perſwaded the Caualrie, and they haue promiſed to accompliſh it, that whẽ they come neere to ioyne, they ſhall attack Cæſars right Cornet on the open ſide; and ſo the Army being circumvented behind, ſhall be amuſed and routed, before our men can caſt a vveapon at them. Whereby, we ſhall end the warre without danger of the Legions, or almoſt without any wound receiued: which is not difficult or hard to doe, for vs that are ſo ſtrong in horſe; and vvithall, gaue order that they ſhould be ready againſt the next day, foraſmuch as the occaſion was offered (according as they had often intended) not to deceiue the opinion which other men had of their proweſſe and valour.

Labienus, ſeconding this ſpeech, as contemning Cæſars forces, extolled Pompeis reſolution to the skies. Doe not thinke, Pompey, ſaith he, that this is the Armie vvhere-with he conquered Gallia, or Germania; I was preſent my ſelfe at all thoſe battells, and doe not ſpeake raſhly vvhat Iam ignorant off. There is a very ſmall peece of that Army remaining: a great part of them are dead, as cannot otherwiſe be choſen, in ſo many battells. The Peſtilence (the laſt Autumne) in Italy conſumed many of them; many are gone home, and many are left in the Continent. Haue ye not heard, that the Cohorts which are now at Brunduſium, are made and raiſed of ſuch as remained behind there to recouer their healthes? Theſe forces that ye ſee, were the laſt yeere gathered, of the Muſters made in the hither Gallia; and moſt of them, of the Colonies beyond the Po: and yet all the flower and ſtrength of them, was taken away in the laſt two ouerthrowes at Dyrrachium.

When he had ſpoken theſe things, he tooke a ſolemne oath, not to returne into the Campe but with victorie, exhorting the reſt to doe the like. Pompey, commending him, tooke the ſame oath: neither was there any man that refuſed it.

Theſe

These things beeing thus caried in the councell, they rose vp, and departed, with great hope and ioy of all men; as hauing alréady conceiued victory in their minds: and the rather, because they thought that nothing could be spoken vainlie, by so skilfull a Commaunder, in so weightie and important a Cause.

OBSERVATIONS.

Concerning the fashion of the Caualrie, in which either Partie reposed so much confidence, wee are to note, that the Romaines had two sorts of horsemen; the one compleatlie armed (according to their manner) and incorporated in the bodie of their Legions, whose entertainement, was thrice as much as the foote-men. *Aeque impotens postulatum fuit* (saith Liuie) *vt de stipendio equitum (merebant autem triplex ea tempestate) æra demerentur.* And the other, were as light-horsemen, which they called *Alarij*. *Lib. 7.*

The first sort were thus armed, as Iosephus witnesseth; They wore a sword on their right side, somewhat longer then that of the footmen, & caried a long staffe or speare in their hand, a Target at their horse side, and three or more Darts in a quiuer, with broad heads, and not much lesse then their staues; hauing such head-peeces and corselets as the foote-men had. *Lib. 3. Excid.*

The light-armed men, had either light Darts, or Boawe and Arrowes. And doubtlesse, their chiefest seruice was with their casting weapons. And accordingly, Tully putteth his sonne in mind, of the praise hee had got in Pompeis Armie (where he commaunded a wing of horse); *Equitando, iaculando, omni militari labore tolerando.* *2 Offic.*

And, as their seruice consisted in breaking their Staues vpon an Enemy, & in casting their Darts; so wee exercise the practice of the former, in our triumphs at Tilt; and the Spaniards the later, in their *Iocuo di cane.*

Our moderne horsemen, are either Launciers, Petronelliers, or Pistoliers. The Petronelliers do discharge at a distance; making their left hand that holds the bridle, their rest: which is vncertaine, and to no great effect.

The Pistoliers, that will doe some-what to purpose, doe come vp close one to another, and discharge his Pistoll in his enemies necke, or vnder the corselet, about the flanke or seate of a man; and commonly misseth not.

I haue seene a deuice to vse a Musket on horse-backe, which if it prooue as seruiceable as is by some conceiued, will be of great aduantage.

CHAP. XXXI.

The manner of imbattelling their Armies.

Caſar.

AS Cæſar approached neere vnto Pompeis Campe, hee obſerued his Armie to be imbattelled in this manner; There were in the left Cornet two legions, which in the beginning of theſe broiles, were by order and decree of Senate, taken from Cæſar; whereof one was called the firſt, & the other the third: and vvith them ſtood Pompey. Scipio had the middle ſquadron, with the legions he brought out of Syria.

The Legion of Cilicia, ioyned with the Spaniſh Cohorts, vvhich Afranius brought with him, made the right Cornet. Theſe Pompey held to be very ſtrong. The reſt of the troopes were interlaced, betweene the middle Squadron, and the Cornets, and made in all one hundred and tenne Cohorts, vvhich amounted to fiftie-fiue thouſand men: beſides two thouſand old ſouldiers, and men of note, whom he had called out to that warre, and diſperſed them ouer all the Armie. The reſt of the cohorts, which were ſeauen, he had left in the Campe, or diſpoſed about the forts neere adioyning. The right Cornet was flanked with a Riuer, that had high & cumberſome banks: and therevpon he put all his Caualrie, together vvith the Archers and Slingers in the left Cornet.

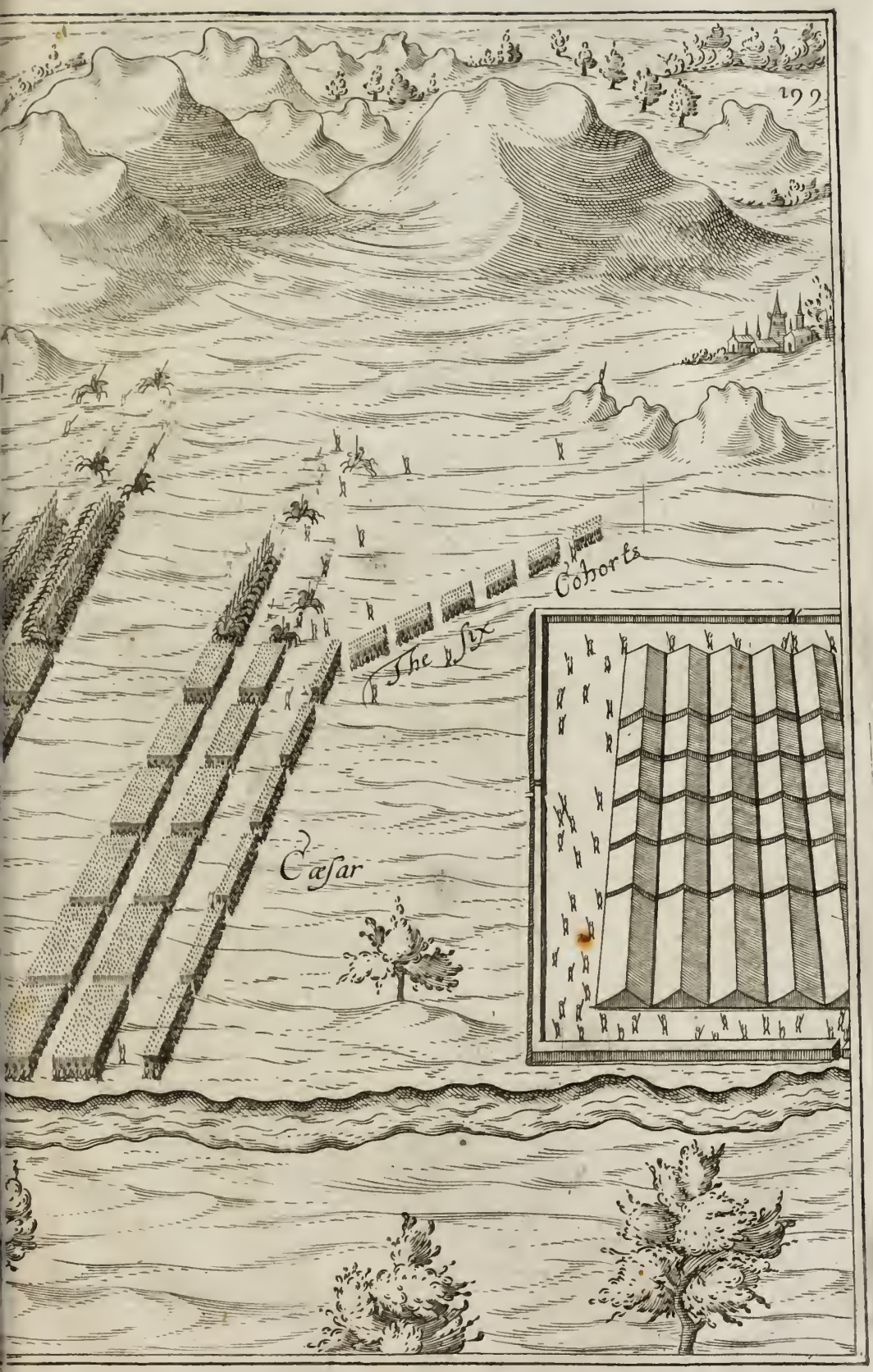
Cæſar, obſeruing his former cuſtome, placed the tenth legion in the right Cornet, and the ninth in the left; albeit they were very much weakened in the fights at Dyrrachium: but to this he ſo ioyned the eight, that he ſeemed almoſt to make one of two, and commaunded them to ſuccour each other. Hee had in all about eighty cohorts, which made twenty-two M. men. He left two cohorts to keepe the Campe, and gaue the left Cornet to Antonius: the right to Pub. Sylla, and the middle Squadron to Cn. Domitius, and put himſelfe oppoſite to Pompey. And vvithall, hauing well obſerued theſe things (according as I haue formerly declared) fearing leaſt the right Cornet ſhould be incloſed about with the multitude of the Caualrie, he ſpeedily drew ſixe cohorts out of the third battell, & of them he made a fourth, to incounter the horſemen: and ſhewed them what hee would haue done; admoniſhing vvithall, that the victorie of that day conſiſted in the valour of thoſe cohorts, commaunding the third battell; and likewiſe the whole Armie not to ioyne battell without order from him: which when he thought fit, he would giue them notice thereof by an Enſigne.

In manibus veſtris quantus ſit Cæſar habetis. Lucan. lib. 7.

And going about to incourage them to fight, according to the vſe of vvarre; he put them in mind of his fauours, and his carriage towards them from time to time; and ſpecially, that they themſelues were witneſſes, with what labour and meanes he had ſought for peace, as well by treaty with Vatinius, as alſo by imploying Claudius to Scipio: and likewiſe how he had indeauoured at Oricum with Libo, that Embaſſadors might be ſent to treat of theſe things. Neither was he willing at any time to miſſpend the ſouldiers blood, or to depriue the Cõmon-wealth of either of thoſe Armies.

This


Pompeij


The six Cohorts
Caesar

This speech beeing deliuered, the souldiers, both requiring and longing vvith an ardent desire to fight, hee commaunded the signe of battell to bee giuen by a Trumpet.

OBSERVATIONS.

Oncerning the order vsed in disposing these Armies, for the triall of this Cause, it appeareth by the storie, that Pompey set two Legions in his left Cornet, which are heere named the first and the third. Howbeit, Lucan saith, that those Legions were the first and the fourth.

——— Cornus tibi cura sinistri,
Lentule, cum primâ, quæ tum fuit, optima bello,
Et quartâ legione datur. ———

The middle squadron was ledde by Scipio, with the legions he brought out of Syria, which were also two; *Expectabat cum Scipione ex Syria legiones duas*, as it is in the second Chapter of this booke.

In the right Cornet, was the Cilician legion, with the Cohorts that Afranius brought out of Spaine: which, amounting to the number of a Legion, made that Cornet equall to the rest. And so of these sixe Legions, which were the strength and sinowes of his Armie, hee fashioned his battell into a middle Squadron, and two Cornets. His other forces, beeing young souldiers, hee disposed in the distances, betweene the Cornets and that middle Squadron.

Frontinus, speaking of this point, saith; *Legiones secundum virtutem, firmissimas in medio, et in cornu locauit; spacia his interposita Tyronibus suppleuit.* His number of men, by our text, was fiftie-fiue thousand; but Plutarch maketh them not aboue fortie-fiue thousand. *Lib.2.cap.3.*

Cæsar had not halfe so many men, and yet made a triple battell; but not so thick or deepe with Legions: for, in the right Cornet he put the tenth Legion, and in the left the ninth and the eight; beeing both weake and farre spent, by the former ouer-throwes. Of the other Legions he maketh no mention: but it seemeth they filled vp the distances betweene the Cornets and the bodie of the Armie; and were as flesh to those sinowes & bones, which out of the prerogatiue of their valour, tooke the place of the Cornets, and the middle bulke of the battell. And fearing least his right Cornet should be circumuented, by the multitude of their Caualrie, hee drew sixe Cohorts out of his third or last battell, to make a fourth battell to oppose the Caualrie: which gotte him the victorie. For, howsoeuer the Text saith, *Singulas cohortes detraxit:* yet Plutarch saith plainly, that Those Cohorts he thus tooke, were sixe, and amounted to three thousand men: which riseth to the number of so many Cohorts. And Appian, agreeing hereunto, saith, that his fourth battell consisted of three thousand men. Frontinus likewise affirmeth, hee tooke out sixe Cohorts, *et tenuit in subsidio, sed dextro latere conuersas in obliquum:* Where-vnto that of Lucan agreeth; *Singulas Cohortes detraxit.* *Lib.2.ca.3.*

Tenet obliquas post signa cohortes. *Lib.7.*

Which is thus to be vnderſtood: that they turned their faces towards the left Cornet of Pompeis Armie, that they might bee the readier to receiue the Caualrie comming on to incloſe Cæſars right wing; as beeing ſure of the other ſide, which was fenced with a Riuer and a Mariſh.

Touching Cæſars Speech to the ſouldiers, it ſeemed like that of Themiſtocles, at the battell of Salamina; where Zerxes made a long Oration to encourage the Perſians, and loſt the day: Themiſtocles ſpake but a few words to the Greekes, and got the victorie. How-ſoeuer; one thing is not to bee omitted, that Plutarch, and ſuch others as haue dipped their pennes, either in the ſweat, or in the blood of this battell, doe all agree, that Cæſar had not aboue twentie-two thouſand men.

CHAP. XXXII.

The Battell beginneth; and Cæſar *ouercommeth.*

Cæſar.

Here vvas one Craſtinus, in Cæſars Armie, called out to this vvarre, vvho the yeere before had ledde the firſt companie of the tenth Legion; a man of ſingular valour: vvho vpon the ſigne of battell giuen, Follow me, ſaith he, as many of you as were of my company; and doe that indeauor to your Emperor, which you haue alwaies beene willing to performe. This is the onely battell remaining vnfought: which beeing ended, He ſhall be reſtored to his dignitie, and wee to our libertie. And vvithall, looking towards Cæſar, I will, ſaith hee, O Emperour, ſo carry my ſelfe this day, that thou ſhalt giue mee thanks, either aliue or dead. And when he had thus ſpoken, he was the firſt that ranne out of the right Cornet: & about one hundred and twentie elected ſouldiers of the ſame Centurie followed voluntarily after him.

There vvas ſo much ſpace left betweene both the battells, as might ſerue either Armie to meete vpon the charge. But Pompey had commaunded his men to receiue Cæſars aſſault, and to vnder-goe the ſhock of his Armie, vvithout mouing from the place wherein they ſtood (and that by the aduice of C. Triarius) to the end that the firſt running out & violence of the ſouldiers being broken, & the battell diſtended, they that ſtood perfit in their Orders, might ſet vpon the that were ſcattered & diſperſed; hoping, the piles would not fall ſo forceablie vpon the Armie ſtanding ſtill, as when they aduaunced forward to meet them: And that it vvould fall out withall, that Cæſars ſouldiers, hauing twice as farre to runne, vvould by that meanes be out of breath, and ſpent vvith vvearineſſe.

Which, in my opinion, was againſt all reaſon: for, there is a certaine incitation and alacritie of ſpirit, naturally planted in euery man, vvhich is inflamed with a deſire to fight. Neither ſhould anie Commaunder repreſſe or reſtraine the ſame, but rather increaſe it, and ſet it forward.

Nor

Nor vvas it in vaine of ancient time ordained, that the Trumpets ſhould euerie vvhere ſound, and euery man take vp a ſhout; but that they thought theſe things did both terrifie the Enemy, and incite their owne Party.

But our ſouldiers, vpon the ſigne of Battell, running out vvith their Piles ready to be throwne, and perceiuing that Pompeis ſouldiers did not make out to meet them (as men taught with long vſe, and exerciſed in former fights) ſtopt their courſe of their owne accord, & almoſt in the mid-way ſtood ſtill; that they might not come to blowes vpon the ſpending of their ſtrength: And after a little reſpite of time, running on againe, threw their piles, and preſently drew their ſwords, as Cæſar had commaunded them. Neither were Pompeis ſouldiers wanting in this buſineſs; for, they receiued the piles which vvere caſt at them, tooke the ſhock of the Legions, kept their ranks, caſt their piles, and betooke them to their ſwords.

At the ſame time, the Caualrie, according as was commaunded them, iſſued out from Pompeis left Cornet, & the whole multitude of Archers thruſt themſelues out. Whoſe aſſault our horſemen were not able to indure, but fell backe a little, from the place wherein they ſtood: vvhereby Pompeis horſemen, beganne to preſſe them with more eagerneſs; and to put themſelues in ſquadrons, to incloſe the Army about. Which Cæſar perceiuing, he gaue the ſigne of aduauncing forward, to the fourth Battell, whom he had made out of the number of the Cohorts; vvho came with ſuch a fling vpon Pompeis horſemen, that none of them were able to ſtand before them; and turning their backs, did not onely giue place, but fledde all as faſt as they could, to the higheſt Hills: whereby, the Archers and Slingers, beeing left naked vvithout ſuccour, were all put to the ſword. And vvith the ſame violence, thoſe Cohorts incompaſſed about the left Cornet, notvvithſtanding any reſiſtance that could be made by Pompeis partie, and charged them behind, vpon their backs.

At the ſame time, Cæſar commaunded the third Battell, vvhich as yet ſtoode ſtill, and vvere not remooued, to aduaunce forward: by meanes of which freſh and ſound men, relieuing ſuch as vvere faint and wearie, as alſo, that others did charge them behind vpon their backs, Pompeis partie were able no longer to indure it, but all turned their backs and fledde.

Neither vvas Cæſar deceiued in his opinion, that the beginning of the victorie vvould growe from thoſe Cohorts vvhich hee placed in the fourth Battell, againſt the horſemen; according as hee himſelfe had openly ſpoken, in his incouragement to the ſouldiers. For, by them, firſt the Caualrie was beaten; by them, the Archers and Slingers vvere ſlaine; by them, Pompeis Battell vvas circumuented on the left Cornet, and by their meanes they began to flie.

As ſoone as Pompey ſaw his Caualrie beaten, and perceiued the part vvherein hee moſt truſted, to bee amuſed and affrighted, and diſtruſting the reſt, hee foorth-with left the Battell, and conuaied himſelfe on horſeback into the Camp. And ſpeaking to the Centurions that had the vvatch at the Prætorian gate with a loud voice, as all the ſouldiers might heare, ſaid, Keepe the Campe, and defend it diligently, to preuent any hard caſualtie that may happen. In the meane while, I will goe about to the other Ports, to ſettle the Guards of the Campe.

And hauing thus ſaid, hee vvent into the Prætorium, diſtruſting the maine point, and yet expecting the euent.

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

POmpey ſo caried himſelfe in the courſe of this warre, as he rather ſeemed a ſufferer then a dooer; neuer diſpoſing his Armie for any attempt or on-ſet, but onely when hee brake out of the place wherein he was beſieged at Dyrrachium. And accordingly he gaue order, that In the maine action and point of triall, his ſouldiers ſhould ſuffer and ſuſtaine the aſſault, rather then otherwiſe. But, whether hee did well or no, hath ſince been in queſtion. Cæſar vtterly diſliked it, as a thing contrary to reaſon. *Eſt quædam*, ſaith he, *animi incitatio atque alacritas, naturaliter innata omnibus, quæ ſtudio pugnæ incenditur; hanc non reprimere ſed augere Imperatores debent.* Plutarch.

Agreeable wherevnto, is that of Cato the Great; that In caſes of battell, an Enemy is to be charged with all violence. And to that purpoſe it is requiſite, to put the ſouldiers (at ſome reaſonable diſtance) into a Poſterne of vaunting and defiance, with menaces and cries of terrour; and then to ſpring forward in ſuch manner, as may make them fall vpon their enemies with greater furie: As Champions or Wraſtlers, before they buckle, ſtretch out their limbes, and make their floriſhes as may beſt ſerue to aſſure themſelues, and diſcourage their aduerſaries; According as we read of Hercules & Antæus.

Ille Cleonæi proiecit terga Leonis,
Antæus libici, perfudit membra liquore
Hoſpes, Olympiacæ ſeruato more Paleſtræ.
Ille parum fidens pedibus contingere matrem,
Auxilium membris, calidas infudit arenas. Lucan. lib. 4.

Howbeit, foraſmuch as all men are not of one temper, but require ſeuerall faſhions to tune their mindes to the true note of a battell, wee ſhall find ſeuerall Nations, to haue ſeuerall vſances in this point. The Romaines (as appeareth by this of Cæſar) were of auncient time accuſtomed to ſound Trumpets, and Hoboies, in all parts of the Armie, and to take vp a great clamour and ſhout: whereby the ſouldiers (in their vnderſtanding) were incouraged, and the Enemie affrighted. Where-as, contrariwiſe, the Greekes went alwaies with a cloſe and ſilent mouth, as hauing more to doe then to ſay to their Enemies. And, Thucidides, writing of the Lacedemonians (the flower of Greece for matter of Armes) ſaith, that Inſteed of Trumpets, and Cornets to incite them, they vſed the ſweet harmonie of Flutes, to moderate and qualifie their paſſions, leaſt they ſhould be tranſported with bridleſs impetuoſity. Homer. Iliad. 3.

It is reported, that Marſhall Biron, the Father, ſeemed to diſlike of our Engliſh march (hearing it beaten by the Drummes) as too ſlowe, & of no encouragement: and yet it ſo fitteth our Nation (as Sir Roger Williams then anſwered)

ſwered) as wee haue diuers times ouer-runne all France with it. Howſoeuer, the euent of this battell is ſufficient to diſproue Pompeis errour heerein, and to make good what Cæſar commaunded.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

THeſe ſixe Cohorts, which made the fourth battell, did ſo incounter Pompeis Caualrie, that they were not able to with ſtand them. It is ſaid, that Cæſar gaue them order, not to fling their Piles as commonly they did, but to hold thē in their hands like a Pike or a Iauelin, and make onely at the faces of thoſe Gallants, & men at Armes on horſeback. For the holding of them in their hands, I doe not vnderſtand it, and can not conceiue how they could reach more then the next ranks vnto them in that manner. But for making at the faces of the Caualrie, Florus ſaith, that Cæſar, as he galloped vp and downe the ranks, was heard to let fall bloody and bitter words, but very patheticall, and effectuall for a victorie: as thus, Souldier, caſt right at the face; Wher-as Pompey called to his Men, to ſpare their fellow Cittizens. *Lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Eutropius, in his Epitome of Suetonius, affirmeth the ſame thing, both of the one and of the other: and Lucan ſeemeth to auerre the ſame, concerning that of Cæſar;

Aduerſoſque iubet ferro contundere vultus. *Lib. 7.*

Frontinus hath it thus; *C. Cæſar, cùm in partibus Pompeianis, magna equitũ Romanorum eſſet manus, eaque armorum ſcientia milites conficeret, ora oculoſque eorum gladijs peti iuſsit, et ſic aduerſam faciem cædere coegit.* *Lib. 4. cap. 7.*

THE THIRD OBSERVATION.

AMongſt theſe memorialls, Craſtinus may not be forgotten, being the firſt man that began the battell, whom Plutarch calleth C. Craſsinius; and ſaith, that Cæſar ſeeing him in the morning, as hee came out of his Tent, asked him what hee thought of the ſucceſſe of the battell? Craſtinus, ſtretching out his right hand vnto him, cried out aloud, O Cæſar, thine is the victorie; and this day ſhalt thou commend mee, either aliue or dead: And accordingly, brake afterwards out of the ranks; and running amongſt the midſt of his Enemies, with manie that followed him, made a great ſlaughter. At laſt, one ranne him into the mouth, that the ſwords point came out at his neck, and ſo ſlew him. In the life of Pompey.

By him, and others of like courage and worth, was Cæſar raiſed from the extreamitie of his wants, and the diſgrace of his former loſſes, to the chiefeſt height of earthly glory: And heerein might well aſſume, vnto himſelfe, that which was formerly ſaid of the people, *Magna populi Romani fortuna, ſed ſemper in malis maior reſurrexit*; Together with that of Plutarch, *Res inuicta Romanorum* *Florus.*

Lib. 4. Infelix, quanta Dominum virtute paraſti?

Romanorum arma. Lucan ſpeaking of Sæua, formerly mentioned, ſaith; He ſhewed a great deale of valour to get Rome a Lord: but vpon Craſtinus, hee laieth a heauie doome.

Dij tibi non mortem, quæ cunctis pœna paratur, ſed ſenſum poſt fata tua dent Craſtine morti. Cuius torta manu commiſit lancea bellum, primaque Theſſaliam Romano ſanguine tinxit.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Cæſar preaceth hard after the Enemie, and *taketh the Campe.*

Cæſar.

Ompeis ſouldiers beeing thus forced to flie into their Campe; Cæſar, thinking it expedient to giue them no time of reſpite, exhorted the Armie to vſe the benefit of Fortune, and to aſſault the Campe: who, notwithſtanding the extreame heate (for the buſineſs was drawne out vntill it was high noone) vvere willing to vnder-goe any labour, and to yeeld obedience to his commandements. The Campe was induſtriouſly defended, by the Cohorts that had the guard thereof; but much more ſtoutly by the Thracians, and other ſuccours of Barbarous people. For, ſuch ſouldiers as were fledde thither out of the battell, vvere ſo terrified in mind, and ſpent vvith vvearineſſe, that moſt of them (hauing laid aſide their Armes, and Military Enſignes) did rather thinke how they might beſt eſcape, then to defend the Campe. Neither could they which ſtood vpon the Rampier, any longer indure the multitude of vveapons; but fainting with vvounds, forſooke the place: and preſently fledde into the high Mountaines adioyning vnto the Campe; being ledde thither by the Centurions, and Tribunes of the ſouldiers.

In the Campe were found tables ready laid and prepared with linnen, together with cupbords of plate, furniſhed & ſet out; and their Tents ſtrewed with freſh hearbes and ruſhes: and that of Lentulus, and diuers others, with Iuie, & many other ſuperfluities, diſcouering their extreame luxurie and aſſurance of victorie. Whereby it was eaſily to be conceiued, that they nothing feared the euent of that day; beeing ſo carefull of ſuch vnneceſſary delights. And yet for all this, they vpbraided Cæſars patient and miſerable Army, with riot and exceſſe: to whom there were alwaies vvanting ſuch requiſites, as vvere expedient for their neceſſary vſes.

Pompey, when as our men were come vvithin the Campe, hauing got a horſe, and caſt away all Enſignes of Imperiall authoritie, got out at the Decumane gate, and made towards Lariſſa, as faſt as his horſe could cary him. Neither did hee ſtay there: but with the ſame ſpeede (hauing got a few followers that eſcaped by flight) poſting night & day, came at length to the Sea-ſide, with a troope of thirtie horſe; and there went aboard a ſhip of burthen: complaining that his opinion onely

onely deceiued him; beeing (as it were) betraied, by such as beganne first to flie: from vvhom hee hoped chiefely to haue had victorie.

OBSERVATIONS.

WHere-as it is said, that a dilatorie course is very profitable and safe; wee are to vnderstand it as a chiefe and maine point, in the dutie of an Embassadour, to temporise in things which are pressed hard vpon him; as beeing accountable for words and time: but no way charged with expeditions of warre. Wherein Protraction is oftentimes the interrupter of absolute victorie, and the onely supplanter of that which is desired. *Vincere scis Hannibal, sed victoria vti nescis,* was a common by-word, and happened then well for the state of Rome. But now it fell out otherwise; hauing met with one that knew how to conquer, and how to follow victorie to purpose.

Vtilis et tuta res dilatio. Diony. Halic. lib. 8. Non cõmittuntur legatis triremes aut loca, aut legiones, aut arces; sed verba et tempora. Demost. de falsa legatione.

For, notwithstanding the battell he had fought, and the aduantage hee had thereby got, might haue seemed sufficient for one daies labour, yet hee would not let occasion passe, without taking the benefit that was then offered; and neuer ceassed, vntill he had forced the Campe, and ouer-taken those that escaped the battell: and so made victorie sure vnto him, by driuing the naile home to the head. In regard whereof, he did not vnfitlie vse for his word or Motto, they call it, Μηδὲν ἀναβαλλόμενος, BY. DEFERRING. NOTHING.

1 Labor in negotio, 2 fortitudo in periculo, 3 industria in agendo, 4 celeritas in cõficiendo, were Cæsars properties.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

Cæsar besieged those that were escaped *into the Hills.*

Caesar.

CAesar, hauing got the Campe, instantly required the souldiers not to looke after pillage and booty, and let slippe the meanes of ending the rest of their business: which, after hee had obtained, hee began to inclose the Hill about with works of fortification. They of Pompeis partie, distrusting the place, for that the Hill had no water, left it at an instant. And all those that were partakers of that fortune, made towards Larissa. Which Caesar obseruing, diuided his forces, and commaunded part of the Legions to remaine in Pompeis Campe, and part he sent back into his owne: leading foure Legions along with him, he tooke a neerer way to meet with them; and hauing gone sixe miles, he imbattelled his forces. Which they perceiuing, betooke themselues vnto a high Hill, vnder which ranne a Riuer.

Caesar, perswaded the souldiers, albeit they were spent with continuall labor all that day, and that night was now at hand, yet they would not thinke it much, to

to cut off the Riuer from the Hill by a fortification, to keepe them from watering in the night. Which worke beeing perfected, they beganne by Commiſsioners to treat of conditions of yielding themſelues. Some few of the Senators eſcaped in the night-time away by flight.

Cæſar, as ſoone as it was day, cauſed them all to come downe from the Hill into the Plaine, & there to caſt away their Armes: which they performed without refuſall; And caſting themſelues vpon the earth, their hands ſpred abroad, with ſhedding of many teares, deſired mercie. Cæſar, comforting them, commaunded they ſhould ſtand vp: and hauing ſpoken ſomewhat touching his clemencie, a little to eaſe them of their feare, he gaue them all their liues with ſafetie; commanding the ſouldiers not to hurt any of them, nor that they ſhould vvant any thing that was theirs.

Theſe things beeing thus atchieued with diligence, hee cauſed other Legions to meet him from the Campe, ſending thoſe he had with him to reſt themſelues: and the ſame day came to Lariſſa. In that battaile, hee loſt not aboue two hundred ſouldiers; but of Centurions, and other valiant men, hee loſt thirtie. And Craſtinus, fighting valiantly, was ſlaine (of whom wee formerly made mention) with a ſword thruſt into the face. Neither was that falſe which hee ſaid as hee vvent to the battell: for, Cæſar was perſwaded, that Craſtinus behaued himſelfe admirably in that fight, and did deſerue as well of him as a man poſsibly could.

There were ſlaine of Pompeis Armie, about fifteene thouſand: howbeit, there were of them that yielded themſelues, aboue twentie-foure thouſand. For, ſuch Cohorts as were in the Forts, did likewiſe yield themſelues to Sylla: and manie fledde into the next Townes and Citties. Of Military Enſignes, there vvere brought out of the battell to Cæſar, one hundred and foureſcore, with nine Eagles. L. Domitius, flying out of the Campe into the Mount, fainting for vvant of ſtrength, was ſlaine by the horſemen.

Interdum maiores copiæ ſternũtur à minoribus. Dion. Hal. lib. 8.

OBSERVATIONS.

AND thus we ſee the iſſue of that battaile, and the victory which Cæſar obtained, at as cheape a rate as could be imagined: for, there were ſlaine twentie-three M. of the enemie, and as manie taken, by rendring themſelues, with the loſſe of two hundred ſouldiers, and thirty Centurions; amongſt whõ was Craſtinus: whoſe death obliged Cæſar to make this honourable mention of his valour. But as it is obſerued by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, *Non Deus quiſpiam ſe ducibus, pro ſalute omniũ qui certamen ineunt, ſponſorem ſiſtit: nec ea conditione imperium accepimus, vt omnes homines deuincamus nullo ex noſtris amiſſo.*

Lib. 8.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

Lælius attempteth to block-in the Hauen at *Brundusium: and Cassius fireth Cæsars* shippes at Messine.

(·.·)

About the same time, D. Lælius came with his Nauie to Brundusium; and according as Libo formerly did, tooke the Iland in the mouth of the Port. And in like manner, Vatinius, Gouernour of Brundusium, hauing furnished and sent out certaine Skiffes, inticed out Lælius ships, and of them tooke a Galley, that was further shot out with two lesser shippes into the straights of the Port: & also had disposed his Caualry along the shore, to keep the Mariners from fetching water. But Lælius, hauing the time of the yeere more fauourable and fitter for sayling, supplied his Armie vvith vvater from Corfew and Dyrrachium: neither could he be beaten off his designe, nor be driuen out of the Port, or from the Iland, either with the dishonour of the shippes he lost, or with scarcitie and want of all necessaries, vntill hee heard of the battell in Thessalia. Caesar.

About the same time also, Cassius came into Sicilia, with the Nauie of Syria, Phœnicia and Cilicia. And, vvhere-as Cæsars ships were diuided into two parts, Pub. Sulpitius, Prætor, beeing Admirall of the one halfe, and lying at Vibone in the Straights: and M. Pomponius, Admirall of the other halfe at Messana; Cassius came first to Messana, and was arriued before Pomponius heard of his comming: by which meanes, he surprised him, distracted, and much amused, without any order or guardes. And finding a strong and fauourable wind, filled the shippes of burthen, with Rosin, Pitch and Towe, and like matter of firing: and sending them out to Pomponius Nauie, he burned all the shippes, beeing in number thirtie-fiue; amongst which there were twentie that had decks. By meanes vvhereof, they conceiued such a terrour, that albeit there was a legion in Guarizon at Messana, yet the Towne was hardly kept. And, but that certaine Messengers comming post, brought newes at the same instant of Cæsars victory, most men thought the Towne would haue beene lost: but the newes comming so opportunely, the towne was kept. Constrata.

Cassius departed from thence, & went to Sulpitius fleete at Vibone; where the shippes beeing brought to shore, vvere there laid, for feare of the like danger, as formerly they had accustomed. Cassius, finding the wind good, sent-in fortie shippes of burthen, furnished with matter to burne the Nauie. The fire hauing taken hold of both Cornets of the fleete, fiue of them were burned downe to the water. And as the flame beganne to be further caried with the vvind, the souldiers of the old legions, which were left for the defence of the shipping, and were

of

of the number of them that vvere ſicke, did not indure the dishonour: but getting aboard of their owne accord, put the ſhippes from the ſhore; and ſetting vpon Caſsius fleet, tooke two Gallies, in one of the which vvas Caſsius himſelfe: but hee, being taken out, with a Skiffe fledde away. And furthermore, they tooke two Triremes: and not long after, certaine newes came of the battell in Theſſalia, ſo that Pompeis-party belieued it; for, before that time, it vvas thought to be but a thing giuen out by Cæſars Legats, & other of his friends. Where-vpon, Caſsius departed vvith his Nauie, and left thoſe places.

OBSERVATIONS.

THE branches of a Tree doe receiue life from the ſtocke, and the ſtock is maintained by the roote: which beeing once cut a-ſunder, there remaineth no life for ſtock or bough, leafe or branch. Accordingly it happened with this large-ſpred Partie; the roote whereof was then in Theſſalia: and beeing broken aſunder by the violence of Cæſars forces, it booted not what Lælius did at Brunduſium, or Caſsius, either at Meſſana, or Vibone. For, all the parts were ouer-throwne with the bodie: and the fortune of the battaile ouer-ſwaid other pettie loſſes whatſoeuer; beeing ſo powrefull, in the opinion of the world, *Vt quò ſe fortuna, eodem etiam fauor hominum inclinat.* Or, as Lucan ſaith, *Rapimur, quò cuncta feruntur.*

Pompeius Trogus. lib. 6. Lib. 8.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Cæſar purſueth Pompey: who is ſlaine *in Egypt.*

Cæſar.

Cæſar, ſetting all other things apart, thought it expedient for him to purſue Pompey, into what parts ſoeuer hee ſhould betake himſelfe, leaſt he ſhould raiſe new forces, and renewe the warre againe: and there-vpon, made forward euery day, as farre as his Caualrie was able to goe; commaunding one Legion to follow after by leſſer iourneis. There was a publication made in Pompeis name at Amphipolis, that all the youth of that Prouince, as well Greekes, as Cittizens of Rome, ſhould come to bee inrolled for the vvar. But it is not poſsible to diſcouer, whether Pompey did it to take away all cauſe of ſuſpicion, that he might the longer hide his purpoſe of flying away, or vvhether he went about by new leuies, to keepe Macedonia, if no man preaced hard after him.

Howſoeuer; he himſelfe lay at Anchor there one night. And calling vnto him his auncient Hoſts and Friends, hee tooke ſo much money of them, as would defray his neceſſarie charges: and vnderſtanding of Cæſars comming, within a few daies he arriued at Mitylen, where hee was kept two daies with foule vveather: and

and there, renforcing his fleet with some Gallies he tooke to him, he vvent into Cilicia; and from thence to Cyprus. There hee vnderstood, that by the generall consent of the Antiochians, and such Cittizens of Rome as were there residing, the Citadell vvas already taken to keepe him out: and that Messengers vvere sent about, to those that were fled from his Party, into the bordering Citties, forbidding them to come to Antioche; for, if they did, they should hazard it vvith the danger of their heads. The like happened to L. Lentulus, vvho the yeere before was Consull; and to Pub. Lentulus, of Consular dignity: and to some other at Rhodes. For, as many as fled thither after Pompey, and came vnto the Iland, were neither receiued into the Towne, nor into the Hauen; but were commanded by Messengers sent vnto them, to depart from thence, and forced to wey anchor against their will: and now, the fame of Cæsars comming, was spredde abroad throughout all the Citties.

Where-vpon, Pompey, leauing off his purpose of going into Syria, hauing taken what money he found in Banke, besides what he could borrow of his priuate friends, and putting aboard great store of Brasse for the vse of vvarre; vvith eleuen thousand Armed men (which he had raised partly out of the townes, and partly had forced vp, with Marchants, and such others of his followers, vvhom he thought fit for this busines) he came to Pelusium. There by chaunce was king Ptolomy, a child, within yeeres, with great forces making war against his sister Cleopatra; whom a few Months before, by meanes of his Allies and Friends, hee had thrust out of his kingdome: And Cleopatras Campe vvas not farre distant from his.

Pompey sent vnto him, that in regard of ancient hospitalitie, and the amitie he had vvith his Father, hee might be receiued into Alexandria; and that hee would aide and support him with his vvealth and meanes, being now fallen into miserie and calamitie. But they that were sent, hauing done their message, beganne to speake liberally to the Kings souldiers, which Gabinius receiued in Syria, and had brought them to Alexandria; and vpon the ending of the vvarre, had left them with Ptolomey, the father of this child. These things being known, such as had the procuration of the kingdome, in the minoritie of the Boy, whether they were induced through feare of gaining the Armie, vvhereby Pompey might easily seize vpon Alexandria & Egypt; or whether despising his fortune (as for the most part, in time of misery, a mans friends doe become his enemies) did giue a good answere publiquely to such as vvere sent, and willed him to come vnto the King: but, secretly plotting amongst themselues, sent Achillas, a chiefe Commaunder, and a man of singular audacitie, together with L. Septimius, Tribune of the souldiers, to kill Pompey. They, giuing him good words, and he himselfe also knowing Septimius to haue led a Company vnder him in the vvarre against the Pirats, went aboard a little Barke, with a few of his followers: and there was slaine, by Achillas and Septimius. In like manner, L. Lentulus vvas apprehended by commaundement from the King, and killed in prison.

V. OBSER-

THE FIRST OBSERVATION.

IF it be now demaunded, Where was Cæſars deſire of Peace? and Why hee purſued not a treatie of Compoſition, at this time vvhen when as his tale would haue been heard with gladneſs, and any conditions of attonement very acceptable to the vanquiſhed? The aunſwere is already made in the beginning of this Commentarie: That there was but one time of making peace: and that was, when both Parties were equall, which was now paſt; and Cæſar too farre gone, to looke back vpon any thing that might worke a reconcilement. The one was crept ſo high, and the other caſt downe ſo lowe, that they ſeemed not compatible in any *Medium*, although it were to the ſauing of the Empire. Howbeit, it is not denied, but that Pompey gaue great occaſion of theſe warres. For, Seneca ſaith; Hee had brought the Common-wealth to that paſſe, that it could not longer ſtand, but by the benefit of ſeruitude. And he that will looke into the reaſons of this confuſion, ſhall find all thoſe *Cauſæ corrumpentes*, which are noted by Ariſtotle to threaten the well-fare of a State, in the exceſſe of Pompeis exorbitancie: for, hauing nothing in a Meane, hee held all his fortunes by the tenure of *Nimium*; and was ouer-growne, firſt, with too much honour: ſecondly, with too much wealth: thirdly, with too much power: whereby he exceeded the proportion of his fellow Cittizens; and ſo blemiſhed the beautie of that State, whoſe chieſeſt graces were in a ſutung equalitie. And, adding to theſe the convulſions of feare, he made no difficultie to ingage Rome in a bloody warre; as hauing no other hope, but in the confuſion of Armes.

Pompeius eò redegit Rempub: vt ſalua eſſe non poſſet, niſi beneficio ſeruitutis. 5 *de beneficijs.* 16. 5 *Polit.*

Nil nimium cupito, was writ in golden Letters at Delphos.

Iuſtum bellum eſſe ijs, quibus niſi in armis ſpe nulla eſt. Macha.

It is ſaid, that at his arriuall at Mitylene, he had much conference with Cratippus, whom Tully mentioneth in his Offices: wherein, amongſt other remonſtrances, the Philoſopher made it plaine, that his courſe of gouernment, had brought a neceſsitie of changing that State, from the liberty of a Common-wealth, to the condition of a iuſt Monarchie. And ſith it fell to Cæſars fortune, if there were any errour committed in the ſeizure, he may take the benefite of the generall pardon, exemplified by Trebellius Poliæ: That no Nation can ſhew a Man that is altogether blameleſſe.

Nuſquam Gentium reperitur, qui poſſit penitus approbari.

THE SECOND OBSERVATION.

CONcerning the ſtate of Egypt, wee are to note, that Alexander the Great being cut off by death, his Captaines laid hold vpon ſuch Prouinces and kingdoms as were vnder their commaunds: amongſt whom one Ptolomeus, the ſonne of Lagus a Macedonian, ſeized vpon Egypt, where he raigned 40 yeres; & of him were all his ſucceſſors called by the name of Ptolomy. This firſt Ptolomy, poſſeſt himſelfe of Egypt, about the yeere of the world 3640: which was 275 yeers before Pompeis ouerthrow. His ſon that ſucceeded, by the name of Ptolomey Philadelphus, cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated out of Ebrew into Greek by 70 Interpreters, which are called the *Septuagint*; and made the famous Librarie which was burned in theſe vvarres.

The Father of this young Ptolomey, was the ninth in ſucceſsion from the firſt; and at his death, made the people of Rome Tutors to his children. His eldeſt

eldest sonne, and Cleopatra his daughter, raigned together sixe yeeres; but in the end, fell to strife and warres, and were deeply ingaged therein, when Pompey arriued: but shortly after, Cæsar so ordered the differences, that hee sette the Crowne vpon Cleopatras head; who held it peaceably, vntill she came to play that tragicall part with Anthony: which beeing ended, the kingdom was then reduced to a Prouince, vnder the obedience of the Romaine Empire.

Concerning this miserable end of Pompey, it is truly said of Seneca, that Death is alike to all: for, although the waies are diuers by which it happeneth, yet they all meet in the same end. And, forasmuch as Plutarch hath described particularly the manner of this Catastrophe, it shall not be impertinent to insert his relation thereof.

Mors omnium par est: per quæ venit diuersa sunt, id in quod desinit vnũ est Epist. 67.

Homines sicut poma, aut matura cadunt, aut acerba ruunt. Plutar. in vita Pompei.

When Pompey heard newes that king Ptolomy was in the Citty of Pelusium with his Army, making warre against his sister, hee went thither, and sent a Messenger before, vnto the king, to aduertise him of his arriuall, and to intreat him to receiue him. K. Ptolomy was then but a young man, insomuch, that one Photinus gouerned all the whole Realme vnder him. He assembled a Councell of the chiefest & wisest men of the Court, who had such credit and authoritie, as it pleased him to giue them. They being assembled, he commanded euery man in the Kings name to say his mind, touching the receiuing of Pompey, whether the King should receiue him or not. It was a miserable thing, to see Photinus, an Eunuch of the Kings, and Theodotus of Chio, an hired Schoolemaister to teach the young king Rhetorick, & Achillas, an Egyptian, to consult among themselues what they should do with Pompey the great. These were the chiefest Councellors of al his Eunuches, & of those that had brought him vp.

Now did Pompey ride at anchor vpon the shore side, expecting the resolution of this Councell: in the which, the opinions of others were diuers, for, they would not haue receiued him; the other also that he should be receiued. But the Rhetorician, Theodotus, to shew his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, quoth he, if wee receiue him, we shall haue Cæsar our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if they do denie him, on the other side, Pompey wil blame them for refusing him, & Cæsar for not keeping of him; therfore this should be the best resolution, to send to kill him. For, therby they should win the good wil of the one, and not feare the displeasure of the other: & some say moreouer, that he added this mock withall, A dead man bites not. They, being determined of this among themselues, gaue Achillas commission to doe it. He, taking with him Septimius (who had charge afore-time vnder Pompey) and Saluius, another Centurion also, vvith three or foure souldiers besides, they made towards Pompeis Gallies, about whom were at that time the chiefest of his traine, to see what would become of this matter. But, when they saw the likelihood of their entertainement, & that it was not in Princely shew nor manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which Theophanes had put them in, seeing so few men come to them in a fisher boat; they beganne then to mistrust the small account that was made of them, and counselled Pompey to returne backe, and to launch againe into the sea, beeing out of the danger of the hurling of a Dart.

In the meane time, the fiſher-boat drew neer, and Septimius roſe, and ſaluted Pompey in the Romane tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as ſoueraigne Captaine: and Achillas alſo ſpake to him in the Greek tongue, and bade him come into his boat; becauſe that by the ſhore-ſide, there was a great deale of mud, & ſand banks, ſo that his Galley ſhould haue no water to bring him in. At the very ſame time, they ſaw a farre off diuers of the Kings Gallies, which were arming with all ſpeed poſsible, & all the ſhore beſides, full of ſouldiers. Thus, though Pompey & his company would haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue eſcaped: and furthermore, ſhewing that they had miſtruſted them, then they had giuen the murderer occaſion to haue executed his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife Cornelia, who lamented his death before his end, hee commaunded two Centurions to goe downe before him, into the Egyptians boat, & Philip, one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, with another ſlaue, called Scynes. When Achillas reached out his hand to receiue him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and ſonne, and ſaid theſe verſes of Sophocles vnto them;

The man that into Court comes free,
Muſt there in ſtate of bondage bee.

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpake vnto his people, when hee left his owne Gally, & went into the Egyptians boat, the land being a great way off from his Gally. When he ſaw neuer a man in the boat ſpeak friendly vnto him, beholding Septimius, he ſaid vnto him; Me thinks, my friend, I ſhould know thee, for that thou haſt ſerued with me heeretofore. The other nodded with his head, that it was true, but gaue him no anſwer, nor ſhewed him any curteſie.

Pompey, ſeeing that no man ſpake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in which hee had written an Oration, that hee meant to make vnto King Ptolomey, and began to read it. When they came neer to the ſhore, Cornelia, with her ſeruants and friends about her, ſtood vp in her ſhip, in great feare, to ſee what ſhould become of Pompey. So, ſhe hoped well, when ſhe ſaw many of the Kings people on the ſhore, comming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receiue and honor him. But euen as Pompey tooke Philip his hand to ariſe more eaſily, Septimius came firſt behind him, and thruſt him through with his ſword: next vnto him alſo, Saluius & Achillas drew out their ſwords in like manner. Pompey then did no more but tooke vp his gowne vvith his hands, and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, onely ſighing a little. Thus, being 59 yeeres old, hee ended his life the next day after the day of his birth.

They that rode at anchor in their ſhippes, when they ſaw him murthered, gaue ſuch a fearfull cry, that it was heard to the ſhore: then weying vp their anchors with ſpeed, they hoiſed ſaile, and departed their way, hauing wind at will, that blew a luſtie gale. As ſoone as they had gotten the maine Sea, the Egyptians which prepared to rowe after them, when they ſaw they were paſt their reach, and vnpoſsible to be ouer-taken, they let them goe. Then, hauing ſtriken off Pompeys head, they threw his body ouer-board, for a miſerable ſpectacle to all thoſe that were deſirous to ſee him.

Philip,

Philip his enfranchised bond-man, remained euer by it, vntill such time as the Egyptians had seen it their bellies full. Then, hauing washed his body with salt water, & wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in, he sought vpon the sands, and found at length a peece of an old fishers boat, enough to serue to burn his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As hee was busie, gathering the broken peeces of this boat together, thither came vnto him an old Romaine, who in his youth had serued vnder Pompey, & said vnto him; O friend, what art thou, that preparest the funeralls of Pompey the great? Philip answered, that he was a bond-man of his, infranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone: I pray thee yet let mee accompany thee in so deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent mee to haue dwelt so long in a strange Country, where I haue abidden such misery & trouble; but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with mine owne hands to touch Pompeys body, and to help to burie the onelie and most famous Captaine of the Romaines.

The next day after, Lucius Lentulus (not knowing what had passed) comming out of Cyprus, sailed by the shore-side, and perceiued a fire made for funeralls, and Philip standing by it: whom he knew not at the first. So hee asked him, What is hee that is dead, and buried there? but straight fetching a great sigh, alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the great. Then he landed a little, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of Pompey the great. Not long after, Cæsar also came into Egypt, that was in great warres; where Pompeis head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside, and would not see it; & abhorred him that brought it, as a detestable murtherer. Then, taking his Ring where-with he sealed his Letters, wherupon was grauen a Lyon holding a sword, he burst out a weeping. Achillas and Photinus he put to death. King Ptolomey himselfe also, being ouer-throwne in battaile, by the Riuer of Nilus, vanished away, & was neuer heard of after. Theodotus, the Rhetorician, escaped Cæsars hands, and wandered vp and downe Egypt in great misery, despised of euery man. Afterwards, Marcus Brutus (who slew Cæsar) conquering Asia, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly deuise, at the length slew him. The ashes of Pompeis bodie, were afterwards brought vnto his wife Cornelia; who buried thē in a towne of hers, by the Cittie of Alba.

And, hauing in this manner paid the tribute which the law of Nature doth exact, the law of the Twelue Tables did free his Sepulchre from any further disturbance; *Vbi corpus demortui hominis condas sacer esto.* Onely this may be added; That as Fabius was called Maximus, Scipio Magnus, and Pompey Magnus, which titles they caried, as markes of speciall Nobleness, to raise thē aboue the cōmon worth of men: so their ends made them euen with the lowest of the State. According to that of Seneca; *Interuallis distinguimur: exitu æquamur.*

Mors Naturæ lex est. Mors tributum officium-que mortalium. Sene. natural. quæst. 6.

Fabius dictus Maximus, Scipio magnus. Polianus lib. 8. Epist. 100.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Prodigious Accidents, happening vpon the *Battell in Pharſalia. Cæſar commeth* into Egypt.

This that followeth, ſeemeth of another ſtile.

Cæſar, comming into Aſia, found T. Ampius going about to take the money out of the Temple of Diana, at Epheſus: and for that cauſe had called together all the Senators that were in the Prouince, that hee might vſe them as witneſſes in the matter; but, beeing interrupted by Cæſars arriuall, hee fled away: ſo that two ſeuerall times, the money was ſaued at Epheſus by Cæſars meanes. It was further found very certaine, that in the Temple of Minerua at Elide (a iuſt calculation of the time beeing taken) the ſame day that Cæſar ouer-threw Pompey, the Image of victorie which ſtood before Minerua, & looked towards her portrature, did turne it ſelfe towards the Portall, and the Temple-gate. And the ſame day likewiſe, there was ſuch a noiſe of an Armie, twice heard at Antioche in Syria, and ſuch ſounding of Trumpets, that the Cittie ranne in Armes to keepe the walles. The like happened at Ptolomaida. And likewiſe at Pergamum, in the remote and hidden places of the Temple, which are called αδυτα, into which it is not lawfull for any man to enter but the Prieſts, were belles heard to ring. Beſides, at Tralibus, in the Temple of Victory (vvhere they had conſecrated an Image to Cæſar) there was ſhewed a Palme-tree, which in thoſe daies vvas growne from betweene the ioynts of the ſtones, out of the pauement.

Cæſar, ſtaying a few daies in Aſia, hearing that Pompey was ſeene at Cyprus, and coniecturing he went into Egypt, for the amities and correſpondencie hee had with that Kingdome, beſides other opportunities of the place; he came to Alexandria with two legions, one that hee commaunded to follow him out of Theſſaly, and another vvhich he had called out of Achaia, from Fuſius a Legate, together with eight hundred horſe, ten Gallies of Rhodes, and a few ſhips of Aſia. In theſe Legions, were not aboue three thouſand two hundred men; the reſt, were either vvounded in the fights, or ſpent with trauell, and the length of the iourney: but Cæſar, truſting to the fame of his great exploits, did not doubt to go with theſe weak forces, thinking euery place would entertaine him with ſafetie.

The Prieſts of Egypt ſaide, That whenſoeuer the Axe and the bundle of Rods, came into Alexandria, the power of their Kings ſhould preſently ceaſe: accor-

At Alexandria hee vnderſtood of Pompeis death: and as hee was going out of the ſhippe, he heard a clamour of the ſouldiers, which the King had left to keep the towne, and ſaw a concourſe of people gathered about him, becauſe the bundle of Rods was caried before him; all the multitude crying out, that the Kings authority was diminiſhed. This tumult being appeaſed, there were often vp-roares and commotions of the people for euery day after; and many ſouldiers were ſlain in diuers parts of the Cittie. Where-vpon, Cæſar gaue order, for other Legions to be brought him out of Aſia, which he raiſed and inrolled of Pompeis ſouldiers.

He

He himselfe was staied by the winds, called Etesiæ, *which are against them that saile to Alexandria.*

In the meane time, forasmuch as he conceiued, that if controuersies between Kings, did appertaine to the people of Rome, then consequently, to him, as Consull; and so much the rather it concerned his office, for that in his former Consulship, there was a league made by the decree of Senate, vvith Ptolomey the Father: In regarde hereof, he signified, that his pleasure was, that both the king and his sister Cleopatra, should dismisse their Armies, and rather plead their Cause before him, then to decide it by Armes.

There was at that time, one Photinus an Eunuch, one that had the administration of the kingdome, during the minoritie of the Child; he first began to cõplaine among his friends, and to take it in scorne, that the King should be called out to pleade his Cause: and afterwards, hauing gotten some assistance of the Kings friends, he drew the Armie secretly from Pelusium, to Alexandria, and made Achillas (formerly mentioned) Generall of all the forces; inciting him forward, as well by his owne promises, as from the King, and instructing him by Letters & Messengers, what he would haue done.

Ptolomey, the Father, by his last Will and testament, had left for heires, the eldest of two sonnes, and likewise the eldest of two daughters: and for the confirmation thereof, had in the same Will, charged and required the people of Rome, by all the gods & the league he made at Rome, to see this accomplished. For which purpose, he sent a copy of his Will to Rome, to be kept in the Treasury: and by reason of the publicke occasions, which admitted no such business for the present, were left with Pompey; and the Originall, signed and sealed vp, was brought to Alexandria.

While Cæsar was handling these things, beeing very desirous to end these controuersies by arbitrement, it was told him on a suddaine, that the Kings Army, and all the Caualry, were come to Alexandria. Cæsars forces were not such that he durst trust vpon them, to hazard battell without the towne; onely it remained, that he kept himselfe in such places, as were most fit & conuenient for him, vvithin the towne, and to learne what Achillas intended. Howsoeuer: he commaunded all the souldiers to Arme; and exhorted the King, that of those which were neerest vnto him, and of greatest authority, hee would send some to Achillas, to knowe his meaning.

Dioscorides and Serapion, beeing deputed there-vnto, hauing beene both Embassadours at Rome, and in great place about Ptolomey the Father; they came to Achillas: whom as soone as they were come into his presence, & before he would heare or vnderstand what they would, commaunded them to be taken away, and slaine. Of whom, one hauing receiued a wound, was caried away by his own people for dead. The other was slaine out-right. Whereupon, Cæsar wrought to get the King into his owne hands; thinking that his Name & Title would preuaile much amongst his people: as also to make it appeare, that this warre was rather mooued by the priuate practice of some seditious thieues, then by order & commandement from the King.

ding as it vvas writtẽ in a Columne of gold, at Memphis.

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS.

THe multiplicitie of occaſions and troubles, which happen to ſuch as haue the ordering of any buſineſſes of import, doth make that of Plinie often remembred; *Veteribus negotijs noua accreſcunt, nec tamen priora peraguntur; tot nexibus, tot quaſi Catenis, maius in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.* For, albeit Pompey had now ſpent his malice, and was no more to appeare in Armes againſt Cæſar: yet his hap was by flying, to draw him (as it were by way of reuenge) into a place, where hee was neceſſarilie to be intangled in a dangerous warre.

Lib. 2. Epiſt. 8.

To theſe prodigies heere mentioned, may be added that of Aulus Gellius, that The ſame day the battell happened, there fell out a ſtrange wonder at Padua: where a certaine Prieſt, called Cornelius, of Noble race, and holie life, ſuddainlie fell into an extaſie, and ſaid, he ſaw a great battell afarre off; Darts and Piles flie thicke in the ayre, ſome flying, and ſome purſuing, great ſlaughter, accompanied with many lamentable groanes and cries: and in the end, cried out, that Cæſar had got the victorie. For which, he was mocked for the preſent; but, afterwards, held in great admiration.

Lib. 15. cap. 18.

Plinie maketh the ſmall increaſe of Nilus, to bee a fore-teller of Pompeis death; *Minimumque Pharſalico bello veluti necem magni prodigio quodam flumine auerſante.*

Lib. 5. cap. 9.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Cæſar landeth his forces, taketh Pharus, and *cauſeth Photinus to be ſlaine.*

THE forces that were with Achillas, were neither for their number, or faſhion of men, or vſe or experience in war, to be contemned, hauing twentie-two thouſand men in Armes. Theſe troops cõſiſted of the Gabinian ſouldiers, which were now growne into a cuſtome of life and liberty of the Egyptians: and hauing forgot the name and diſcipline of the people of Rome, had there maried vviues, and moſt of them had children. To theſe were added ſuch as were gathered from the thieues and robbers of Syria, the Prouince of Cilicia, and other finitimate Regions: beſides many baniſhed men, and others, condemned to die, that fledde thither. And for all our fugitiues, there was euer a ſure and certaine receipt at Alexandria, and a certaine condition of life: for, vpon giuing vp of his name, he

he was presently inrolled a souldier: and if one chaunced to be taken and apprehended by his Maister, hee was presently rescued by the concourse of souldiers; vvho, beeing all in the same condition, did striue for him, as for thē selues: these required the Kings friends to be slaine. These were accustomed to rob rich men of their goods to better their pay, to besiege the Kings house, to expell some out of their kingdome, and to send for others home, according to an old custome and priuiledge of the Alexandrian Armie.

There were, besides, two thousand horse, that had beene of auncient continuance in many of the warres held at Alexandria, and had brought back Ptolomey the father, and restored him to his kingdome; had slaine Bibulus two sons, and had made warre with the Egyptians: and this vse and knowledge they had of vvarre. Achillas, trusting to these forces, and contemning the small number of Cæsars troopes, did take and possesse Alexandria; and further, assaulting that part of the towne which Cæsar held with his men, did first of all indeauour to breake into his house: but Cæsar, hauing disposed the cohorts in the streets & waies, did beare out the assault. At the same time, they fought likewise at the Port, and it came at length to a very forcible incounter: for, hauing drawne out their troopes, the fight began to be hot in diuers streets and lanes; and the Enemie (in great troopes) went about to possesse themselues of the Gallies, of which there were L. found there, that were sent to serue Pompey, and returned home againe after the battell in Thessalia. These were all Triremes, and Quinqueremes, rigged, and ready to goe to sea.

Besides these, there were twenty-two, which were alwaies accustomed to bee the best, for the defence of Alexandria, and vvere all furnished vvith decks: which if they had taken, together with Cæsars shipping, they would haue had the Hauen and the Sea at their commaund; and by that meanes, hindered Cæsar frō succours and prouision of victuall: in regard whereof, they fought hard on both sides; Achillas expecting victory, and our men for their safetie. But Cæsar, obtained his purpose: and because he was not able to keepe so many seuerall things with so small forces, he set them all on fire, together with those that were in the Road, & presently landed some souldiers at Pharus; which is a tower in an Iland, of a great height, & built with strange workmanship, taking that name from the Iland: this Iland lieth ouer against Alexandria, and so maketh it a Hauen. But former Kings had inlarged it 9 hundred pases in length, by raising great mounts in the Sea: and by that meanes, had brought it so neere to the towne, that they ioyned them both together with a bridge.

In this Iland dwelt diuers Egyptians, and made a Village, of the bignesse of a Towne: and what shippes soeuer had fallen off their course, either by tempest or errour, were there robbed by those Egyptians. For, by reason of the narrowe entrance, no shippes can come into the Hauen, but by the fauour and leaue of them that hold Pharus. Cæsar, beeing afraid of this, while the Enemie vvas busie in fight, landed his souldiers, tooke the place, and there put a guarison. Whereby he brought it to passe, that both corne and succours might safely come by sea to supply him: for, he had sent to all the confining Regions for aide. In other places of the towne they so fought, that they gaue ouer at length vpon equall conditions:

which

which happened by reaſon of the narrowneſs of the paſſages: And a few of each ſide beeing ſlaine, Cæſar tooke in ſuch places as were moſt conuenient for him, & fortified them in the night. In this quarter of the Towne, was contained a little part of the Kings houſe (wherein, hee himſelfe at his firſt arriuall, was appointed to lodge) and a Theater ioyned to the houſe, vvhich was in ſteed of a Caſtle, and had a paſſage to the Port, and to other parts of Road. The daies following, he increaſed theſe fortifications, to the end he might haue them as a wall againſt the enemy, and thereby need not fight againſt his will.

In the meane time, the younger daughter of King Ptolomey, hoping to obtaine the Crowne, now in queſtion, found meanes to conuay herſelfe out of the Kings houſe, to Achillas, and both ioyntly together, vndertooke the managing of that warre: but preſently there grew a controuerſie between thē, who ſhould cōmand in Chiefe; which was the cauſe of great largeſs and rewards to the ſouldiers, either of them beeing at great charges and expences to gaine their good wills.

While the Enemy was buſied in theſe things, Photinus, the Gouernour of the young King, and Superintendent of the kingdome on Cæſars partie, ſent Meſſengers to Achillas, exhorting him, not to deſiſt in the buſineſs, or to bee diſcouraged. Vpon the diſcouering and apprehenſion of which Meſſengers, Cæſar cauſed him to be ſlaine. And theſe were the beginnings of the Alexandrian warre.

OBSERVATIONS.

PHarus is a little Iland in the Sea, ouer-againſt Alexandria; in the midſt whereof, Ptolomey Philadelphe built a tower of an exceeding height, all of white Marble. It contained many Stages, and had in the toppe many great Lanternes, to keepe light in the night, for a marke to ſuch as were at Sea. The Architector ingraued there-vpon this inſcription; *Soſtrates Gnidien, the ſonne of Dexiphanes, to the Gods, Conſeruators, for the ſafety of Nauigators.*

It was reckoned for one of the ſeauen Wonders of the world. The firſt whereof was the Temple of Diana, at Epheſus. The ſecond, was the Sepulchre which Artemiſia, Queene of Caria, made for her Husband, Mauſolus, whoſe aſhes ſhe dranke. The third, was the Colloſſus of the Sunne, at Rhodes. The fourth, was the Walls of Babylon. The fift, was the Pyramides of Egypt. The ſixt, was the Image of Iupiter Olympian, at Elide, which was made by Phidias, and contained three-ſcore cubites in height; and was all of Iuorie, and pure Gold. And the ſeauenth, was this Pharus.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
41	2	*Enſignes*	*eaſineſſe.*
125	25	*vncaple*	*vncapable.*
133	30	*ergo*	*ego.*
150	3	*ſopken*	*ſpoken.*
205	19	*they*	*as they.*