LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 46

Histories

Tacitus

Historiae

Histories

The Year of the Four Emperors and the Revolt on the Rhine

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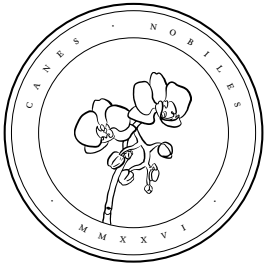
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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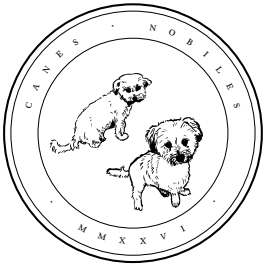

Volume 46 of the Canes Nobiles Latin interlinear texts

The Latin text follows Fisher's Oxford text of the Histories of 1911

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BOOK I

I · THE WORK BEGINS

Tacitus begins with the consulship of Galba and Vinius. After Actium, history lost its eloquence and freedom, spoiled by ignorance, flattery, and hatred; he owes his career to Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, but writes of no one with love or hatred, and keeps Nerva and Trajan for his old age. The years ahead are rich in disasters: four emperors slain, civil wars, the Capitol burned, informers rewarded. Yet the age showed loyal mothers, wives, friends, and slaves, and the gods cared for vengeance, not safety.

Initium mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius 1
the-beginning for-me of-the-work Servius Galba for-the-second-time Titus Vinius
consules erunt. nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti
consuls will-be for after the-founded city eight-hundred and twenty
prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res
of-the-former age years many writers have-recorded while the-affairs
populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate:
of-the-people Roman were-related with-equal eloquence and freedom
postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad
after it-was-fought at Actium and all power to
unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere;
one to-be-conferred of-peace it-was-in-the-interest great those talents gave-way
simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia
at-the-same-time truth in-many ways broken first by-ignorance
rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus
of-the-thing public as of-another's soon by-lust of-flattering or again
odio adversus dominantis: ita neutris cura posteritatis
by-hatred against the-masters so to-neither-side care of-posterity
inter infensos vel obnoxios. sed ambitionem scriptoris facile
between hostile or subservient but the-ambition of-a-writer easily

averseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur;
you-would-turn-from detraction and malice with-ready ears are-received
quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa
for to-flattery foul the-charge of-servitude to-malignity false
species libertatis inest. mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec
appearance of-freedom is-in to-me Galba Otho Vitellius neither
beneficio nec iniuria cogniti. dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano
by-kindness nor by-injury known the-rank our by Vespasian
inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam
begun by Titus increased by Domitian further advanced
non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore
not I-would-deny but uncorrupted faith to-those-professing neither with-love
quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. quod si vita suppeditet,
anyone and without hatred to-be-spoken-of is but if life should-suffice
principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiorem
the-principate of-the-deified Nerva and the-rule of-Trajan richer
securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum
and-safer material for-old-age I-have-set-aside with-rare of-the-times
felicitate ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.
happiness when to-feel what you-wish and what you-feel to-say it-is-allowed

2 Opus adgredior † opimum casibus, atrox proeliis,
a-work I-undertake (corrupt) rich in-disasters frightful in-battles
discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum. quattuor
torn-by-discord in-seditions itself even in-peace savage four
principes ferro interempti: trina bella civilia, plura externa
emperors by-the-sword slain three wars civil more foreign
ac plerumque permixta: prosperae in Oriente, adversae
and generally mixed prosperous in the-East adverse
in Occidente res: turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes,
in the-West the-affairs disturbed Illyricum the-Gauls wavering
perdomita Britannia et statim omissa: coortae in nos
subdued Britain and at-once let-go risen-up against us

Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis
of-the-Sarmatians and of-the-Suebi the-nations made-famous by-disasters mutual
Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis
the-Dacian moved almost even of-the-Parthians the-arms of-a-false Nero
ludibrio. iam vero Italia novis cladibus vel post longam
by-the-mockery now indeed Italy by-new disasters or after a-long
saeculorum seriem repetitis adflicta. haustae aut obrutae
of-ages series repeated afflicted swallowed-up or buried
urbes, fecundissima Campaniae ora; et urbs incendiis
cities most-fertile of-Campania the-coast and the-city by-fires
vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio
laid-waste with-consumed most-ancient shrines with-the-very Capitol
civium manibus incenso. pollutae caerimoniae, magna
of-the-citizens by-the-hands burned polluted the-rites great
adulteria: plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli.
adulteries full of-exiles the-sea stained with-murders the-rocks
atrocius in urbe saevitum: nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique
more-savagely in the-city it-was-raged nobility wealth refused and-held
honores pro crimine et ob virtutes certissimum exitium.
offices for a-charge and for virtues most-certain destruction
nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum alii
nor less the-rewards of-the-informers hateful than the-crimes since some
sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes
priesthoods and consulships as spoils having-obtained procuratorships
alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta
others and inner power were-driving were-overturning everything
odio et terrore. corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos
with-hatred and terror corrupted against masters slaves against patrons
liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus per amicos oppressi.
freedmen and those-to-whom was-lacking an-enemy by friends crushed

3 Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona
not yet so of-virtues barren the-age that not also good
exempla prodiderit. comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae
examples it-produced accompanied fleeing children mothers followed
maritos in exilia coniuges: propinqui audentes, constantes
husbands into exiles wives relatives daring steadfast
generi, contumax etiam adversus tormenta servorum fides;
sons-in-law defiant even against tortures of-slaves the-faith
supremae clarorum virorum necessitates fortiter toleratae et
the-last of-famous men necessities bravely endured and
laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. praeter multiplicis
to-praised of-the-ancients deaths equal endings besides the-manifold
rerum humanarum casus caelo terraque prodigia et
of-affairs human mishaps in-heaven and-on-earth prodigies and
fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia,
of-lightnings the-warnings and of-the-future presages happy sad
ambigua manifesta; nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi
ambiguous manifest nor for ever by-more-frightful of-the-people
Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est
Roman disasters or-by-more just signs proved has-it-been
non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.
not to-be for-care to-the-gods the-safety our to-be vengeance

II · THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE

A secret of empire was out: an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome. Senate, people, and soldiers greet Nero's fall differently; the praetorians want the promised donative, and Galba's saying that he chooses soldiers rather than buys them offends them. Vinius and Laco ruin the feeble old man; Macer and Capito are killed. Tacitus surveys the armies and provinces: the Upper German army scorns Flaccus, Vitellius holds Lower Germany, Mucianus Syria, Vespasian Judaea, and Egypt is ruled by a knight.

Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum 4
but before the-things-intended I-arrange to-be-gone-back-over
videtur qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum,
it-seems what-kind the-state of-the-city what the-mind of-the-armies
quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe
what the-condition of-the-provinces what in whole of-lands world
validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus
strong what sick may-have-been so-that not only the-chances
eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio
and-outcomes of-affairs which generally fortuitous are but the-reason
etiam causaeque noscantur. finis Neronis ut laetus primo
also and-causes may-be-known the-end of-Nero as joyful at-first
gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum non
of-those-rejoicing in-the-onset had-been so various movements of-minds not
modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum
only in the-city among the-fathers or the-people or the-urban
militem, sed omnis legiones ducesque conciverat, evulgato
soldiery but all the-legions and-generals had-stirred with-divulged
imperii arcano posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri.
of-empire secret to-be-able the-emperor elsewhere than at-Rome to-be-made
sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga
but the-fathers joyful with-seized at-once freedom more-licentiously as toward

principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi
an-emperor new and absent the-chief of-the-knights nearest
gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et magnis domibus
in-joy of-the-fathers part of-the-people sound and to-great houses
adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in
attached clients and-freedmen of-the-condemned and of-the-exiles into
spem erecti: plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta,
hope raised the-plebs sordid and to-the-circus and theaters accustomed
simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui adesis bonis
at-the-same-time the-worst of-the-slaves or those-who with-eaten-up goods
per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et rumorum avidi.
through disgrace of-Nero were-fed gloomy and of-rumors greedy
5 Miles urbanus longo Caesarum sacramento imbutus et ad
the-soldiery urban by-long of-the-Caesars oath steeped and to
destituendum Neronem arte magis et impulsu quam suo
deserting Nero by-art more and impulse than its-own
ingenio traductus, postquam neque dari donativum sub
nature brought-over after neither to-be-given the-donative under
nomine Galbae promissum neque magnis meritis ac praemiis
the-name of-Galba promised nor for-great services and rewards
eundem in pace quem in bello locum praeventamque gratiam
the-same in peace which in war place and-forestalled the-favor
intellegit apud principem a legionibus factum, pronus ad novas
it-perceives with the-emperor by the-legions made prone to new
res scelere insuper Nymphidii Sabini praefecti imperium
things by-the-crime moreover of-Nymphidius Sabinus the-prefect empire
sibi molientis agitatur. et Nymphidius quidem in ipso
for-himself contriving is-driven and Nymphidius indeed in the-very
conatu oppressus, set quamvis capite defectionis ablato
attempt crushed but although with-the-head of-the-revolt removed
manebat plerisque militum conscientia, nec deerant sermones
remained in-most of-the-soldiers the-guilt nor were-lacking talks

senium atque avaritiam Galbae increpantium. laudata olim
the-old-age and avarice of-Galba censuring praised once
et militari fama celebrata severitas eius angebat aspernantis
and with-military fame celebrated the-severity his chafed men-scorning
veterem disciplinam atque ita quattuordecim annis a Nerone
the-old discipline and so for-fourteen years by Nero
adsuefactos ut haud minus vitia principum amarent quam
accustomed that not less the-vices of-emperors they-loved than
olim virtutes verebantur. accessit Galbae vox pro re
once the-virtues they-feared there-was-added Galba's saying for the-thing
publica honesta, ipsi anceps, legi a se militem,
public honorable to-himself dangerous to-be-chosen by himself the-soldier
non emi; nec enim ad hanc formam cetera erant.
not to-be-bought nor for to this pattern the-rest were
Invalidum senem Titus Vinius et Cornelius Laco, alter 6
the-feeble old-man Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco the-one
deterrimus mortalium, alter ignavissimus, odio flagitiorum
worst of-mortals the-other most-slothful with-hatred of-the-crimes
oneratum contemptu inertiae destruebant. tardum Galbae
burdened with-contempt of-inertia were-ruining slow Galba's
iter et cruentum, interfectis Cingonio Varrone consule
journey and bloody with-slain Cingonius Varro consul
designato et Petronio Turpiliano consulari: ille ut
designate and Petronius Turpilianus the-ex-consul the-former as
Nymphidii socius, hic ut dux Neronis, inauditi atque
of-Nymphidius ally the-latter as general of-Nero unheard and
indefensi tamquam innocentes perierant. introitus in urbem
undefended as-if innocent had-perished the-entry into the-city
trucidatis tot milibus inermium militum infaustus omine
with-slaughtered so-many thousands of-unarmed soldiers ill-starred in-omen
atque ipsis etiam qui occiderant formidolosus. inducta
and to-the-very even who had-killed fearful with-brought-in

legione Hispana, remanente ea quam e classe Nero
legion Spanish with-remaining that which from the-fleet Nero
conscripserat, plena urbs exercitu insolito; multi ad
had-enrolled full the-city with-an-army unaccustomed many besides
hoc numeri e Germania ac Britannia et Illyrico, quos
this detachments from Germany and Britain and Illyricum whom
idem Nero electos praemissosque ad claustra Caspiarum et
the-same Nero chosen and-sent-ahead to the-gates of-the-Caspians and
bellum, quod in Albanos parabat, opprimendis Vindicis
the-war which against the-Albani he-was-preparing for-crushing of-Vindex
coeptis revocaverat: ingens novis rebus materia, ut non
the-undertakings had-recalled huge for-new things material as not
in unum aliquem prono favore ita audenti parata.
toward one anyone with-prone favor so for-one-daring ready
7 Forte congruerat ut Clodii Macri et Fontei Capitonis
by-chance it-had-coincided that of-Clodius Macer and of-Fonteius Capito
caedes nuntiarentur. Macrum in Africa haud dubie
the-murders were-reported Macer in Africa not doubtfully
turbantem Trebonius Garutianus procurator iussu Galbae,
causing-disorder Trebonius Garutianus the-procurator by-order of-Galba
Capitonem in Germania, cum similia coeptaret, Cornelius
Capito in Germany when similar-things he-was-attempting Cornelius
Aquinus et Fabius Valens legati legionum interfecerant
Aquinus and Fabius Valens legates of-the-legions had-killed
antequam iuberentur. fuere qui crederent Capitonem ut
before they-were-ordered there-were who believed Capito as
avaritia et libidine foedum ac maculosum ita cogitatione
by-avarice and lust foul and stained so from-thought
rerum novarum abstinuisse, sed a legatis bellum suadentibus,
of-things new to-have-abstained but by the-legates war urging
postquam impellere nequiverint, crimen ac dolum ultro
after to-drive-him they-had-been-unable the-charge and the-trick besides

compositum, et Galbam mobilitate ingenii, an ne altius
contrived and Galba by-fickleness of-nature or lest more-deeply
scrutaretur, quoquo modo acta, quia mutari non poterant,
he-should-search in-whatever way done because to-be-changed not they-could
comprobasse. ceterum utraque caedes sinistre accepta, et
to-have-approved but each murder unfavorably received and
inviso semel principi seu bene seu male facta parem
to-a-hated once emperor whether well or ill done-things equal
invidiam adferebant. venalia cuncta, praepotentes liberti,
odium brought for-sale everything all-powerful the-freedmen
servorum manus subitis avidae et tamquam apud senem
of-the-slaves the-hands for-sudden-gains greedy and as-though with an-old-man
festinantes, eademque novae aulae mala, aeque gravia, non
hurrying and-the-same of-the-new court the-evils equally heavy not
aeque excusata. ipsa aetas Galbae inrisui ac fastidio erat
equally excused the-very age of-Galba for-ridicule and disgust was
adsuetis iuventae Neronis et imperatores forma ac
to-men-accustomed to-the-youth of-Nero and the-emperors by-beauty and
decore corporis, ut est mos vulgi, comparantibus.
comeliness of-body as is the-way of-the-crowd comparing
Et hic quidem Romae, tamquam in tanta multitudine, 8
and this indeed at-Rome as in so-great a-multitude
habitus animorum fuit. e provinciis Hispaniae praeerat
the-condition of-minds was of the-provinces the-Spains was-governing
Cluvius Rufus, vir facundus et pacis artibus, bellis
Cluvius Rufus a-man eloquent and of-peace in-arts in-wars
inexpertus. Galliae super memoriam Vindicis obligatae recenti
untried the-Gauls besides the-memory of-Vindex bound by-the-recent
dono Romanae civitatis et in posterum tributi levamento.
gift of-Roman citizenship and for the-future of-tribute by-the-lightening
proximae tamen Germanicis exercitibus Galliarum civitates non
nearest yet to-the-German armies of-the-Gauls the-states not

eodem honore habitae, quaedam etiam finibus ademptis
with-the-same honor held some even with-territory taken-away
pari dolore commoda aliena ac suas iniurias metiebantur.
with-equal pain the-advantages of-others and their-own injuries were-measuring
Germanici exercitus, quod periculosissimum in tantis viribus,
the-German armies which most-dangerous in so-great forces
solliciti et irati, superbia recentis victoriae et metu
anxious and angry with-pride of-the-recent victory and with-fear
tamquam alias partis fovissent. tarde a Nerone desciverant,
as-though another side they-had-favored late from Nero had-revolted
nec statim pro Galba Verginius. an imperare noluisset
nor at-once for Galba Verginius whether to-rule he-had-been-unwilling
dubium: delatum ei a milite imperium conveniebat.
doubtful offered to-him by the-soldiery the-empire it-was-agreed
Fonteium Capitonem occisum etiam qui queri non
Fonteius Capito slain even those-who to-complain not
poterant, tamen indignabantur. dux deerat abducto
could yet were-indignant a-general was-lacking with-withdrawn
Verginio per simulationem amicitiae; quem non remitti
Verginius through pretense of-friendship whom not to-be-sent-back
atque etiam reum esse tamquam suum crimen accipiebant.
and even accused to-be as-if their-own charge they-took
9 Superior exercitus legatum Hordeonium Flaccum spernebat,
the-upper army the-legate Hordeonius Flaccus despised
senecta ac debilitate pedum invalidum, sine constantia, sine
by-old-age and by-lameness of-feet feeble without firmness without
auctoritate: ne quieto quidem milite regimen; adeo furentes
authority not with-quiet even soldiery the-command so raging
infirmitate retinentis ultro accendebantur. inferioris
by-the-weakness of-the-one-restraining even they-were-inflamed of-lower
Germaniae legiones diutius sine consulari fuere, donec
Germany the-legions longer without an-ex-consul were until

missu Galbae A. Vitellius aderat, censoris Vitellii ac
by-the-sending of-Galba Aulus Vitellius was-present of-the-censor Vitellius and
ter consulis filius: id satis videbatur. in Britannico
three-times consul the-son this enough seemed in the-British
exercitu nihil irarum. non sane aliae legiones per omnis
army nothing of-angers not indeed other legions through all
civilium bellorum motus innocentius egerunt, seu quia
of-civil wars the-movements more-blamelessly behaved whether because
procul et Oceano divisae, seu crebris expeditionibus doctae
far and by-the-Ocean divided or by-frequent expeditions taught
hostem potius odisse. quies et Illyrico, quamquam excitae
the-enemy rather to-hate quiet also in-Illyricum although summoned
a Nerone legiones, dum in Italia cunctantur, Verginium
by Nero the-legions while in Italy they-delay Verginius
legationibus adissent: sed longis spatiis discreti exercitus,
with-embassies had-approached but by-long distances separated the-armies
quod saluberrimum est ad continendam militarem fidem,
which most-salutary is for keeping military loyalty
nec vitiis nec viribus miscebantur.
neither in-vices nor in-strength were-mingled
Oriens adhuc immotus. Syriam et quattuor legiones obtinebat 10
the-East still unmoved Syria and four legions was-holding
Licinius Mucianus, vir secundis adversisque iuxta famosus.
Licinius Mucianus a-man in-prosperity and-adversity alike notorious
insignis amicitias iuvenis ambitiose coluerat; mox
distinguished friendships as-a-young-man ambitiously had-cultivated soon
attritis opibus, lubrico statu, suspecta etiam Claudii
with-worn-down wealth in-a-slippery state with-suspected even of-Claudius
iracundia, in secretum Asiae sepositus tam prope ab exule
anger into a-retreat of-Asia set-aside as near to an-exile
fuit quam postea a principe. luxuria industria, comitate
was as afterward to an-emperor by-luxury by-industry by-courtesy

adrogantia, malis bonisque artibus mixtus: nimiae voluptates,
by-arrogance of-bad and-good arts mixed excessive pleasures
cum vacaret; quotiens expedierat, magnae virtutes:
when he-had-leisure whenever he-had-taken-the-field great virtues
palam laudares, secreta male audiebant: sed apud
openly you-would-praise his-private-life badly was-spoken-of but among
subiectos, apud proximos, apud collegas variis inlecebris
subordinates among intimates among colleagues by-various allurements
potens, et cui expeditius fuerit tradere imperium
powerful and for-whom more-easily it-would-have-been to-hand-over empire
quam obtinere. bellum Iudaicum Flavius Vespasianus (ducem
than to-hold the-war Jewish Flavius Vespasianus as-general
eum Nero delegerat) tribus legionibus administrabat. nec
him Nero had-chosen with-three legions was-conducting nor
Vespasiano adversus Galbam votum aut animus: quippe
in-Vespasian against Galba a-wish or a-disposition for
Titum filium ad venerationem cultumque eius miserat, ut
Titus his-son to the-veneration and-homage of-him he-had-sent as
suo loco memorabimus. occulta fati et ostentis ac
in-its-own place we-shall-relate the-secrets of-fate and by-portents and
responsis destinatum Vespasiano liberisque eius imperium
oracles destined for-Vespasian and-for-the-children of-him the-empire
post fortunam credidimus.
after his-fortune we-believed

11 Aegyptum copiasque, quibus coerceretur, iam inde a
Egypt and-the-forces by-which it-might-be-controlled now from-then from
divo Augusto equites Romani obtinent loco regum:
the-deified Augustus knights Roman hold in-place of-the-kings
ita visum expedire, provinciam aditu difficilem, annonae
so it-seemed to-be-expedient a-province in-access difficult in-grain
fecundam, superstitione ac lascivia discordem et mobilem,
fertile by-superstition and license torn-by-discord and fickle

insciam legum, ignaram magistratuum, domi retinere. regebat
ignorant of-laws unacquainted with-magistrates at-home to-keep was-ruling-it
tum Tiberius Alexander, eiusdem nationis. Africa ac legiones
then Tiberius Alexander of-the-same nation Africa and the-legions
in ea interfecto Clodio Macro contenta qualicumque principe
in it with-slain Clodius Macer content with-whatever-sort emperor
post experimentum domini minoris. duae Mauretaniae, Raetia,
after the-experience of-a-master lesser the-two Mauretanias Raetia
Noricum, Thraecia et quae aliae procuratoribus cohibentur, ut
Noricum Thrace and what other by-procurators are-controlled as
cuique exercitui vicinae, ita in favorem aut odium contactu
to-each army neighboring so into favor or hatred by-contact
valentiorum agebantur. inermes provinciae atque ipsa in
of-the-stronger were-driven the-unarmed provinces and the-very in
primis Italia, cuicumque servitio exposita, in pretium belli
first Italy to-whatever servitude exposed in the-prize of-the-war
cessurae erant. hic fuit rerum Romanarum status, cum
going-to-pass were this was of-affairs Roman the-state when
Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules inchoavere
Servius Galba for-the-second-time Titus Vinius consuls began
annum sibi ultimum, rei publicae prope supremum.
the-year for-themselves the-last for-the-thing public almost the-final

III · THE ADOPTION OF PISO

Early in January a letter reports that the Upper German legions have broken their oath and ask the senate and people to choose an emperor. Galba, already weighing an adoption, hears his advisers: Vinius backs Otho, whose past with Nero Tacitus recalls. Galba chooses Piso Licinianus and, taking his hand, tells him that the empire cannot stand without a director, that adoption picks the best, and that a prince must rule men who can bear neither slavery nor freedom. Piso answers with restraint.

12 Paucis post kalendas Ianuarias diebus Pompei Propinqui
a-few after the-kalends of-January days of-Pompeius Propinquus
procuratoris e Belgica litterae adferuntur, superioris Germaniae
the-procurator from Belgica a-letter is-brought of-upper Germany
legiones rupta sacramenti reverentia imperatorem alium
the-legions with-broken of-the-oath respect an-emperor other
flagitare et senatui ac populo Romano arbitrium eligendi
to-be-demanding and to-the-senate and to-the-people Roman the-choice of-choosing
permittere quo seditio mollius acciperetur. maturavit ea res
to-be-leaving so-that the-sedition more-softly might-be-received hastened this thing
consilium Galbae iam pridem de adoptione secum et cum
the-plan of-Galba long since about adoption with-himself and with
proximis agitantis. non sane crebrior tota civitate sermo
intimates turning-over not indeed more-frequent in-the-whole state talk
per illos mensis fuerat, primum licentia ac libidine talia
through those months had-been first from-license and lust of-such-things
loquendi, dein fessa iam aetate Galbae. paucis iudicium aut
speaking then with-weary now age of-Galba in-few judgment or
rei publicae amor: multi stulta spe, prout quis amicus vel
of-the-thing public love many with-foolish hope as each friend or
cliens, hunc vel illum ambitiosis rumoribus destinabant, etiam
client this-one or that-one with-ambitious rumors were-marking-out even

in Titi Vinii odium, qui in dies quanto potentior eodem
in of-Titus Vinius hatred who day-by day by-how-much more-powerful by-the-same
actu invisior erat. quippe hiantis in magna fortuna amicorum
act more-hated was for of-gaping in great fortune of-friends
cupiditates ipsa Galbae facilitas intendebat, cum apud infirmum
the-desires the-very of-Galba easiness was-straining since with a-weak
et credulum minore metu et maiore praemio peccaretur.
and credulous with-less fear and with-greater reward one-sinned
Potentia principatus divisa in Titum Vinium consulem 13
the-power of-the-principate divided into Titus Vinius the-consul
Cornelium Laconem praetorii praefectum; nec minor
Cornelius Laco of-the-praetorian-guard the-prefect nor less
gratia Icelo Galbae liberto, quem anulis donatum
influence for-Icelus of-Galba the-freedman whom with-rings presented
equestri nomine Marcianum vocitabant. hi discordes et
by-knightly name Marcianus they-were-calling these at-odds and
rebus minoribus sibi quisque tendentes, circa consilium
in-things lesser for-themselves each striving about the-plan
eligendi successoris in duas factiones scindebantur. Vinius
of-choosing a-successor into two factions were-split Vinius
pro M. Othone, Laco atque Icelus consensu non tam
for Marcus Otho Laco and Icelus by-agreement not so-much
unum aliquem fovebant quam alium. neque erat Galbae
one someone were-favoring as another nor was to-Galba
ignota Othonis ac Titi Vinii amicitia; et rumoribus nihil
unknown of-Otho and of-Titus Vinius the-friendship and by-rumors nothing
silentio transmittentium, quia Vinio vidua filia, caelebs
in-silence passing-over because for-Vinius a-widowed daughter unmarried
Otho, gener ac socer destinabantur. credo et rei
Otho son-in-law and father-in-law were-being-marked-out I-believe also of-the-thing
publicae curam subisse, frustra a Nerone translatae
public the-care to-have-come-over-him in-vain from Nero transferred

si apud Othonem relinqueretur. namque Otho pueritiam
if with Otho it-should-be-left for Otho boyhood
incuriose, adulescentiam petulanter egerat, gratus Neroni
carelessly youth wantonly had-spent pleasing to-Nero
aemulatione luxus. eoque Poppaeam Sabinam, principale
by-rivalry of-luxury and-therefore Poppaea Sabina the-emperor's
scortum, ut apud conscium libidinum deposuerat, donec
harlot as with an-accomplice of-his-lusts he-had-deposited until
Octaviam uxorem amoliretur. mox suspectum in eadem
Octavia his-wife he-should-get-rid-of soon suspected in the-same
Poppaea in provinciam Lusitaniam specie legationis
Poppaea into the-province Lusitania under-the-guise of-a-legateship
seposuit. Otho comiter administrata provincia primus in
he-set-aside Otho courteously with-administered province first to
partis transgressus nec segnis et, donec bellum fuit, inter
the-side having-crossed nor sluggish and while war was among
praesentis splendidissimus, spem adoptionis statim conceptam
those-present most-splendid the-hope of-adoption at-once conceived
acrius in dies rapiebat, faventibus plerisque militum,
more-keenly day-by day he-was-seizing with-favoring most of-the-soldiers
prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem.
prone toward him the-court of-Nero as one-like

14 Sed Galba post nuntios Germanicae seditionis, quamquam nihil
but Galba after the-news of-the-German sedition although nothing
adhuc de Vitellio certum, anxius quonam exercituum vis
yet about Vitellius certain anxious where-then of-the-armies the-force
erumperet, ne urbano quidem militi confisus, quod remedium
might-break-out not the-urban even soldiery trusting what remedy
unicum rebatur, comitia imperii transigit; adhibitoque
only he-thought the-election of-the-empire carries-through and-with-summoned
super Vinium ac Laconem Mario Celso consule designato
besides Vinius and Laco Marius Celsus consul designate

ac Ducenio Gemino praefecto urbis, pauca praefatus
and Ducenius Geminus prefect of-the-city a-few-things having-said-first
de sua senectute, Pisonem Licinianum accersiri iubet,
about his-own old-age Piso Licinianus to-be-summoned orders
seu propria electione sive, ut quidam crediderunt, Lacone
whether by-his-own choice or as some believed with-Laco
instante, cui apud Rubellium Plautum exercita cum Pisone
pressing to-whom at Rubellius Plautus' practiced with Piso
amicitia; sed callide ut ignotum fovebat, et prospera
friendship but craftily as unknown he-was-favoring and favorable
de Pisone fama consilio eius fidem addiderat. Piso
about Piso the-report to-the-counsel his credit had-added Piso
M. Crasso et Scribonia genitus, nobilis utrimque, vultu
of-Marcus Crassus and Scribonia born noble on-both-sides in-face
habituque moris antiqui et aestimatione recta severus,
and-bearing of-manner old and by-judgment right stern
deterius interpretantibus tristior habebatur: ea pars morum
worse by-those-interpreting-it more-gloomy was-held that part of-character
eius quo suspectior sollicitis adoptanti placebat.
his the-more suspect to-the-anxious to-the-adopter pleased
Igitur Galba, adprehensa Pisonis manu, in hunc modum 15
therefore Galba with-grasped of-Piso hand in this way
locutus fertur: 'si te privatus lege curiata apud
having-spoken is-reported if you as-a-private-man by-the-law curiate before
pontifices, ut moris est, adoptarem, et mihi egregium erat
the-pontiffs as of-custom is I-were-adopting both for-me a-distinction it-would-be
Cn. Pompei et M. Crassi subolem in penatis meos
of-Gnaeus Pompeius and of-Marcus Crassus the-offspring into household-gods my
adsciscere, et tibi insigne Sulpiciae ac Lutatiae decora
to-take-in and for-you a-mark-of-honor of-Sulpicia and of-Lutatia the-glories
nobilitati tuae adiecisse: nunc me deorum hominumque
to-nobility your to-have-added now me of-gods and-of-men

consensu ad imperium vocatum praeclara indoles tua et
by-the-consent to the-empire called excellent character your and
amor patriae impulit ut principatum, de quo maiores nostri
love of-country has-driven that the-principate about which ancestors our
armis certabant, bello adeptus quiescenti offeram, exemplo
with-arms were-contending by-war gained to-one-at-peace I-should-offer by-the-example
divi Augusti qui sororis filium Marcellum, dein generum
of-the-deified Augustus who of-his-sister the-son Marcellus then his-son-in-law
Agrippam, mox nepotes suos, postremo Tiberium Neronem
Agrippa soon grandsons his-own finally Tiberius Nero
privignum in proximo sibi fastigio conlocavit. sed Augustus
his-stepson in the-next to-himself eminence placed but Augustus
in domo successorem quaesivit, ego in re publica, non
in his-house a-successor sought I in the-thing public not
quia propinquos aut socios belli non habeam, sed neque ipse
because relatives or allies of-war not I-have but neither myself
imperium ambitione accepi, et iudicii mei documentum
the-empire by-ambition I-received and of-judgment my a-proof
sit non meae tantum necessitudines, quas tibi postposui,
let-it-be not my only connections which to-you I-have-put-after
sed et tuae. est tibi frater pari nobilitate, natu maior,
but even yours there-is to-you a-brother of-equal nobility by-birth older
dignus hac fortuna nisi tu potior esses. ea aetas tua quae
worthy of-this fortune unless you better were that age your which
cupiditates adulescentiae iam effugerit, ea vita in qua nihil
the-desires of-youth now has-escaped that life in which nothing
praeteritum excusandum habeas. fortunam adhuc tantum
past to-be-excused you-have fortune so-far only
adversam tulisti: secundae res acrioribus stimulis animos
adverse you-have-borne prosperous things with-sharper goads minds
explorant, quia miseriae tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.
test because miseries are-endured by-happiness we-are-corrupted

fidem, libertatem, amicitiam, praecipua humani animi bona,
faith freedom friendship the-chief of-the-human mind goods
tu quidem eadem constantia retinebis, sed alii per
you indeed with-the-same constancy will-keep but others through
obsequium imminuent: inrumpet adulatio, blanditiae et
obsequiousness will-diminish-them will-break-in flattery blandishments and
pessimum veri adfectus venenum, sua cuique utilitas. etiam
the-worst of-true feeling poison his-own to-each advantage even
si ego ac tu simplicissime inter nos hodie loquimur,
if I and you most-simply between ourselves today speak
ceteri libentius cum fortuna nostra quam nobiscum; nam
the-rest more-gladly with fortune our than with-us for
suadere principi quod oporteat multi laboris, adsentatio
to-advise an-emperor what is-fitting is-of-much toil flattery
erga quemcumque principem sine adfectu peragitur.'
toward whatever emperor without feeling is-carried-through
'Si immensum imperii corpus stare ac librari sine 16
if the-immense of-the-empire body to-stand and to-be-balanced without
rectore posset, dignus eram a quo res publica inciperet:
a-ruler could worthy I-was from whom the-thing public should-begin
nunc eo necessitatis iam pridem ventum est ut nec mea
now to-that of-necessity now long-since come it-is that neither my
senectus conferre plus populo Romano possit quam bonum
old-age to-bestow more on-the-people Roman can than a-good
successorem, nec tua plus iuventa quam bonum principem. sub
successor nor your more youth than a-good emperor under
Tiberio et Gaio et Claudio unius familiae quasi hereditas
Tiberius and Gaius and Claudius of-one family as-it-were the-inheritance
fuimus: loco libertatis erit quod eligi coepimus; et
we-were in-place of-freedom will-be that to-be-chosen we-have-begun and
finita Iuliorum Claudiorumque domo optimum quemque
with-ended of-the-Julii and-of-the-Claudii house the-best each

adoptio inveniet. nam generari et nasci a principibus
adoption will-find for to-be-begotten and to-be-born from emperors
fortuitum, nec ultra aestimatur: adoptandi iudicium integrum
fortuitous nor further is-valued of-adopting the-judgment unimpaired
et, si velis eligere, consensu monstratur. sit ante oculos
and if you-wish to-choose by-consent it-is-shown let-be before eyes
Nero quem longa Caesarum serie tumentem non Vindex
Nero whom with-the-long of-the-Caesars line swelling not Vindex
cum inermi provincia aut ego cum una legione, sed sua
with an-unarmed province or I with one legion but his-own
immanitas, sua luxuria cervicibus publicis depulerunt; neque
monstrousness his-own luxury from-the-necks public thrust-off nor
erat adhuc damnati principis exemplum. nos bello et
was-there yet of-a-condemned emperor an-example we by-war and
ab aestimantibus adsciti cum invidia quamvis egregii erimus.
by those-assessing adopted with envy although excellent we-shall-be
ne tamen territus fueris si duae legiones in hoc concussi
do-not yet terrified be if two legions in this of-the-shaken
orbis motu nondum quiescunt: ne ipse quidem ad securas
world commotion not-yet are-quiet not I-myself even to safe
res accessi, et audita adoptione desinam videri senex, quod
things came and with-heard the-adoption I-shall-cease to-seem old which
nunc mihi unum obicitur. Nero a pessimo quoque semper
now to-me alone is-objected Nero by the-worst each always
desiderabitur: mihi ac tibi providendum est ne etiam a
will-be-missed by-me and by-you to-be-provided is lest even by
bonis desideretur. monere diutius neque temporis huius, et
the-good he-be-missed to-advise longer neither of-the-time this and
impletum est omne consilium si te bene elegi. utilissimus
fulfilled is all counsel if you well I-have-chosen most-useful
idem ac brevissimus bonarum malarumque rerum dilectus
same and shortest of-good and-of-bad things the-test

est, cogitare quid aut volueris sub alio principe aut
is to-think what either you-would-have-wished under another emperor or
nolueris; neque enim hic, ut gentibus quae regnantur,
would-not-have-wished nor for here as among-nations which are-ruled-by-kings
certa dominorum domus et ceteri servi, sed imperaturus
a-fixed of-masters house and the-rest slaves but going-to-rule
es hominibus qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt nec
you-are men who neither whole servitude to-suffer can nor
totam libertatem.' et Galba quidem haec ac talia, tamquam
whole freedom and Galba indeed these and such-things as-though
principem faceret, ceteri tamquam cum facto loquebantur.
an-emperor he-were-making the-rest as-though with one-made were-speaking
Pisonem ferunt statim intuentibus et mox coniectis in eum 17
Piso they-report immediately to-those-looking-on and soon with-cast on him
omnium oculis nullum turbati aut exultantis animi motum
of-all eyes no of-a-troubled or exulting mind motion
prodidisse. sermo erga patrem imperatoremque reverens, de
to-have-betrayed his-speech toward his-father and-emperor reverent about
se moderatus; nihil in vultu habituque mutatum, quasi
himself moderate nothing in face and-bearing changed as-if
imperare posset magis quam vellet. consultatum inde, pro
to-rule he-could more than wished it-was-deliberated then before
rostris an in senatu an in castris adoptio nuncuparetur.
the-rostra or in the-senate or in the-camp the-adoption should-be-announced
iri in castra placuit: honorificum id militibus fore,
to-be-gone into the-camp it-was-decided honorable this to-the-soldiers would-be
quorum favorem ut largitione et ambitu male adquiri, ita
whose favor as by-largess and canvassing badly to-be-acquired so
per bonas artis haud spernendum. circumsteterat interim
through good arts not to-be-despised had-surrounded meanwhile

Palatium publica expectatio, magni secreti impatiens; et
the-Palace the-public expectation of-the-great secret impatient and
male coercitam famam supprimentes augebant.
badly restrained report those-suppressing-it were-increasing

IV · THE ANNOUNCEMENT

On a stormy tenth of January Galba announces the adoption in the camp with a soldier's brevity, adding no flattery and no bounty; the officers answer agreeably, the rest with gloom and silence. The senate hears an equally short speech. Envoys to the German armies are named, excused, and replaced. To raise money, Nero's gifts are reclaimed, each recipient keeping a tenth, and thirty knights hunt them out; four tribunes are dismissed, which frightens the rest.

18 Quartum idus Ianuarias, foedum imbribus diem,
on-the-fourth-day-before the-ides of-January foul with-rains a-day
tonitrua et fulgura et caelestes minae ultra solitum
thunders and lightnings and heavenly threats beyond the-usual
turbaverunt. observatum id antiquitus comitiis dirimendis
disturbed observed this from-of-old for-elections to-be-broken-off
non terruit Galbam quo minus in castra pergeret,
not did-it-frighten Galba by-which less into the-camp he-should-proceed
contemptorem talium ut fortuitorum; seu quae fato
a-despiser of-such-things as fortuitous or what by-fate
manent, quamvis significata, non vitantur. apud frequentem
remain although signified not are-avoided before a-crowded
militum contionem imperatoria brevitate adoptari a se
of-soldiers assembly with-imperial brevity to-be-adopted by himself
Pisonem exemplo divi Augusti et more militari,
Piso by-the-example of-the-deified Augustus and by-the-custom military
quo vir virum legeret, pronuntiat. ac ne dissimulata
by-which man a-man should-choose he-announces and lest concealed

seditio in maius crederetur, ultro adseverat quartam
the-sedition into greater should-be-believed of-his-own-accord he-asserts the-fourth
et duoetvicensimam legiones, paucis seditionis auctoribus, non
and twenty-second legions with-few of-the-sedition authors not
ultra verba ac voces errasse et brevi in officio fore.
beyond words and cries to-have-gone-astray and shortly in duty going-to-be
nec ullum orationi aut lenocinium addit aut pretium.
nor any to-the-speech either inducement he-adds or price
tribuni tamen centurionesque et proximi militum grata
the-tribunes yet and-centurions and the-nearest of-the-soldiers pleasing-things
auditu respondent: per ceteros maestitia ac silentium,
to-hear answer through the-rest gloom and silence
tamquam usurpatam etiam in pace donativi necessitatem
as-though the-customary even in peace of-the-donative necessity
bello perdidissent. constat potuisse conciliari animos
in-war they-had-lost it-is-agreed to-have-been-able to-be-won-over their-minds
quantulacumque parci senis liberalitate: nocuit antiquus
by-however-little of-the-sparing old-man liberality harmed the-old
rigor et nimia severitas, cui iam pares non sumus.
rigor and excessive severity for-which now equal not we-are
Inde apud senatum non comptior Galbae, non longior quam 19
then before the-senate not more-polished Galba's not longer than
apud militem sermo: Pisonis comis oratio. et patrum
before the-soldiery the-speech of-Piso courteous oration and of-the-fathers
favor aderat: multi voluntate, effusius qui noluerant,
favor was-present many with-good-will more-effusively who had-not-wished-it
medii ac plurimi obvio obsequio, privatas spes agitantes
the-neutral and most with-ready obsequiousness private hopes turning-over
sine publica cura. nec aliud sequenti quadriduo,
without public care nor anything-else in-the-following four-days
quod medium inter adoptionem et caedem fuit, dictum
which midway between adoption and murder was said

a Pisone in publico factumve. crebrioribus in dies
by Piso in public or-done more-frequent day-by day
Germanicae defectionis nuntiis et facili civitate ad
of-the-German revolt with-the-news and with-an-easy state for
accipienda credendaque omnia nova cum tristia sunt,
receiving and-believing all new-things when gloomy they-are
censuerant patres mittendos ad Germanicum exercitum
had-decreed the-fathers to-be-sent to the-German army
legatos. agitatum secreto num et Piso proficisceretur,
envoys it-was-discussed in-secret whether also Piso should-set-out
maiore praetextu, illi auctoritatem senatus, hic dignationem
with-greater show they the-authority of-the-senate he the-dignity
Caesaris laturus. placebat et Laconem praetorii
of-a-Caesar going-to-bear it-pleased also Laco of-the-praetorian-guard
praefectum simul mitti: is consilio intercessit. legati
the-prefect at-the-same-time to-be-sent he the-plan opposed the-envoys
quoque (nam senatus electionem Galbae permiserat) foeda
also for the-senate the-choice to-Galba had-entrusted with-foul
inconstantia nominati, excusati, substituti, ambitu remanendi
inconstancy named excused substituted by-canvassing of-remaining
aut eundi, ut quemque metus vel spes impulerat.
or of-going as each fear or hope had-driven
20 Proxima pecuniae cura; et cuncta scrutantibus iustissimum
next of-money the-care and all-things to-those-scrutinizing most-just
visum est inde repeti ubi inopiae causa erat. bis
seemed it-was thence to-be-reclaimed where of-the-want the-cause was two-thousand
et viciens miliens sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat:
and two-hundred millions of-sesterces in-gifts Nero had-poured-out
appellari singulos iussit, decima parte liberalitatis apud
to-be-summoned individually he-ordered with-a-tenth part of-the-liberality with
quemque eorum relicta. at illis vix decimae super portiones
each of-them left but to-them scarcely of-a-tenth over portions

erant, isdem erga aliena sumptibus quibus sua
were with-the-same toward others' extravagance with-which their-own
prodegerant, cum rapacissimo cuique ac perditissimo
they-had-squandered since to-the-most-rapacious each and most-abandoned
non agri aut faenus sed sola instrumenta vitiorum manerent.
not lands or interest but only the-instruments of-vices remained
exactioni triginta equites Romani praepositi, novum officii
for-the-collection thirty knights Roman put-in-charge a-new of-office
genus et ambitu ac numero onerosum: ubique hasta et
kind and by-canvassing and by-number burdensome everywhere the-spear and
sector, et inquieta urbs actionibus. ac tamen grande gaudium
the-buyer and restless the-city with-lawsuits and yet great joy
quod tam pauperes forent quibus donasset Nero quam
that as poor were those-to-whom had-given Nero as
quibus abstulisset. exauctorati per eos dies tribuni, e
those-from-whom he-had-taken discharged in those days tribunes from
praetorio Antonius Taurus et Antonius Naso, ex urbanis
the-praetorian-guard Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso from the-urban
cohortibus Aemilius Pacensis, e vigilibus Iulius Fronto. nec
cohorts Aemilius Pacensis from the-watch Julius Fronto nor
remedium in ceteros fuit, sed metus initium, tamquam
a-remedy against the-rest was but of-fear the-beginning as-though
per artem et formidine singuli pellerentur, omnibus suspectis.
by craft and by-dread one-by-one they-were-driven with-all suspected

Otho, deep in debt and stung by Piso's adoption, sees safety only in seizing power; astrologers, Ptolemaeus foremost, urge him on. He has long courted the soldiers on the march and at their posts. Maevius Pudens spreads money among the guard, Onomastus enlists Barbius Proculus and Veturius, and two common soldiers undertake the crime; the disaffection spreads to the legions and auxiliaries in the city, and only fear of the night's confusion keeps them from seizing Otho on the fourteenth.

21 Interea Othonem, cui compositis rebus nulla spes, omne
meanwhile Otho to-whom with-settled affairs no hope all
in turbido consilium, multa simul extimulabant,
in turmoil his-plan many-things at-the-same-time were-goading
luxuria etiam principi onerosa, inopia vix privato
luxury even to-an-emperor burdensome want scarcely to-a-private-man
toleranda, in Galbam ira, in Pisonem invidia; fingebat
bearable against Galba anger against Piso envy he-was-feigning
et metum quo magis concupisceret: praegravem se Neroni
also fear so-that more he-might-desire too-heavy himself to-Nero
fuisse, nec Lusitaniam rursus et alterius exilii honorem
to-have-been nor Lusitania again and of-another exile the-honor
expectandum. suspectum semper invisumque dominantibus
to-be-awaited suspected always and-hated by-those-ruling
qui proximus destinaretur. nocuisse id sibi apud senem
who next should-be-marked-out to-have-harmed this him with an-old
principem, magis nociturum apud iuvenem ingenio trucem
emperor more going-to-harm with a-young-one in-nature savage
et longo exilio efferatum: occidi Othonem posse. proinde
and by-long exile made-wild to-be-killed Otho could therefore
agendum audendumque, dum Galbae auctoritas fluxa, Pisonis
to-be-acted and-to-be-dared while of-Galba the-authority unstable of-Piso

nondum coaluisset. opportunos magnis conatibus transitus
not-yet had-grown-firm favorable to-great attempts the-transitions
rerum, nec cunctatione opus, ubi perniciosior sit quies quam
of-affairs nor of-delay need where more-ruinous be quiet than
temeritas. mortem omnibus ex natura aequalem oblivione apud
rashness death for-all by nature equal by-oblivion among
posteros vel gloria distingui; ac si nocentem innocentemque
posterity or by-glory to-be-distinguished and if the-guilty and-the-innocent
idem exitus maneat, acrioris viri esse merito perire.
the-same end await of-a-keener man to-be deservedly to-perish
Non erat Othonis mollis et corpori similis animus. et 22
not was of-Otho soft and to-his-body like the-mind and
intimi libertorum servorumque, corruptius quam in privata
intimate of-freedmen and-of-slaves more-corruptly than in a-private
domo habiti, aulam Neronis et luxus, adulteria, matrimonia
house kept the-court of-Nero and luxuries adulteries marriages
ceterasque regnorum libidines avido talium, si auderet,
and-the-other of-kingships lusts to-one-greedy of-such-things if he-should-dare
ut sua ostentantes, quiescenti ut aliena exprobrabant,
as his-own displaying to-one-at-rest as another's they-were-reproaching
urgentibus etiam mathematicis, dum novos motus et clarum
with-urging also astrologers while new movements and a-brilliant
Othoni annum observatione siderum adfirmant, genus hominum
for-Otho year by-observation of-the-stars they-affirm a-kind of-men
potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra
to-the-powerful faithless to-those-hoping deceitful which in state our
et vetabitur semper et retinebitur. multos secreta Poppaeae
both will-be-forbidden always and will-be-retained many the-secrets of-Poppaea
mathematicos, pessimum principalis matrimonii instrumentum,
astrologers the-worst of-imperial marriage instrument
habuerant: e quibus Ptolemaeus Othoni in Hispania comes,
had-had of whom Ptolemaeus for-Otho in Spain companion

cum superfuturum eum Neroni promisisset, postquam ex
when going-to-survive him Nero he-had-promised after from
eventu fides, coniectura iam et rumore senium Galbae et
the-outcome belief by-conjecture now and by-rumor the-old-age of-Galba and
iuventam Othonis computantium persuaserat fore ut in
the-youth of-Otho of-those-reckoning had-persuaded it-would-be that into
imperium adsciscereturur. sed Otho tamquam peritia et monitu
the-empire he-would-be-adopted but Otho as-though by-skill and by-warning
fatorum praedicta accipiebat, cupidine ingenii humani libentius
of-the-fates foretold he-was-taking-it with-the-desire of-mind human more-gladly
obscura credendi. nec deerat Ptolemaeus, iam et sceleris
obscure-things of-believing nor was-lacking Ptolemaeus now also of-crime
instinctor, ad quod facillime ab eius modi voto transitur.
the-instigator to which most-easily from of-this kind wish one-passes
23 Sed sceleris cogitatio incertum an repens: studia
but of-the-crime the-thought uncertain whether sudden the-zeal
militum iam pridem spe successionis aut paratu
of-the-soldiers now long-since by-hope of-succession or by-preparation
facinoris adfectaverat, in itinere, in agmine, in stationibus
of-the-deed he-had-courted on the-march in the-column at the-posts
vetustissimum quemque militum nomine vocans ac memoria
the-oldest each of-the-soldiers by-name calling and by-memory
Neroniani comitatus contubernalis appellando; alios agnoscere,
of-the-Neronian retinue comrades by-calling-them some to-recognize
quosdam requirere et pecunia aut gratia iuvare, inserendo
certain to-ask-after and with-money or influence to-help by-inserting
saepius querelas et ambiguos de Galba sermones quaeque alia
more-often complaints and ambiguous about Galba talks and-whatever other
turbamenta vulgi. labores itinerum, inopia commeatuum,
disturbances of-the-crowd the-toils of-the-marches the-scarcity of-provisions
duritia imperii atrocius accipiebantur, cum Campaniae lacus
the-harshness of-command more-bitterly were-received since of-Campania the-lakes

et Achaiae urbes classibus adire soliti Pyrenaeum et Alpes
and of-Achaea the-cities with-fleets to-visit accustomed the-Pyrenees and the-Alps
et immensa viarum spatia aegre sub armis eniterentur.
and the-immense of-roads distances painfully under arms they-were-struggling-up
Flagrantibus iam militum animis velut faces addiderat 24
with-burning now of-the-soldiers minds as-it-were torches had-added
Maevius Pudens, e proximis Tigellini. is mobilissimum
Maevius Pudens of the-intimates of-Tigellinus he the-most-fickle
quemque ingenio aut pecuniae indigum et in novas
each in-nature or of-money in-need and into new
cupiditates praecipitem adliciendo eo paulatim progressus
desires headlong by-enticing to-that gradually advanced
est ut per speciem convivii, quotiens Galba apud Othonem
has that under pretext of-a-dinner whenever Galba at Otho's
epularetur, cohorti excubias agenti viritim centenos
dined to-the-cohort the-guard keeping man-by-man a-hundred
nummos divideret; quam velut publicam largitionem Otho
sesterces he-distributed which as-if public largess Otho
secretioribus apud singulos praemiis intendebat, adeo animosus
by-more-secret with individuals rewards was-increasing so spirited
corruptor ut Cocceio Proculo speculatori, de parte finium
a-corrupter that to-Cocceius Proculus a-guardsman about part of-a-boundary
cum vicino ambigenti, universum vicini agrum sua
with a-neighbor disputing the-whole of-the-neighbor field with-his-own
pecunia emptum dono dederit, per socordiam praefecti,
money bought as-a-gift he-gave through the-slackness of-the-prefect
quem nota pariter et occulta fallebant.
whom known alike and hidden-things were-escaping
Sed tum e libertis Onomastum futuro sceleri praefecit, 25
but then of the-freedmen Onomastus to-the-future crime he-put-in-charge
a quo Barbium Proculum tesserarium speculatorum et
by whom Barbius Proculus the-watchword-bearer of-the-guardsmen and

Veturium optionem eorundem perductos, postquam vario
Veturius the-adjutant of-the-same brought after by-various
sermone callidos audacisque cognovit, pretio et promissis
talk crafty and-bold he-recognized-them with-price and promises
onerat, data pecunia ad pertemptandos plurium animos.
he-loads-them with-given money for testing of-more the-minds
suscepere duo manipulares imperium populi Romani
undertook two privates the-empire of-the-people Roman
transferendum et transtulerunt. in conscientiam facinoris
to-be-transferred and transferred-it into the-complicity of-the-deed
pauci adsciti: suspensos ceterorum animos diversis artibus
few taken-in the-hesitating of-the-rest minds by-different arts
stimulant, primores militum per beneficia Nymphidii ut
they-goad the-chief of-the-soldiers through the-favors of-Nymphidius as
suspectos, vulgus et ceteros ira et desperatione
suspected the-common-soldiery and the-rest with-anger and despair
dilati totiens donativi. erant quos memoria Neronis
of-the-postponed so-often donative were whom the-memory of-Nero
ac desiderium prioris licentiae accenderet: in commune
and longing for-the-former license inflamed in common
omnes metu mutandae militiae terrebantur.
all by-fear of-changing service were-terrified
26 Infecit ea tabes legionum quoque et auxiliorum motas
infected this corruption of-the-legions also and of-the-auxiliaries moved
iam mentis, postquam vulgatum erat labare Germanici
already the-minds after spread it-was to-be-wavering of-the-German
exercitus fidem. adeoque parata apud malos seditio, etiam
army the-loyalty and-so ready among the-wicked the-sedition even
apud integros dissimulatio fuit, ut postero iduum die
among the-sound concealment was that on-the-next of-the-ides day
redeuntem a cena Othonem rapturi fuerint, ni
returning from dinner Otho going-to-seize they-would-have-been unless

incerta noctis et tota urbe sparsa militum
the-uncertainties of-the-night and over-the-whole city scattered of-the-soldiers
castra nec facilem inter temulentos consensum timuissent,
the-camps nor easy among drunken-men agreement they-had-feared
non rei publicae cura, quam foedare principis sui
not of-the-thing public the-care which to-defile with-the-emperor's own
sanguine sobrii parabant, sed ne per tenebras, ut
blood sober-men they-were-preparing but lest through the-darkness as
quisque Pannonici vel Germanici exercitus militibus oblatus
each of-the-Pannonian or German army to-the-soldiers presented
esset, ignorantibus plerisque, pro Othone destinaretur.
had-been with-not-knowing most in-place-of Otho should-be-marked-out
multa erumpentis seditionis indicia per conscios oppressa:
many of-the-erupting sedition signs by the-accomplices were-suppressed
quaedam apud Galbae auris praefectus Laco elusit, ignarus
some in Galba's ears the-prefect Laco evaded ignorant
militarium animorum consiliique quamvis egregii, quod non
of-military minds and-of-counsel however excellent which not
ipse adferret, inimicus et adversus peritos pervicax.
he-himself brought hostile and against the-experienced obstinate

On the fifteenth of January the soothsayer Umbricius warns Galba of a plot as he sacrifices. Otho slips away, is hailed emperor by twenty-three scouts at the Golden Milestone, and is carried to the camp, where the tribune Martialis does nothing to stop it. Galba, still sacrificing, hears conflicting reports; Piso addresses the cohort on guard, which takes up its standards, more by chance than by plan. Celsus, sent to the Illyrian troops, is driven off with javelins, the marine legion joins the praetorians, and the Germans waver.

27 Octavo decimo kalendas Februarias sacrificanti pro
on-the-eighth tenth before-the-kalends of-February to-one-sacrificing before
aede Apollinis Galbae haruspex Umbricius tristia exta et
the-temple of-Apollo to-Galba the-diviner Umbricius gloomy entrails and
instantis insidias ac domesticum hostem praedicit, audiente
threatening plots and a-domestic enemy foretells with-hearing
Othone (nam proximus adstiterat) idque ut laetum e
Otho for nearest he-had-stood-by and-it as happy on
contrario et suis cogitationibus prosperum interpretante.
the-contrary and to-his-own thoughts favorable interpreting
nec multo post libertus Onomastus nuntiat expectari eum
nor much after the-freedman Onomastus announces to-be-awaited him
ab architecto et redemptoribus, quae significatio coeuntium
by the-architect and the-contractors which the-sign of-the-assembling
iam militum et paratae coniurationis convenerat. Otho,
now soldiers and of-the-prepared conspiracy had-been-agreed Otho
causam digressus requirentibus, cum emi sibi praedia
a-cause for-leaving to-those-asking when to-be-bought for-himself estates
vetustate suspecta eoque prius exploranda finxisset, innixus
by-age suspect and-therefore first to-be-examined he-had-feigned leaning-on
liberto per Tiberianam domum in Velabrum, inde ad
the-freedman through the-Tiberian house into the-Velabrum thence to

miliarium aureum sub aedem Saturni pergit. ibi tres et
the-milestone golden below the-temple of-Saturn proceeds there three and
viginti speculatores consalutatum imperatorem ac paucitate
twenty guardsmen saluted emperor and at-the-fewness
salutantium trepidum et sellae festinanter impositum
of-those-saluting alarmed and on-a-chair hurriedly placed
strictis mucronibus rapiunt; totidem ferme milites in itinere
with-drawn swords carry-him-off as-many nearly soldiers on the-way
adgregantur, alii conscientia, plerique miraculo, pars clamore
are-added some by-complicity most by-wonder some with-shouting
et gladiis, pars silentio, animum ex eventu sumpturi.
and swords some with-silence their-mind from the-outcome going-to-take
Stationem in castris agebat Iulius Martialis tribunus. is 28
the-guard in the-camp was-keeping Julius Martialis the-tribune he
magnitudine subiti sceleris, an corrupta latius castra
by-the-magnitude of-the-sudden crime or the-corrupted more-widely camp
et, si contra tenderet, exitium metuens, praebuit plerisque
and if against-it he-should-strive destruction fearing gave to-most
suspicionem conscientiae; anteposuere ceteri quoque tribuni
suspicion of-complicity preferred the-rest also tribunes
centurionesque praesentia dubiis et honestis, isque habitus
and-centurions present-things to-doubtful and honorable and-this the-condition
animorum fuit ut pessimum facinus auderent pauci, plures
of-minds was that the-worst deed should-dare a-few more
vellent, omnes paterentur.
should-wish all should-allow
Ignarus interim Galba et sacris intentus fatigabat alieni 29
unaware meanwhile Galba and on-the-rites intent was-wearying of-another's
iam imperii deos, cum adfertur rumor rapi in
now of-the-empire the-gods when is-brought the-rumor to-be-carried-off into
castra incertum quem senatorem, mox Othonem esse qui
the-camp uncertain which senator soon Otho to-be the-one-who

raperetur, simul ex tota urbe, ut quisque obvius
was-being-carried-off at-the-same-time from the-whole city as each meeting
fuerat, alii formidine augentes, quidam minora vero, ne
had-been some by-fear exaggerating certain lesser-things than-the-truth not
tum quidem obliti adulationis. igitur consultantibus placuit
then even forgetful of-flattery therefore to-those-deliberating it-was-decided
pertemptari animum cohortis, quae in Palatio stationem agebat,
to-be-tested the-mind of-the-cohort which in the-Palace the-guard was-keeping
nec per ipsum Galbam, cuius integra auctoritas maioribus
nor through himself Galba whose unimpaired authority for-greater
remediis servabatur. Piso pro gradibus domus vocatos in
remedies was-being-kept Piso before the-steps of-the-house those-called in
hunc modum adlocutus est: 'sextus dies agitur, commilitones,
this way addressed has the-sixth day is-passing comrades
ex quo ignarus futuri, et sive optandum hoc nomen
from when unaware of-the-future and whether to-be-wished-for this name
sive timendum erat, Caesar adscitus sum. quo domus
or to-be-feared it-was Caesar adopted I-was by-what of-the-house
nostrae aut rei publicae fato in vestra manu positum
our or of-the-thing public fate in your hand placed
est, non quia meo nomine tristiorem casum paveam,
it-is not because on-my-own account a-sadder fall I-fear
ut qui adversas res expertus cum maxime discam
as one-who adverse things having-experienced just now am-learning
ne secundas quidem minus discriminis habere: patris et
not prosperous even less of-danger to-have of-my-father and
senatus et ipsius imperii vicem doleo, si nobis aut perire
of-the-senate and of-the-very empire the-lot I-grieve-for if for-us either to-perish
hodie necesse est aut, quod aeque apud bonos miserum est,
today necessary it-is or what equally among the-good wretched is
occidere. solacium proximi motus habebamus incruentam
to-kill as-consolation of-the-last commotion we-had the-bloodless

urbem et res sine discordia translatas: provisum adoptione
city and affairs without discord transferred provided by-adoption
videbatur ut ne post Galbam quidem bello locus esset.'
it-seemed that not after Galba even for-war room should-be
'Nihil adrogabo mihi nobilitatis aut modestiae; neque enim 30
nothing I-will-claim for-myself of-nobility or of-modesty nor for
relatu virtutum in comparatione Othonis opus est. vitia,
of-the-recounting of-virtues in comparison with-Otho need is the-vices
quibus solis gloriatur, evertere imperium, etiam cum amicum
in-which alone he-boasts have-overturned the-empire even when the-friend
imperatoris ageret. habitune et incessu an illo muliebri
of-the-emperor he-was-playing by-dress-whether and by-gait or by-that womanish
ornatu mereretur imperium? falluntur quibus luxuria
adornment would-he-earn the-empire are-deceived those-on-whom luxury
specie liberalitatis imponit: perdere iste sciet, donare
by-the-guise of-liberality imposes to-squander that-man will-know-how to-give
nesciet. stupra nunc et comissationes et feminarum
will-not-know-how debaucheries now and revels and of-women
coetus volvit animo: haec principatus praemia putat,
gatherings he-turns-over in-mind these of-the-principate the-rewards he-thinks
quorum libido ac voluptas penes ipsum sit, rubor ac dedecus
of-which the-lust and pleasure with himself be the-blush and disgrace
penes omnis; nemo enim umquam imperium flagitio quaesitum
with all no-one for ever empire by-outrage sought
bonis artibus exercuit. Galbam consensus generis humani, me
with-good arts exercised Galba the-consensus of-the-race human me
Galba consentientibus vobis Caesarem dixit. si res publica et
Galba with-consenting you Caesar named if the-thing public and
senatus et populus vacua nomina sunt, vestra, commilitones,
the-senate and the-people empty names are yours comrades
interest ne imperatorem pessimi faciant. legionum seditio
it-concerns that-not the-emperor the-worst should-make of-legions a-sedition

adversus duces suos audita est aliquando: vestra fides
against generals their-own heard has-been at-times your loyalty
famaque inlaesa ad hunc diem mansit. et Nero quoque
and-reputation unharmed to this day has-remained and Nero also
vos destituit, non vos Neronem. minus triginta transfugae et
you abandoned not you Nero fewer thirty runaways and
desertores, quos centurionem aut tribunum sibi eligentis
deserters whom a-centurion or tribune for-themselves choosing
nemo ferret, imperium adsignabunt? admittitis exemplum et
no-one would-bear the-empire will-assign do-you-admit the-precedent and
quiescendo commune crimen facitis? transcendet haec licentia
by-keeping-quiet the-common crime make-it will-pass this license
in provincias, et ad nos scelerum exitus, bellorum ad vos
into the-provinces and to us of-crimes the-outcomes of-wars to you
pertinebunt. nec est plus quod pro caede principis quam
will-pertain nor is-there more which for the-murder of-an-emperor than
quod innocentibus datur, sed proinde a nobis donativum
which to-the-innocent is-given but just-as from us the-donative
ob fidem quam ab aliis pro facinore accipietis.'
for loyalty as from others for a-crime you-will-receive

31 Dilapsis speculatoribus cetera cohors non aspernata
with-slipped-away guardsmen the-rest-of-the cohort not having-spurned
contionantem, ut turbidis rebus evenit, forte magis et nullo
the-speaker as in-troubled affairs it-happens by-chance more and with-no
adhuc consilio rapit signa quam, quod postea creditum
as-yet plan snatches the-standards than what afterward believed
est, insidiis et simulatione. missus et Celsus Marius ad
was by-treachery and pretense sent also Celsus Marius to
electos Illyrici exercitus, Vipsania in porticu tendentis;
the-picked-men of-the-Illyrian army Vipsanian in the-portico encamped
praeceptum Amullio Sereno et Domitio Sabino primipilaribus,
it-was-instructed to-Amullius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus the-chief-centurions

ut Germanicos milites e Libertatis atrio accerserent.
that the-German soldiers from of-Liberty the-hall they-should-summon
legioni classicae diffidebatur, infestae ob caedem
the-legion naval was-distrusted hostile on-account-of the-slaughter
commilitonum, quos primo statim introitu trucidaverat
of-its-comrades whom at-first at-once at-the-entry had-butchered
Galba. pergunt etiam in castra praetorianorum tribuni
Galba there-go also into the-camp of-the-praetorians the-tribunes
Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, Pompeius Longinus, si
Cetrius Severus Subrius Dexter Pompeius Longinus if
incipiens adhuc et necdum adulta seditio melioribus consiliis
beginning still and not-yet grown the-sedition by-better counsels
flecteretur. tribunorum Subrium et Cetrium adorti
might-be-turned of-the-tribunes Subrius and Cetrius having-attacked
milites minis, Longinum manibus coercent exarmantque,
the-soldiers with-threats Longinus with-hands restrain and-disarm
quia non ordine militiae, sed e Galbae amicis, fidus principi
because not by-rank of-service but from Galba's friends faithful to-emperor
suo et desciscentibus suspectior erat. legio classica nihil
his-own and to-those-revolting more-suspect he-was the-legion naval nothing
cunctata praetorianis adiungitur; Illyrici exercitus electi
delaying to-the-praetorians is-joined of-the-Illyrian army the-picked-men
Celsum infestis pilis proturbant. Germanica vexilla diu
Celsus with-hostile javelins drive-off the-German detachments long
nutavere, invalidis adhuc corporibus et placatis animis, quod
wavered with-weak still bodies and appeased minds because
eos a Nerone Alexandriam praemissos atque inde rursus
them by Nero to-Alexandria sent-ahead and thence again
longa navigatione aegros impensiore cura Galba refovebat.
after-a-long voyage sick with-more-lavish care Galba was-reviving

VII · GALBA GOES OUT

The crowd fills the Palatium, shouting for Otho's death as if at the games. Vinius urges Galba to stay inside, others to act before the plot gains strength, and Galba sides with them, sending Piso ahead to the camp. A rumor spreads that Otho has been killed there; knights and senators break into the palace to show themselves to Galba, who puts on a breastplate and is lifted in his chair. Julius Atticus shows a bloody sword, claiming the deed, and Galba asks him who ordered it.

32 Universa iam plebs Palatium implebat, mixtis servitiis
the-whole now plebs the-Palace was-filling with-mixed slaves
et dissono clamore caedem Othonis et coniuratorum
and with-discordant clamor the-murder of-Otho and of-the-conspirators
exitium poscentium ut si in circo aut theatro ludicrum
the-destruction demanding as if in the-circus or theater show
aliquod postularent: neque illis iudicium aut veritas,
some they-were-demanding nor in-them judgment or truth
quippe eodem die diversa pari certamine postulaturis,
since on-the-same day opposite-things with-equal rivalry going-to-demand
sed tradito more quemcumque principem adulandi
but by-the-handed-down custom whatever emperor of-flattering
licentia adclamationum et studiis inanibus. Interim Galbam
with-license of-acclamations and with-zeal empty meanwhile Galba
duae sententiae distinebant: Titus Vinius manendum intra
two opinions were-dividing Titus Vinius to-be-remained within
domum, opponenda servitia, firmandos aditus, non eundum
the-house to-be-opposed the-slaves to-be-secured the-approaches not to-be-gone
ad iratos censebat: daret malorum paenitentiae, daret
to the-angry he-urged let-him-give of-the-bad to-repentance let-him-give
bonorum consensui spatium: scelera impetu, bona consilia
of-the-good to-agreement time crimes by-impulse good counsels

mora valescere, denique eundi ultro, si ratio sit, eandem
by-delay grow-strong finally of-going unprovoked if reason be the-same
mox facultatem, regressum, si paeniteat, in aliena potestate.
soon opportunity return if one-should-repent in another's power
Festinandum ceteris videbatur antequam cresceret invalida 33
to-be-hurried to-the-rest it-seemed before should-grow weak
adhuc coniuratio paucorum: trepidaturum etiam Othonem,
still the-conspiracy of-a-few going-to-tremble even Otho
qui furtim digressus, ad ignaros inlatus, cunctatione nunc
who stealthily having-departed to the-unaware carried-in by-the-delay now
et segnitia terentium tempus imitari principem discat.
and sloth of-those-wasting time to-imitate an-emperor might-learn
non expectandum ut compositis castris forum invadat
not to-be-awaited that with-settled camp the-forum he-should-invade
et prospectante Galba Capitolium adeat, dum egregius
and with-looking-on Galba the-Capitol should-approach while an-excellent
imperator cum fortibus amicis ianua ac limine tenus
emperor with brave friends by-the-door and threshold as-far-as
domum cludit, obsidionem nimirum toleraturus. et praeclarum
the-house closes the-siege of-course going-to-endure and an-excellent
in servis auxilium si consensus tantae multitudinis et, quae
in slaves help if the-consensus of-so-great a-multitude and what
plurimum valet, prima indignatio elanguescat. proinde intuta
most avails the-first indignation should-grow-faint therefore unsafe
quae indecora; vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum
what-things disgraceful or if to-fall necessary it-be to-be-met
discrimini: id Othoni invidiosius et ipsis honestum.
the-danger this for-Otho more-invidious and for-themselves honorable
repugnantem huic sententiae Vinium Laco minaciter invasit,
resisting this opinion Vinius Laco threateningly attacked
stimulante Icelo privati odii pertinacia in publicum exitium.
with-goading Icelus of-private hatred by-the-obstinacy to public ruin

34 Nec diutius Galba cunctatus speciosiora suadentibus
nor longer Galba having-delayed the-more-specious-course to-those-urging
accessit. praemissus tamen in castra Piso, ut iuvenis magno
assented sent-ahead yet into the-camp Piso as a-young-man of-great
nomine, recenti favore et infensus Tito Vinio, seu quia erat
name of-recent favor and hostile to-Titus Vinius whether because he-was
seu quia irati ita volebant; et facilius de odio creditur.
or because angry-men so wished and more-easily about hatred it-is-believed
vixdum egresso Pisone occisum in castris Othonem vagus
scarcely with-departed Piso slain in the-camp Otho wandering
primum et incertus rumor: mox, ut in magnis mendaciis,
at-first and uncertain the-rumor soon as in great lies
interfuisse se quidam et vidisse adfirmabant, credula
to-have-been-present themselves some and to-have-seen affirmed credulous
fama inter gaudentis et incuriosos. multi arbitrabantur
report among the-rejoicing and unconcerned many judged
compositum auctumque rumorem mixtis iam Othonianis,
composed and-increased the-rumor with-mixed now Othonians
qui ad evocandum Galbam laeta falso vulgaverint.
who for luring-out Galba happy-news falsely had-spread
35 Tum vero non populus tantum et imperita plebs in plausus
then indeed not the-people only and the-ignorant plebs into applause
et immodica studia sed equitum plerique ac senatorum,
and immoderate zeal but of-the-knights most and of-the-senators
posito metu incauti, refractis Palatii foribus ruere intus ac
with-laid-aside fear incautious with-broken of-the-Palace the-doors rushed inside and
se Galbae ostentare, praereptam sibi ultionem querentes,
themselves to-Galba displayed snatched-from themselves vengeance complaining
ignavissimus quisque et, ut res docuit, in periculo non
the-most-cowardly each and as the-event showed in danger not
ausurus, nimii verbis, linguae feroces; nemo scire et omnes
going-to-dare excessive in-words of-tongue fierce no-one knew and all

adfirmare, donec inopia veri et consensu errantium
affirmed until by-want of-the-truth and by-the-agreement of-those-erring
victus sumpto thorace Galba inruenti turbae neque aetate
overcome with-taken-up breastplate Galba to-the-rushing crowd neither by-age
neque corpore resistens sella levaretur. obvius in Palatio
nor body resisting on-a-chair was-lifted meeting-him in the-Palace
Iulius Atticus speculator, cruentum gladium ostentans, occisum
Julius Atticus a-guardsman a-bloody sword displaying slain
a se Othonem exclamavit; et Galba 'commilito', inquit, 'quis
by himself Otho exclaimed and Galba comrade said-he who
iussit?' insigni animo ad coercendam militarem licentiam,
ordered-it with-remarkable spirit for restraining military license
minantibus intrepidus, adversus blandientis incorruptus.
to-those-threatening fearless against the-flattering incorruptible

VIII · OTHO'S SPEECH

In the camp the soldiers raise Otho onto the tribunal among the standards. He tells them he cannot say whether he comes before them as a private man or as emperor, rehearses Galba's cruelty and avarice, mocks the choice of Piso, and bids them arm. The armory is broken open and the soldiers seize arms without order. Piso, hearing the uproar reach the city, joins Galba, and the column wavers in the forum.

Haud dubiae iam in castris omnium mentes tantusque ardor 36
not doubtful now in the-camp of-all the-minds and-so-great ardor
ut non contenti agmine et corporibus in suggestu, in
that not content with-the-column and with-bodies on the-platform on
quo paulo ante aurea Galbae statua fuerat, medium inter
which a-little before golden of-Galba a-statue had-been in-the-midst among
signa Othonem vexillis circumdarent. nec tribunis aut
the-standards Otho with-banners they-surrounded nor for-tribunes or

centurionibus adeundi locus: gregarius miles caveri
centurions of-approaching room the-common soldier to-be-guarded-against
insuper praepositos iubebat. strepere cuncta clamoribus et
besides the-officers was-ordering resounded everything with-shouts and
tumultu et exhortatione mutua, non tamquam in populo
uproar and exhortation mutual not as-though among the-people
ac plebe, variis segni adulatione vocibus, sed ut
and plebs with-various with-sluggish flattery cries but as
quemque adfluentium militum aspexerant, prensare manibus,
each of-the-streaming-in soldiers they-had-seen they-grasped with-hands
complecti armis, conlocare iuxta, praeire sacramentum, modo
embraced in-arms placed beside recited-before the-oath now
imperatorem militibus, modo milites imperatori commendare.
the-emperor to-the-soldiers now the-soldiers to-the-emperor commended
nec deerat Otho protendens manus adorare vulgum, iacere
nor was-lacking Otho stretching-out his-hands he-adored the-crowd threw
oscula et omnia serviliter pro dominatione. postquam universa
kisses and all-things slavishly for mastery after the-whole
classicorum legio sacramentum eius accepit, fidens viribus,
of-the-marines legion the-oath his took trusting in-his-strength
et quos adhuc singulos extimulaverat, accendendos in
and those-whom so-far one-by-one he-had-goaded to-be-inflamed in
commune ratus pro vallo castrorum ita coepit.
common thinking before the-rampart of-the-camp thus he-began

37 ‘Quis ad vos processerim commilitones, dicere non possum,
as-who to you I-have-come-forward comrades to-say not I-can
quia nec privatum me vocare sustineo princeps a vobis
because neither a-private-man myself to-call do-I-bear emperor by you
nominatus, nec principem alio imperante. vestrum quoque
named nor emperor with-another ruling your also
nomen in incerto erit donec dubitabitur imperatorem populi
name in uncertainty will-be while it-will-be-doubted an-emperor of-the-people

Romani in castris an hostem habeatis. auditisne ut poena
Roman in the-camp or an-enemy you-have do-you-hear how punishment
mea et supplicium vestrum simul postulentur? adeo manifestum
my and execution your together are-demanded so manifest
est neque perire nos neque salvos esse nisi una posse;
it-is neither to-perish we nor safe to-be except together to-be-able
et cuius lenitatis est Galba, iam fortasse promisit, ut qui
and whose of-leniency is Galba now perhaps has-promised as one-who
nullo exposcente tot milia innocentissimorum militum
with-no-one demanding-it so-many thousands of-most-innocent soldiers
trucidaverit. horror animum subit quotiens recordor feralem
butchered horror the-mind comes-over whenever I-recall the-funereal
introitum et hanc solam Galbae victoriam, cum in oculis urbis
entry and this only of-Galba victory when in the-eyes of-the-city
decimari deditos iuberet, quos deprecantis in fidem
to-be-decimated the-surrendered he-ordered whom pleading into protection
acceperat. his auspiciis urbem ingressus, quam gloriam ad
he-had-received with-these auspices the-city having-entered what glory to
principatum attulit nisi occisi Obultronii Sabini et Cornelii
the-principate did-he-bring except of-slain Obultronius Sabinus and of-Cornelius
Marcelli in Hispania, Betui Cilonis in Gallia, Fontei Capitonis
Marcellus in Spain of-Betuus Cilo in Gaul of-Fonteius Capito
in Germania, Clodii Macri in Africa, Cingonii in via,
in Germany of-Clodius Macer in Africa of-Cingonius on the-road
Turpiliani in urbe, Nymphidii in castris? quae usquam provincia,
of-Turpilianus in the-city of-Nymphidius in the-camp what anywhere province
quae castra sunt nisi cruenta et maculata aut, ut ipse
what camp is-there except bloody and stained or as he-himself
praedicat, emendata et correcta? nam quae alii scelera, hic
proclaims reformed and corrected for what others crimes this-man
remedia vocat, dum falsis nominibus severitatem pro saevitia,
remedies calls while by-false names severity for savagery

parsimoniam pro avaritia, supplicia et contumelias vestras
parsimony for avarice the-punishments and insults your
disciplinam appellat. septem a Neronis fine menses sunt, et
discipline he-calls seven since Nero's end months they-are and
iam plus rapuit Icelus quam quod Polycliti et Vatinii et
already more has-seized Icelus than what Polyclitus and Vatinius and
Aegiali perdiderunt. minore avaritia ac licentia grassatus esset
Aegialus squandered with-less avarice and license proceeded would-have
T. Vinius si ipse imperasset: nunc et subiectos nos habuit
Titus Vinius if he-himself had-ruled now both subject us he-has-held
tamquam suos et vilis ut alienos. una illa domus sufficit
as-if his-own and cheap as others' one that house suffices
donativo quod vobis numquam datur et cotidie exprobratur.'
for-the-donative which to-you never is-given and daily is-cast-in-your-teeth
38 'Ac ne qua saltem in successore Galbae spes esset accersit
and lest any at-least in the-successor of-Galba hope should-be he-summons
ab exilio quem tristitia et avaritia sui simillimum
from exile the-one-whom in-gloom and avarice to-himself most-like
iudicabat. vidistis, commilitones, notabili tempestate etiam
he-judged you-saw comrades by-a-notable storm even
deos infaustam adoptionem aversantis. idem senatus,
the-gods the-ill-omened adoption turning-away-from the-same of-the-senate
idem populi Romani animus est: vestra virtus expectatur,
the-same of-the-people Roman the-mind is your valor is-awaited
apud quos omne honestis consiliis robur et sine quibus
with whom all to-honorable counsels the-strength and without whom
quamvis egregia invalida sunt. non ad bellum vos nec ad
however excellent weak they-are not to war you nor to
periculum voco: omnium militum arma nobiscum sunt.
danger I-call of-all the-soldiers the-arms with-us are
nec una cohors togata defendit nunc Galbam sed detinet:
nor one cohort in-the-toga defends now Galba but detains

cum vos aspexerit, cum signum meum acceperit, hoc
when you it-shall-have-seen when the-signal my it-shall-have-received this
solum erit certamen, quis mihi plurimum imputet. nullus
only will-be the-contest who to-me most may-credit no
cunctationis locus est in eo consilio quod non potest laudari
for-delay room is in that plan which not can to-be-praised
nisi peractum.' aperire deinde armamentarium iussit. rapta
unless accomplished to-open then the-armory he-ordered seized
statim arma, sine more et ordine militiae, ut praetorianus
at-once the-arms without custom and order of-service whereby the-praetorian
aut legionarius insignibus suis distingueretur: miscentur
or the-legionary by-insignia his-own should-be-distinguished are-mixed
auxiliaribus galeis scutisque, nullo tribunorum centurionumve
with-auxiliary helmets and-shields with-none of-the-tribunes or-centurions
adhortante, sibi quisque dux et instigator; et praecipuum
exhorting to-himself each leader and instigator and the-chief
pessimorum incitamentum quod boni maerebant.
of-the-worst incitement that the-good were-grieving
Iam exterritus Piso fremitu crebrescentis seditionis et vocibus 39
now terrified Piso by-the-roar of-the-growing sedition and by-the-cries
in urbem usque resonantibus, egressum interim Galbam et
into the-city right resounding having-gone-out meanwhile Galba and
foro adpropinquantem adsecutus erat; iam Marius Celsus
the-forum approaching overtaken had already Marius Celsus
haud laeta rettulerat, cum alii in Palatium redire, alii
not happy-news had-brought-back when some into the-Palace to-return others
Capitolium petere, plerique rostra occupanda censerent, plures
the-Capitol to-seek most the-rostra to-be-seized urged more
tantum sententiis aliorum contra dicerent, utque evenit in
only to-the-opinions of-others contrary spoke and-as happens in
consiliis infelicibus, optima viderentur quorum tempus effugerat.
counsels unhappy the-best seemed whose time had-escaped

agitasse Laco ignaro Galba de occidendo Tito Vinio
to-have-discussed Laco with-unaware Galba about killing Titus Vinius
dicitur, sive ut poena eius animos militum mulceret,
is-said whether that by-the-punishment of-him the-minds of-the-soldiers he-might-soothe
seu conscium Othonis credebat, ad postremum vel odio.
or an-accomplice of-Otho he-believed-him at the-last or from-hatred
haesitationem attulit tempus ac locus, quia initio
hesitation brought time and place because with-the-beginning
caedis orto difficilis modus; et turbavere consilium trepidi
of-slaughter arisen difficult the-limit and disturbed the-plan alarmed
nuntii ac proximorum diffugia, languentibus omnium studiis
messengers and of-intimates the-flights with-languishing of-all the-zeal
qui primo alacres fidem atque animum ostentaverant.
who at-first eager loyalty and spirit had-displayed

IX · THE DEATH OF GALBA

Galba is carried this way and that through a forum packed with onlookers, when the soldiers charge. The standard-bearer of his cohort tears down his image; he is thrown from his chair by the Lake of Curtius and killed, his last words variously reported. Vinius is cut down. The centurion Sempronius Densus alone faces the soldiers and gives Piso the chance to escape; Piso, wounded, hides in the temple of Vesta and is dragged out and killed.

40 Agebatur huc illuc Galba vario turbae fluctuantis impulsu,
was-driven hither thither Galba by-the-varied of-the-crowd surging impulse
completis undique basilicis ac templis, lugubri prospectu.
with-filled on-all-sides basilicas and temples with-a-mournful view
neque populi aut plebis ulla vox, sed attoniti vultus et
nor of-the-people or of-the-plebs any voice but astonished faces and
conversae ad omnia aures; non tumultus, non quies, quale
turned to everything ears not uproar not quiet such-as

magni metus et magnae irae silentium est. Othoni tamen
of-great fear and of-great anger the-silence is to-Otho yet
armari plebem nuntiabatur; ire praecipitis et occupare
to-be-arming the-plebs was-reported to-go headlong and to-forestall
pericula iubet. igitur milites Romani, quasi Vologaesum aut
the-dangers he-orders therefore soldiers Roman as-if Vologaeses or
Pacorum avito Arsacidarum solio depulsuri ac non
Pacorus from-the-ancestral of-the-Arsacids throne going-to-drive-down and not
imperatorem suum inermem et senem trucidare pergerent,
emperor their-own unarmed and old to-butcher were-proceeding
disiecta plebe, proculcato senatu, truces armis, rapidi equis
with-scattered plebs with-trampled senate savage in-arms swift on-horses
forum inrumpunt. nec illos Capitolii aspectus et imminentium
the-forum burst-into nor them of-the-Capitol the-sight and of-the-overhanging
templorum religio et priores et futuri principes terruere
temples the-sanctity and former and future emperors frightened
quo minus facerent scelus cuius ultor est quisquis successit.
by-which less they-should-do the-crime whose avenger is whoever has-succeeded
Viso comminus armatorum agmine vexillarius 41
with-seen at-close-quarters of-armed-men column the-standard-bearer
comitatae Galbam cohortis (Atilium Vergilionem fuisse
of-the-accompanying Galba cohort Atilius Vergilio to-have-been
tradunt) dereptam Galbae imaginem solo adflixit: eo
they-relate torn-off of-Galba image to-the-ground dashed by-that
signo manifesta in Othonem omnium militum studia,
signal manifest toward Otho of-all the-soldiers the-zeal
desertum fuga populi forum, destricta adversus dubitantis
deserted by-the-flight of-the-people the-forum drawn against the-hesitating
tela. iuxta Curtii lacum trepidatione ferentium Galba proiectus
weapons near of-Curtius the-pool by-the-panic of-the-bearers Galba thrown
e sella ac provolutus est. extremam eius vocem, ut cuique
from the-chair and rolled-forward was the-last his voice as for-each

odium aut admiratio fuit, varie prodidere. alii suppliciter
hatred or admiration was variously they-have-handed-down some suppliantly
interrogasse quid mali meruisset, paucos dies exolvendo donativo
to-have-asked what evil he-had-deserved a-few days for-paying the-donative
deprecatum: plures obtulisse ultro percussoribus
to-have-begged-for more to-have-offered of-his-own-accord to-the-assassins
iugulum: agerent ac ferirent, si ita e re publica videretur.
his-throat let-them-act and strike if so for the-good public it-should-seem
non interfuit occidentium quid diceret. de percussore non
not did-it-matter to-those-killing what he-said about the-assassin not
satis constat: quidam Terentium evocatum, alii Laecanium;
enough is-it-agreed some Terentius a-recalled-veteran others Laecanius
crebrior fama tradidit Camurium quintae decimae legionis
more-frequent report has-handed-down Camurius of-the-fifth tenth legion
militem impresso gladio iugulum eius hausisse. ceteri crura
a-soldier with-pressed-in sword the-throat his to-have-pierced the-rest the-legs
brachiaque (nam pectus tegebatur) foede laniavere; pleraque
and-arms for the-breast was-covered foully mangled most
vulnera feritate et saevitia trunco iam corpori adiecta.
wounds by-ferocity and savagery to-the-maimed now body added
42 Titum inde Vinium invasere, de quo et ipso ambigitur
Titus then Vinius they-attacked about whom also himself it-is-doubted
consumpseritne vocem eius instans metus, an proclamaverit
whether-stifled the-voice his the-pressing fear or he-cried-out
non esse ab Othone mandatum ut occideretur. quod seu
not to-be by Otho commanded that he-should-be-killed which whether
finxit formidine seu conscientiam coniurationis confessus
he-feigned from-dread or the-complicity of-the-conspiracy confessed
est, huc potius eius vita famaque inclinat, ut conscius
has to-this rather his life and-reputation inclines that an-accomplice
sceleris fuerit cuius causa erat. ante aedem divi
of-the-crime he-was whose cause he-was before the-temple of-the-deified

Iulii iacuit primo ictu in poplitem, mox ab Iulio Caro
Julius he-lay at-the-first stroke into the-hamstring soon by Julius Carus
legionario milite in utrumque latus transverberatus.
a-legionary soldier through both side pierced
Insignem illa die virum Sempronium Densum aetas nostra 43
remarkable on-that day a-man Sempronius Densus age our
vidit. centurio is praetoriae cohortis, a Galba custodiae
saw a-centurion he of-a-praetorian cohort by Galba for-the-guarding
Pisonis additus, stricto pugione occurrens armatis et
of-Piso added with-drawn dagger meeting the-armed-men and
scelus exprobrans ac modo manu modo voce vertendo in
the-crime reproaching and now with-hand now with-voice turning toward
se percussores quamquam vulnerato Pisoni effugium dedit.
himself the-assassins although to-the-wounded Piso escape gave
Piso in aedem Vestae pervasit, exceptusque misericordia
Piso into the-temple of-Vesta made-his-way and-received by-the-pity
publici servi et contubernio eius abditus non religione
of-a-public slave and in-the-quarters his hidden not by-sanctity
nec caerimoniis sed latebra inminens exitium differebat,
nor by-rites but by-concealment the-threatening destruction was-putting-off
cum advenere missu Othonis nominatim in caedem eius
when there-came by-the-sending of-Otho by-name for the-murder his
ardentis Sulpicius Florus e Britannicis cohortibus, nuper
burning Sulpicius Florus from the-British cohorts lately
a Galba civitate donatus, et Statius Murcus speculator,
by Galba with-citizenship presented and Statius Murcus a-guardsman
a quibus protractus Piso in foribus templi trucidatur.
by whom dragged-out Piso at the-doors of-the-temple is-butchered

Otho is said to have gazed on no head with more insatiable eyes, and the heads are carried on poles; Vitellius later kills the hundred and twenty and more who claimed rewards. Senate and people rush to the camp in flattery, and Otho saves Marius Celsus by feigning anger. The soldiers choose their own prefects and the city prefect, and Otho promises to pay the furlough fees from his own purse. Laco is stabbed and Icelus executed, the senate grants Otho every power, and the dead are buried: Piso, Vinius, and Galba, seventy-three, thought fit to rule had he not ruled.

44 Nullam caedem Otho maiore laetitia excepisse, nullum
no murder Otho with-greater joy to-have-received no
caput tam insatiabilibus oculis perlustrasse dicitur, seu
head with-such insatiable eyes to-have-surveyed is-said whether
tum primum levata omni sollicitudine mens vacare gaudio
then first relieved of-all anxiety his-mind to-be-free for-joy
coeperat, seu recordatio maiestatis in Galba, amicitiae in Tito
had-begun or the-memory of-majesty in Galba of-friendship in Titus
Vinio quamvis immitem animum imagine tristi confuderat,
Vinius although pitiless the-mind with-an-image gloomy had-troubled
Pisonis ut inimici et aemuli caede laetari ius fasque
of-Piso as of-an-enemy and rival in-the-murder to-rejoice right and-lawful
credebat. praefixa contis capita gestabantur inter signa
he-believed fixed on-poles the-heads were-carried among the-standards
cohortium iuxta aquilam legionis, certatim ostentantibus
of-the-cohorts beside the-eagle of-the-legion vying with-displaying
cruentas manus qui occiderant, qui interfuerant, qui
bloody hands those-who had-killed those-who had-been-present those-who
vere qui falso ut pulchrum et memorabile facinus
truly those-who falsely as a-fine and memorable deed
iactabant. plures quam centum viginti libellos praemium
boasted more than a-hundred twenty petitions a-reward

exposcentium ob aliquam notabilem illa die operam
of-men-demanding for some notable on-that day service
Vitellius postea invenit, omnisque conquiri et interfici
Vitellius afterward found and-all to-be-hunted-out and to-be-killed
iussit, non honori Galbae, sed tradito principibus
ordered not for-the-honor of-Galba but by-the-handed-down to-emperors
more munimentum ad praesens, in posterum ultionem.
custom as-a-protection for the-present for the-future as-vengeance
Alium crederes senatum, alium populum: ruere cuncti 45
another you-would-have-believed the-senate another the-people rushed all
in castra, anteire proximos, certare cum praecurrentibus,
into the-camp outstripped the-nearest vied with those-running-ahead
increpare Galbam, laudare militum iudicium, exosculari Othonis
reviled Galba praised of-the-soldiers the-judgment kissed of-Otho
manum; quantoque magis falsa erant quae fiebant,
the-hand and-by-how-much more false were the-things-which were-done
tanto plura facere. nec aspernabatur singulos Otho, avidum et
by-so-much more they-did nor was-scorning individuals Otho the-greedy and
minacem militum animum voce vultuque temperans. Marium
threatening of-the-soldiers mind by-voice and-face moderating Marius
Celsum, consulem designatum et Galbae usque in extremas res
Celsus consul designate and of-Galba right to the-last things
amicum fidumque, ad supplicium expostulabant, industriae eius
friend and-faithful to punishment they-were-demanding to-industry his
innocentiaeque quasi malis artibus infensi. caedis et praedarum
and-innocence as-if to-bad arts hostile of-murder and of-plunder
initium et optimo cuique perniciem quaeri apparebat, sed
the-beginning and for-the-best each ruin to-be-sought it-was-apparent but
Othoni nondum auctoritas inerat ad prohibendum scelus: iubere
in-Otho not-yet authority was for preventing a-crime to-order

iam poterat. ita simulatione irae vinciri iussum et maiores
now he-could so by-pretense of-anger to-be-bound ordered and greater
poenas daturum adfirmans praesenti exitio subtraxit.
penalties going-to-pay asserting from-present destruction he-withdrew-him
46 Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta: praetorii
everything then by-the-will of-the-soldiers done of-the-praetorian-guard
praefectos sibi ipsi legere, Plotium Firmum e
prefects for-themselves they-themselves chose Plotius Firmus from
manipularibus quondam, tum vigilibus praepositum et
the-privates once then over-the-watch put-in-charge and
incolumi adhuc Galba partis Othonis secutum; adiungitur
with-unharmed still Galba the-side of-Otho having-followed is-joined
Licinius Proculus, intima familiaritate Othonis suspectus
Licinius Proculus by-intimate friendship with-Otho suspected
consilia eius fovisse. urbi Flavium Sabinum praefecere,
the-plans his to-have-favored over-the-city Flavius Sabinus they-put
iudicium Neronis secuti, sub quo eandem curam obtinuerat,
judgment of-Nero following under whom the-same charge he-had-held
plerisque Vespasianum fratrem in eo respicientibus. flagitatum
with-most Vespasian his-brother in him regarding it-was-demanded
ut vacationes praestari centurionibus solitae remitterentur;
that the-exemptions to-be-paid to-the-centurions customary should-be-remitted
namque gregarius miles ut tributum annuum pendebat. quarta
for the-common soldier as a-tribute yearly was-paying a-fourth
pars manipuli sparsa per commeatus aut in ipsis castris
part of-the-company scattered on furloughs or in the-very camp
vaga, dum mercedem centurioni exolveret, neque modum
wandering while the-fee to-the-centurion it-paid nor the-measure
oneris quisquam neque genus quaestus pensi habebat:
of-the-burden anyone nor the-kind of-gain of-weight held
per latrocinia et raptus aut servilibus ministeriis militare
through robberies and plunderings or by-servile tasks military

otium redimebant. tum locupletissimus quisque miles labore
leisure they-were-buying then the-richest each soldier with-toil
ac saevitia fatigari donec vacationem emeret. ubi sumptibus
and savagery to-be-wearied until exemption he-bought when by-expenses
exhaustus socordia insuper elanguerat, inops pro
exhausted with-sloth besides he-had-grown-languid needy instead-of
locuplete et iners pro strenuo in manipulum redibat, ac
rich and idle instead-of active into the-company he-returned and
rursus alius atque alius, eadem egestate ac licentia corrupti,
again another and another by-the-same want and license corrupted
ad seditiones et discordias et ad extremum bella civilia
to seditions and discords and at the-last wars civil
ruebant. sed Otho ne vulgi largitione centurionum animos
were-rushing but Otho lest by-the-crowd's largess of-the-centurions the-minds
averteret, fiscum suum vacationes annuas exoluturum
he-should-turn-away the-treasury his-own the-exemptions yearly going-to-pay
promisit, rem haud dubie utilem et a bonis postea
promised a-thing not doubtfully useful and by good afterward
principibus perpetuitate disciplinae firmatam. Laco praefectus,
emperors by-permanence of-discipline confirmed Laco the-prefect
tamquam in insulam seponeretur, ab evocato, quem
as-though onto an-island he-were-being-removed by a-recalled-veteran whom
ad caedem eius Otho praemiserat, confossus; in Marcianum
to the-murder his Otho had-sent-ahead was-stabbed on Marcianus
Icelum ut in libertum palam animadversum.
Icelus as on a-freedman openly punishment-was-inflicted
Exacto per scelera die novissimum malorum fuit laetitia. 47
with-spent through crimes the-day the-last of-the-evils was the-joy
vocat senatum praetor urbanus, certant adulationibus ceteri
summons the-senate the-praetor urban vie in-flatteries the-other
magistratus, adcurrunt patres: decernitur Othoni tribunicia
magistrates run-up the-fathers is-decreed to-Otho the-tribunician

potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores,
power and the-name of-Augustus and all of-emperors the-honors
adnitentibus cunctis abolere convicia ac probra, quae promisce
with-striving all to-blot-out the-abuse and insults which promiscuously
iacta haesisse animo eius nemo sensit; omisisset
hurled to-have-clung to-the-mind his no-one felt whether-he-had-dropped
offensas an distulisset brevitate imperii in incerto fuit.
the-offenses or postponed by-the-shortness of-his-rule in uncertainty it-was
Otho cruento adhuc foro per stragem iacentium in
Otho with-bloody still forum through the-heaps of-the-lying into
Capitolium atque inde in Palatium vectus concedi corpora
the-Capitol and thence into the-Palace carried to-be-yielded the-bodies
sepulturae cremarique permisit. Pisonem Verania uxor
for-burial and-to-be-cremated allowed Piso Verania his-wife
ac frater Scribonianus, Titum Vinium Crispina filia
and his-brother Scribonianus Titus Vinius Crispina his-daughter
composuere, quaesitis redemptisque capitibus, quae venalia
laid-out with-sought-out and-bought-back heads which for-sale
interfectores servaverant.
the-killers had-kept

48 Piso unum et tricensimum aetatis annum explebat,
Piso the-one and thirtieth of-age year was-completing
fama meliore quam fortuna. fratres eius Magnum
with-reputation better than fortune brothers his Magnus
Claudius, Crassum Nero interfecerant: ipse diu exul,
Claudius Crassus Nero had-killed he-himself long an-exile
quadriduo Caesar, properata adoptione ad hoc tantum
for-four-days Caesar by-the-hastened adoption for this only
maiori fratri praelatus est ut prior occideretur. Titus
to-the-elder brother preferred he-was that first he-should-be-killed Titus
Vinius quinquaginta septem annos variis moribus egit. pater
Vinius fifty seven years with-varied character spent father

illi praetoria familia, maternus avus e proscriptis. prima
to-him of-praetorian family maternal grandfather of the-proscribed in-his-first
militia infamis: legatum Calvisium Sabinum habuerat, cuius
service infamous as-legate Calvisius Sabinus he-had-had whose
uxor mala cupidine visendi situm castrorum, per noctem
wife with-a-wicked desire of-viewing the-site of-the-camp by night
militari habitu ingressa, cum vigilias et cetera militiae munia
in-military dress having-entered when the-watches and the-other of-service duties
eadem lascivia temptasset, in ipsis principiis stuprum
with-the-same wantonness she-had-tried in the-very headquarters adultery
ausa, et criminis huius reus Titus Vinius arguebatur.
having-dared and of-crime this the-accused Titus Vinius was-charged
igitur iussu G. Caesaris oneratus catenis, mox mutatione
therefore by-order of-Gaius Caesar loaded with-chains soon with-the-change
temporum dimissus, cursu honorum inoffenso legioni
of-times released in-the-course of-offices unchecked to-a-legion
post praeturam praepositus probatusque servili deinceps
after the-praetorship put-in-charge and-approved with-servile next
probro respersus est tamquam scyphum aureum in convivio
disgrace sprinkled was as-though a-cup golden at a-dinner
Claudii furatus, et Claudius postera die soli omnium
of-Claudius having-stolen and Claudius on-the-next day to-alone of-all
Vinio fictilibus ministrari iussit. sed Vinius proconsulatu
Vinius with-earthenware to-be-served ordered but Vinius as-proconsul
Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit; mox Galbae
Gaul Narbonese severely and-honestly ruled soon by-Galba's
amicitia in abruptum tractus, audax, callidus, promptus et,
friendship into the-abyss dragged bold crafty ready and
prout animum intendisset, pravus aut industrius, eadem
according-as his-mind he-had-bent wicked or industrious with-the-same

vi. testamentum Titi Vinii magnitudine opum inritum,
force the-will of-Titus Vinius by-the-magnitude of-his-wealth void
Pisonis supremam voluntatem paupertas firmavit.
of-Piso the-last wish poverty confirmed
49 Galbae corpus diu neglectum et licentia tenebrarum
of-Galba the-body long neglected and by-the-license of-the-darkness
plurimis ludibriis vexatum dispensator Argius e prioribus
by-very-many mockeries harassed the-steward Argius from the-former
servis humili sepultura in privatis eius hortis contexit. caput
slaves with-humble burial in private his gardens covered the-head
per lixas calonesque suffixum laceratumque ante Patrobii
by camp-followers and-grooms fixed and-mangled before of-Patrobius
tumulum (libertus is Neronis punitus a Galba fuerat) postera
the-tomb a-freedman he of-Nero punished by Galba had-been on-the-next
demum die repertum et cremato iam corpori admixtum est.
at-last day found and with-the-burned now body mingled was
hunc exitum habuit Servius Galba, tribus et septuaginta annis
this end had Servius Galba three and seventy years
quinque principes prospera fortuna emensus et alieno
five emperors with-prosperous fortune having-traversed and in-another's
imperio felicior quam suo. vetus in familia nobilitas,
reign happier than in-his-own old in his-family nobility
magnae opes: ipsi medium ingenium, magis extra vitia
great wealth to-himself a-middling talent more free-from vices
quam cum virtutibus. famae nec incuriosus nec venditator;
than with virtues of-fame neither careless nor a-boaster
pecuniae alienae non adpetens, suae parcus, publicae
of-money another's not seeking of-his-own sparing of-public
avarus; amicorum libertorumque, ubi in bonos incidisset,
greedy of-friends and-of-freedmen when on good-men he-had-fallen
sine reprehensione patiens, si mali forent, usque ad culpam
without blame tolerant if bad they-were right to fault

ignarus. sed claritas natalium et metus temporum obtentui,
unaware but the-distinction of-birth and the-fear of-the-times as-a-screen
ut, quod segnitia erat, sapientia vocaretur. dum vigebat
so-that what sloth was wisdom was-called while was-vigorous
aetas militari laude apud Germanias floruit. pro consule
his-age with-military praise in the-Germanies he-flourished as proconsul
Africam moderate, iam senior citeriorem Hispaniam pari
Africa moderately now older Hither Spain with-equal
iustitia continuit, maior privato visus dum privatus
justice he-held greater than-a-private-man he-seemed while a-private-man
fuit, et omnium consensu capax imperii nisi imperasset.
he-was and of-all by-the-consensus capable of-empire had-he-not ruled

XI · THE RISING OF VITELLIUS

Rome fears the two worst men alive, Otho and Vitellius, and the city prays for neither to win; only Vespasian, of all the emperors, changed for the better. Tacitus explains the German rising: the legions that crushed Vindex were proud, rich, and suspicious of Galba. Vitellius reached Lower Germany at the end of November and courted the soldiers, Fabius Valens urged him on, and in Upper Germany Caecina, young and ambitious, feared trial for embezzlement.

Trepidam urbem ac simul atrocitatem recentis sceleris, 50
the-alarmed city and at-the-same-time the-atrocity of-the-recent crime
simul veteres Othonis mores paventem novus insuper
at-the-same-time the-old of-Otho morals fearing new moreover
de Vitellio nuntius exterruit, ante caedem Galbae suppressus
about Vitellius news terrified before the-murder of-Galba suppressed
ut tantum superioris Germaniae exercitum descivisse
so-that only of-upper Germany the-army to-have-revolted
crederetur. tum duos omnium mortalium impudicitia ignavia
was-believed then two of-all mortals in-unchastity sloth

luxuria deterrimos velut ad perdendum imperium fataliter
luxury the-worst as-if for ruining the-empire fatally
electos non senatus modo et eques, quis aliqua pars et
chosen not the-senate only and the-knights to-whom some share and
cura rei publicae, sed vulgus quoque palam maerere.
care of-the-thing public but the-crowd also openly grieved
nec iam recentia saevae pacis exempla sed repetita bellorum
nor now the-recent of-savage peace examples but the-recalled of-the-wars
civilium memoria captam totiens suis exercitibus urbem,
civil memory captured so-often by-its-own armies the-city
vastitatem Italiae, direptiones provinciarum, Pharsaliam
the-devastation of-Italy the-plunderings of-the-provinces Pharsalia
Philippos et Perusiam ac Mutinam, nota publicarum
Philippi and Perusia and Mutina the-known of-public
cladium nomina, loquebantur. prope eversum orbem etiam
disasters names they-were-speaking almost overturned the-world even
cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur, sed mansisse
when about the-principate between good-men it-was-contended but to-have-remained
G. Iulio, mansisse Caesare Augusto victore imperium;
with-Gaius Julius to-have-remained with-Caesar Augustus victor the-empire
mansuram fuisse sub Pompeio Brutoque rem publicam:
going-to-remain to-have-been under Pompeius and-Brutus the-thing public
nunc pro Othone an pro Vitellio in templa ituros? utrasque
now for Otho or for Vitellius into the-temples going-to-go both
impias preces, utraque detestanda vota inter duos, quorum
impious prayers both to-be-cursed vows between two of-whom
bello solum id scires, deteriorem fore qui vicisset.
in-the-war only this you-would-know worse going-to-be who had-won
erant qui Vespasianum et arma Orientis augurarentur,
there-were those-who Vespasian and the-arms of-the-East foretold
et ut potior utroque Vespasianus, ita bellum aliud atque
and as better than-either Vespasian so war another and

alias cladis horrebant. et ambigua de Vespasiano fama,
other disasters they-dreaded and doubtful about Vespasian the-report
solusque omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est.
and-alone of-all before him emperors for the-better changed was
Nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam. 51
now the-beginnings and-causes of-the-movement Vitellian I-shall-set-forth
caeso cum omnibus copiis Iulio Vindice ferox praeda
with-slain with all his-forces Julius Vindex fierce with-booty
gloriaque exercitus, ut cui sine labore ac periculo
and-glory the-army as one-to-whom without toil and danger
ditissimi belli victoria evenisset, expeditionem et aciem,
of-a-most-rich war the-victory had-fallen an-expedition and battle-line
praemia quam stipendia malebat. diu infructuosam et asperam
rewards than pay preferred long unprofitable and harsh
militiam toleraverant ingenio loci caelique et
service they-had-endured by-the-nature of-the-place and-of-the-climate and
severitate disciplinae, quam in pace inexorabilem discordiae
by-the-severity of-discipline which in peace inexorable the-discords
civium resolvunt, paratis utrimque corruptoribus et perfidia
of-citizens relax with-ready on-both-sides corruptors and with-treachery
impunita. viri, arma, equi ad usum et ad decus supererant.
unpunished men arms horses for use and for show were-in-abundance
sed ante bellum centurias tantum suas turmasque noverant;
but before the-war centuries only their-own and-squadrons they-knew
exercitus finibus provinciarum discernebantur: tum
the-armies by-the-boundaries of-the-provinces were-separated then
adversus Vindicem contractae legiones, seque et Gallias
against Vindex brought-together the-legions and-themselves and the-Gauls
expertae, quaerere rursus arma novasque discordias; nec socios,
having-tested sought again arms and-new discords nor allies
ut olim, sed hostis et victos vocabant. nec deerat pars
as formerly but enemies and conquered they-called nor was-lacking the-part

Galliarum, quae Rhenum accolit, easdem partis secuta
of-the-Gauls which the-Rhine dwells-by the-same side having-followed
ac tum acerrima instigatrix adversum Galbianos; hoc enim
and then the-keenest instigator against the-Galbians this for
nomen fastidito Vindice indiderant. igitur Sequanis
name with-scorned Vindex they-had-given therefore against-the-Sequani
Aeduisque ac deinde, prout opulentia civitatibus erat,
and-Aedui and then according-as wealth to-the-states was
infensi expugnationes urbium, populationes agrorum, raptus
hostile stormings of-cities ravagings of-fields plunderings
penatium hauserunt animo, super avaritiam et adrogantiam,
of-households they-drank-in in-mind besides avarice and arrogance
praecipua validiorum vitia, contumacia Gallorum inritati, qui
the-special of-the-stronger vices by-the-insolence of-the-Gauls provoked who
remissam sibi a Galba quartam tributorum partem et
remitted to-themselves by Galba the-fourth of-the-tributes part and
publice donatos in ignominiam exercitus iactabant. accessit
publicly presented to the-disgrace of-the-army were-boasting there-was-added
callide vulgatum, temere creditum, decimari legiones et
craftily spread rashly believed to-be-decimated the-legions and
promptissimum quemque centurionum dimitti. undique
the-readiest each of-the-centurions to-be-dismissed from-all-sides
atroces nuntii, sinistra ex urbe fama; infensa Lugdunensis
savage messages sinister from the-city report hostile the-Lugdunensian
colonia et pertinaci pro Nerone fide fecunda rumoribus; sed
colony and obstinate for Nero in-loyalty fertile in-rumors but
plurima ad fingendum credendumque materies in ipsis castris,
the-most for inventing and-believing material in the-very camp
odio metu et, ubi viris suas respexerant, securitate.
from-hatred fear and when strength their-own they-had-regarded from-confidence

Sub ipsas superioris anni kalendas Decembris Aulus Vitellius 52
under the-very of-the-former year kalends of-December Aulus Vitellius
inferiorem Germaniam ingressus hiberna legionum cum
lower Germany having-entered the-winter-quarters of-the-legions with
cura adierat: redditi plerisque ordines, remissa ignominia,
care had-visited restored to-most ranks remitted disgrace
adlevatae notae; plura ambitione, quaedam iudicio, in
lightened marks-of-censure more by-ambition some by-judgment among
quibus sordis et avaritiam Fontei Capitonis adimendis
which the-meanness and avarice of-Fonteius Capito in-taking-away
adsignandisve militiae ordinibus integre mutaverat. nec consularis
or-assigning of-service the-ranks honestly he-had-changed nor of-a-consular
legati mensura sed in maius omnia accipiebantur. et ut
legate by-the-measure but toward greater everything was-taken and as
Vitellius apud severos humilis, ita comitatem bonitatemque
Vitellius among the-severe low so affability and-goodness
faventes vocabant, quod sine modo, sine iudicio donaret
the-favoring called-it that without measure without judgment he-gave
sua, largiretur aliena; simul aviditate imperitandi ipsa
his-own lavished others' at-the-same-time from-greed of-ruling the-very
vitia pro virtutibus interpretabantur. multi in utroque exercitu
vices for virtues they-interpreted many in each army
sicut modesti quietique ita mali et strenui. sed profusa
as modest and-quiet so bad and energetic but with-lavish
cupidine et insigni temeritate legati legionum Alienus
desire and remarkable rashness legates of-the-legions Alienus
Caecina et Fabius Valens; e quibus Valens infensus Galbae,
Caecina and Fabius Valens of whom Valens hostile to-Galba
tamquam detectam a se Verginii cunctationem, oppressa
as-though the-detected by himself of-Verginius hesitation the-crushed
Capitonis consilia ingrate tulisset, instigare Vitellium,
of-Capito plans ungratefully he-had-received goaded Vitellius

ardorem militum ostentans: ipsum celebri ubique fama,
the-ardor of-the-soldiers displaying himself with-celebrated everywhere reputation
nullam in Flacco Hordeonio moram; adfore Britanniam,
no in Flaccus Hordeonius delay to-be-going-to-be Britain
secutura Germanorum auxilia: male fidas provincias,
going-to-follow of-the-Germans the-auxiliaries badly loyal the-provinces
precarium seni imperium et brevi transiturum:
precarious for-an-old-man the-empire and shortly going-to-pass
panderet modo sinum et venienti Fortunae occurreret.
let-him-spread only his-fold and to-the-coming Fortune let-him-run-to-meet
merito dubitasse Verginium equestri familia, ignoto patre,
deservedly to-have-hesitated Verginius of-knightly family of-unknown father
imparem si recepisset imperium, tutum si recusasset: Vitellio
unequal if he-had-accepted the-empire safe if he-had-refused for-Vitellius
tris patris consulatus, censuram, collegium Caesaris et
three of-his-father consulships the-censorship the-colleagueship of-Caesar both
imponere iam pridem imperatoris dignationem et auferre
to-impose now long-since of-an-emperor the-dignity and to-take-away
privati securitatem. quatiebatur his segne ingenium
of-a-private-man the-safety was-shaken by-these his-sluggish nature
ut concupisceret magis quam ut speraret.
so-that he-desired more than that he-hoped

53 At in superiore Germania Caecina, decorus iuventa, corpore
but in upper Germany Caecina handsome in-youth in-body
ingens, animi immodicus, scito sermone, erecto incessu,
huge of-spirit immoderate with-clever speech with-erect gait
studia militum inlexerat. hunc iuvenem Galba, quaestorem
the-zeal of-the-soldiers had-enticed this young-man Galba as-quaestor
in Baetica impigre in partis suas transgressum, legioni
in Baetica promptly to side his having-crossed over-a-legion
praeposuit: mox compertum publicam pecuniam avertisse
put soon found public money to-have-embezzled

ut peculatorem flagitari iussit. Caecina aegre passus
as an-embezzler to-be-prosecuted he-ordered Caecina ill having-borne-it
miscere cuncta et privata vulnera rei publicae malis
to-confound everything and private wounds of-the-thing public with-the-ills
operire statuit. nec deerant in exercitu semina discordiae, quod
to-cover resolved nor were-lacking in the-army seeds of-discord because
et bello adversus Vindicem universus adfuerat, nec nisi
both in-the-war against Vindex the-whole had-been-present nor except
occiso Nerone translatus in Galbam atque in eo ipso sacramento
with-slain Nero transferred to Galba and in that very oath
vexillis inferioris Germaniae praeventus erat. et Treviri
by-the-detachments of-lower Germany forestalled it-had-been and the-Treviri
ac Lingones, quasque alias civitates atrocibus edictis aut damno
and Lingones and-what other states with-savage edicts or by-loss
finium Galba perculerat, hibernis legionum propius
of-territory Galba had-struck to-the-winter-quarters of-the-legions more-closely
miscentur: unde seditiosa colloquia et inter paganos corruptior
are-mingled whence seditious conversations and among civilians more-corrupt
miles; et in Verginium favor cuicumque alii profuturus.
the-soldier and toward Verginius favor to-whatever other going-to-benefit

The Lingones send right hands to the legions, and their envoys spread grievance through the camps. On the first of January the Upper German legions overthrow Galba's images and swear to the senate and people, while the legate Flaccus looks on. Valens hails Vitellius at Cologne on the next day, and the armies and the Gauls join. Vitellius gives the palace offices to knights, and spares Civilis to keep the Batavians quiet.

54 Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus
had-sent the-state of-the-Lingones by-old custom gifts to-the-legions
dextras, hospitii insigne. legati eorum in squalorem
right-hands of-hospitality the-token the-envoys of-them in squalor
maestitiamque compositi per principia per contubernia
and-gloom arranged through the-headquarters through the-tents
modo suas iniurias, modo vicinarum civitatium praemia, et
now their-own injuries now of-the-neighboring states the-rewards and
ubi pronis militum auribus accipiebantur, ipsius exercitus
when with-ready of-the-soldiers ears they-were-received of-the-very army
pericula et contumelias conquerentes accendebant animos. nec
the-dangers and insults complaining-of they-inflamed minds nor
procul seditione aberant cum Hordeonius Flaccus abire legatos,
far from-sedition were-they when Hordeonius Flaccus to-depart the-envoys
utque occultior digressus esset, nocte castris excedere iubet.
and-so-that more-secret the-departure should-be by-night the-camp to-leave orders
inde atrox rumor, adfirmantibus plerisque interfectos, ac ni
thence a-savage rumor with-affirming most them-killed and unless
sibi ipsi consulerent, fore ut acerrimi militum
for-themselves they-themselves should-look it-would-be that the-keenest of-the-soldiers
et praesentia conquesti per tenebras et inscitiam
and the-present-state having-complained-of through the-darkness and ignorance
ceterorum occiderentur. obstringuntur inter se tacito
of-the-rest would-be-killed are-bound among themselves by-a-silent

foedere legiones, adsciscitur auxiliorum miles, primo suspectus
compact the-legions is-taken-in of-the-auxiliaries the-soldiery at-first suspected
tamquam circumdatis cohortibus alisque impetus in legiones
as-though with-surrounding cohorts and-squadrons an-attack on the-legions
pararetur, mox eadem acrius volvens, faciliore inter
were-being-prepared soon the-same-things more-keenly turning-over with-easier among
malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam.
the-bad agreement for war than in peace for concord
Inferioris tamen Germaniae legiones sollemni kalendarum 55
of-lower yet Germany the-legions by-the-solemn of-the-kalends
Ianuariarum sacramento pro Galba adactae, multa cunctatione
of-January oath for Galba bound with-much hesitation
et raris primorum ordinum vocibus, ceteri silentio proximi
and with-rare of-the-first ranks voices the-rest in-silence of-the-nearest
cuiusque audaciam expectantes, insita mortalibus natura,
each the-boldness awaiting inbred in-mortals is-the-nature
propere sequi quae piget inchoare. sed ipsis legionibus inerat
quickly to-follow what it-irks to-begin but in-the-very legions was
diversitas animorum: primani quintanique turbidi adeo
diversity of-minds the-first-legion-men and-fifth-legion-men turbulent so
ut quidam saxa in Galbae imagines iecerint: quinta decima ac
that some stones at Galba's images threw the-fifth tenth and
sexta decima legiones nihil ultra fremitum et minas ausae
sixth tenth legions nothing beyond muttering and threats having-dared
initium erumpendi circumspectabant. at in superiore exercitu
the-beginning of-breaking-out were-looking-around-for but in the-upper army
quarta ac duetvicensima legiones, isdem hibernis tendentes,
the-fourth and twenty-second legions in-the-same winter-quarters camping
ipso kalendarum Ianuariarum die dirumpunt imagines
on-the-very of-the-kalends of-January day break the-images
Galbae, quarta legio promptius, duetvicensima cunctanter, mox
of-Galba the-fourth legion more-readily the-twenty-second hesitantly soon

consensu. ac ne reverentiam imperii exuere viderentur, senatus
by-agreement and lest the-respect of-empire to-cast-off they-should-seem of-the-senate
populique Romani oblitterata iam nomina sacramento
and-of-the-people Roman forgotten now names to-the-oath
advocabant, nullo legatorum tribunorumve pro Galba
they-invoked with-none of-the-legates or-tribunes for Galba
nitente, quibusdam, ut in tumultu, notabilius turbantibus.
exerting-himself with-some as in uproar more-conspicuously making-disorder
non tamen quisquam in modum contionis aut suggestu
not yet anyone in the-manner of-an-assembly or from-the-platform
locutus; neque enim erat adhuc cui imputaretur.
spoke nor for was-there yet to-whom it-might-be-credited
56 Spectator flagitii Hordeonius Flaccus consularis legatus
a-spectator of-the-outrage Hordeonius Flaccus the-consular legate
aderat, non compescere ruentis, non retinere dubios, non
was-present not to-restrain the-rushing not to-hold-back the-doubtful not
cohortari bonos ausus, sed segnis pavidus et socordia
to-encourage the-good having-dared but sluggish timid and by-sloth
innocens. quattuor centuriones duetvicensimae legionis, Nonius
innocent four centurions of-the-twenty-second legion Nonius
Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, Calpurnius
Receptus Donatius Valens Romilius Marcellus Calpurnius
Repentinus, cum protegerent Galbae imagines, impetu
Repentinus when they-were-protecting Galba's images by-the-onset
militum abrepti vinctique. nec cuiquam ultra fides aut
of-the-soldiers carried-off and-bound nor to-anyone further loyalty or
memoria prioris sacramenti, sed quod in seditionibus
memory of-the-former oath but what in seditions
accidit, unde plures erant omnes fuere. Nocte quae
happens where more were all were on-the-night which
kalendas Ianuarias secuta est in coloniam Agrippinensem
the-kalends of-January followed has into the-colony Agrippinensian

aquilifer quartae legionis epulanti Vitellio nuntiat quartam
the-eagle-bearer of-the-fourth legion to-dining Vitellius announces the-fourth
et duetvicensimam legiones proiectis Galbae imaginibus
and twenty-second legions with-thrown-down Galba's images
in senatus ac populi Romani verba iurasse. id
to of-the-senate and of-the-people Roman the-words to-have-sworn this
sacramentum inane visum: occupari nutantem fortunam et
oath empty seemed to-be-seized the-wavering fortune and
offerri principem placuit. missi a Vitellio ad legiones
to-be-offered an-emperor it-was-decided there-were-sent by Vitellius to the-legions
legatosque qui descivisse a Galba superiorem exercitum
and-legates men-who to-have-revolted from Galba the-upper army
nuntiarent: proinde aut bellandum adversus desciscentis aut,
should-announce therefore either to-be-made-war against the-revolting or
si concordia et pax placeat, faciendum imperatorem: et
if concord and peace please to-be-made an-emperor and
minore discrimine sumi principem quam quaeri.
with-less risk to-be-taken an-emperor than to-be-sought
Proxima legionis primae hiberna erant et promptissimus 57
nearest of-the-legion first the-winter-quarters were and the-readiest
e legatis Fabius Valens. is die postero coloniam
of the-legates Fabius Valens he on-the-day next the-colony
Agrippinensem cum equitibus legionis auxiliariorumque
Agrippinensian with the-cavalry of-the-legion and-of-the-auxiliaries
ingressus imperatorem Vitellium consalutavit. secutae
having-entered emperor Vitellius saluted followed
ingenti certamine eiusdem provinciae legiones; et superior
with-huge rivalry of-the-same province the-legions and the-upper
exercitus, speciosis senatus populique Romani nominibus
army with-the-specious of-the-senate and-of-the-people Roman names
relictis, tertium nonas Ianuarias Vitellio accessit:
abandoned on-the-third-day before-the-nones of-January to-Vitellius joined

scires illum priore biduo non penes rem publicam
you-would-know it in-the-former two-days not with the-thing public
fuisse. ardorem exercituum Agrippinenses, Treviri, Lingones
to-have-been the-ardor of-the-armies the-Agrippinenses Treviri Lingones
aequabant, auxilia equos, arma pecuniam offerentes, ut
were-equaling auxiliaries horses arms money offering as
quisque corpore opibus ingenio validus. nec principes
each in-body in-wealth in-talent strong nor the-chiefs
modo coloniarum aut castrorum, quibus praesentia ex
only of-the-colonies or of-the-camp to-whom the-present-things from
affluenti et parta victoria magnae spes, sed manipuli
abundance and when-won victory great hopes but the-companies
quoque et gregarius miles viatica sua et balteos
also and the-common soldier traveling-money their-own and belts
phalerasque, insignia armorum argento decora, loco
and-medals the-ornaments of-arms with-silver adorned in-place
pecuniae tradebant, instinctu et impetu et avaritia.
of-money were-handing-over by-instigation and impulse and avarice
58 Igitur laudata militum alacritate Vitellius ministeria
therefore with-praised of-the-soldiers eagerness Vitellius the-offices
principatus per libertos agi solita in equites Romanos
of-the-principate by freedmen to-be-done customary to knights Roman
disponit, vacationes centurionibus ex fisco numerat,
assigns the-exemptions to-the-centurions from the-treasury he-pays
saevitiam militum plerosque ad poenam exposcentium
the-savagery of-the-soldiers most to punishment demanding
saepius adprobat, raro simulatione vinculorum frustratur.
more-often he-approves rarely by-pretense of-chains he-cheats-it
Pompeius Propinquus procurator Belgicae statim interfectus;
Pompeius Propinquus procurator of-Belgica at-once killed
Iulium Burdonem Germanicae classis praefectum astu
Julius Burdo of-the-German fleet the-prefect by-cunning

subtraxit. exarserat in eum iracundia exercitus tamquam
he-withdrew had-blazed against him the-anger of-the-army as-though
crimen ac mox insidias Fonteio Capitoni struxisset.
a-charge and soon plots against-Fonteius Capito he-had-built
grata erat memoria Capitonis, et apud saevientis occidere
welcome was the-memory of-Capito and among the-raging to-kill
palam, ignoscere non nisi fallendo licebat: ita in custodia
openly to-pardon not except by-deceiving it-was-allowed so in custody
habitus et post victoriam demum, stratis iam militum
kept and after the-victory at-last with-laid-low now of-the-soldiers
odiis, dimissus est. interim ut piaculum obicitur centurio
hatreds discharged was meanwhile as an-expiation is-thrown the-centurion
Crispinus. sanguine Capitonis se cruentaverat eoque
Crispinus with-the-blood of-Capito himself he-had-stained and-therefore
et postulantibus manifestior et punienti vilior fuit.
both to-those-demanding more-manifest and to-the-punisher cheaper he-was
Iulius deinde Civilis periculo exemptus, praepotens inter 59
Julius then Civilis from-danger freed most-powerful among
Batavos, ne supplicio eius ferox gens alienaretur. et erant
the-Batavi lest by-the-punishment his the-fierce nation be-alienated and there-were
in civitate Lingonum octo Batavorum cohortes, quartae decimae
in the-state of-the-Lingones eight of-Batavians cohorts of-the-fourth tenth
legionis auxilia, tum discordia temporum a legione digressae,
legion auxiliaries then by-the-discord of-the-times from the-legion separated
prout inclinassent, grande momentum sociae aut adversae.
as they-might-have-inclined a-great weight allied or adverse
Nonium, Donatium, Romilium, Calpurnium centuriones, de
Nonius Donatius Romilius Calpurnius the-centurions about
quibus supra rettulimus, occidi iussit, damnatos fidei
whom above we-related to-be-killed he-ordered condemned of-loyalty
crimine, gravissimo inter desciscentis. accessere partibus
on-the-charge most-grave among the-revolting joined the-side

Valerius Asiaticus, Belgicae provinciae legatus, quem mox
Valerius Asiaticus of-the-Belgic province legate whom soon
Vitellius generum adscivit, et Iunius Blaesus, Lugdunensis
Vitellius as-son-in-law took and Junius Blaesus of-Lugdunese
Galliae rector, cum Italica legione et ala Tauriana
Gaul governor with the-Italian legion and the-squadron Taurian
Lugduni tendentibus. nec in Raeticis copiis mora quo minus
at-Lugdunum encamped nor in the-Raetian forces delay by-which less
statim adiungerentur: ne in Britannia quidem dubitatum.
at-once they-should-be-joined not in Britain even it-was-hesitated

XIII · THE MARCH BEGINS

In Britain the legate Trebellius is driven out by the legion's legate Coelius. Vitellius sends two generals by two routes, Valens through Gaul and Caecina over the Pennine Alps, while he follows. At Divodurum Valens's men massacre four thousand without cause; news of Galba's murder reaches him among the Leuci. The rivalry of Lugdunum and Vienna stirs his army against Vienna, whose suppliants win mercy, rumor saying Valens was bought, and Valens enriches himself on the march.

60 Praeerat Trebellius Maximus, per avaritiam ac sordis
was-in-command Trebellius Maximus through avarice and meanness
contemptus exercitui invisusque. accendebat odium eius
despised by-the-army and-hated was-inflaming the-hatred of-him
Roscius Coelius legatus vicensimae legionis, olim discors,
Roscius Coelius the-legate of-the-twentieth legion long at-odds
sed occasione civilium armorum atrocius proruperant.
but on-the-occasion of-civil arms more-savagely they-had-broken-out
Trebellius seditionem et confusum ordinem disciplinae Coelio,
Trebellius sedition and the-confused order of-discipline to-Coelius
spoliatas et inopes legiones Coelius Trebellio obiectabat, cum
plundered and needy the-legions Coelius to-Trebellius was-casting-up when

interim foedis legatorum certaminibus modestia exercitus
meanwhile by-the-foul of-the-legates contests the-restraint of-the-army
corrupta eoque discordiae ventum ut auxiliarium quoque
corrupted and-to-that of-discord it-came that of-the-auxiliary also
militum conviciis proturbatus et adgregantibus se Coelio
soldiers by-the-abuse driven-off and with-attaching themselves to-Coelius
cohortibus alisque desertus Trebellius ad Vitellium perfugerit.
cohorts and-squadrons deserted Trebellius to Vitellius fled
quies provinciae quamquam remoto consulari mansit: rexere
the-quiet of-the-province although with-removed consular remained ruled
legati legionum, pares iure, Coelius audendo potentior.
the-legates of-the-legions equal in-right Coelius by-daring more-powerful
Adiuncto Britannico exercitu ingens viribus opibusque Vitellius 61
with-joined the-British army huge in-strength and-wealth Vitellius
duos duces, duo itinera bello destinavit: Fabius Valens
two generals two routes for-the-war marked-out Fabius Valens
adlicere vel, si abnuerent, vastare Gallias et Cottianis
to-entice or if they-should-refuse to-lay-waste the-Gauls and by-the-Cottian
Alpibus Italiam inrumpere, Caecina propiore transitu Poeninis
Alps Italy to-burst-into Caecina by-a-nearer crossing by-the-Pennine
iugis degredi iussus. Valenti inferioris exercitus electi cum
ridges to-descend ordered to-Valens of-the-lower army the-picked-men with
aquila quintae legionis et cohortibus alisque, ad quadraginta
the-eagle of-the-fifth legion and with-cohorts and-squadrons to forty
milia armatorum data; triginta milia Caecina e superiore
thousand of-armed-men were-given thirty thousand Caecina from upper
Germania ducebat, quorum robur legio unaetvicensima fuit.
Germany was-leading of-which the-strength the-legion twenty-first was
addita utrique Germanorum auxilia, e quibus Vitellius suas
were-added to-each of-the-Germans auxiliaries of whom Vitellius his-own
quoque copias supplevit, tota mole belli secuturus.
also forces filled-up with-the-whole mass of-the-war going-to-follow

62 Mira inter exercitum imperatoremque diversitas: instare
wonderful between the-army and-the-emperor the-difference pressed
miles, arma poscere, dum Galliae trepident, dum Hispaniae
the-soldiery arms demanded while the-Gauls tremble while the-Spains
cunctentur: non obstare hiemem neque ignavae pacis
delay not to-stand-in-the-way the-winter nor of-cowardly peace
moras: invadendam Italiam, occupandam urbem; nihil in
the-delays to-be-invaded Italy to-be-seized the-city nothing in
discordiis civilibus festinatione tutius, ubi facto magis
discords civil than-haste safer where of-a-deed more
quam consulto opus esset. torpebat Vitellius et fortunam
than of-deliberation need should-be was-torpid Vitellius and the-fortune
principatus inerti luxu ac prodigis epulis praesumebat,
of-the-principate by-idle luxury and prodigal feasts he-was-anticipating
medio diei temulentus et sagina gravis, cum tamen
at-the-middle of-the-day drunk and with-gorging heavy when yet
ardor et vis militum ultro ducis munia implebat, ut si
the-ardor and force of-the-soldiers besides of-the-general the-duties was-filling as if
adesset imperator et strenuis vel ignavis spem metumve
were-present the-emperor and to-the-energetic or to-the-cowardly hope or-fear
adderet. instructi intentique signum profectionis exposcunt.
should-add drawn-up and-intent the-signal of-departure they-demand
nomen Germanici Vitellio statim additum: Caesarem se
the-name of-Germanicus to-Vitellius at-once added Caesar himself
appellari etiam victor prohibuit. laetum augurium Fabio
to-be-called even victorious he-forbade a-happy augury to-Fabius
Valenti exercituique, quem in bellum agebat, ipso
Valens and-to-the-army which into war he-was-leading on-the-very
profectionis die aquila leni meatu, prout agmen incederet,
of-departure day an-eagle with-gentle course as the-column advanced
velut dux viae praevolavit, longumque per spatium is
as-if guide of-the-road flew-ahead and-long through distance this

gaudentium militum clamor, ea quies interritae alitis fuit
of-rejoicing soldiers the-shout this the-calm of-the-unafraid bird was
ut haud dubium magnae et prosperae rei omen acciperetur.
that not doubtful of-a-great and prosperous thing omen it-was-taken
Et Treviros quidem ut socios securi adiere: Divoduri 63
and the-Treviri indeed as allies untroubled they-approached at-Divodurum
(Mediomatricorum id oppidum est) quamquam omni comitate
of-the-Mediomatrici that town is although with-all courtesy
exceptos subitus pavor terruit, raptis repente armis ad
received a-sudden panic terrified-them with-seized suddenly arms to
caedem innoxiae civitatis, non ob praedam aut spoliandi
the-slaughter of-an-innocent state not for booty or of-plundering
cupidine, sed furore et rabie et causis incertis eoque
by-desire but by-fury and madness and from-causes uncertain and-therefore
difficilioribus remediis, donec precibus ducis mitigati ab
with-more-difficult remedies until by-the-prayers of-the-general softened from
excidio civitatis temperavere; caesa tamen ad quattuor milia
the-destruction of-the-state they-refrained slain yet about four thousands
hominum. isque terror Gallias invasit ut venienti mox agmini
of-men and-this terror the-Gauls invaded that for-the-coming soon column
universae civitates cum magistratibus et precibus occurrerent,
the-whole states with magistrates and prayers came-to-meet
stratis per vias feminis puerisque: quaeque alia placamenta
with-laid-out along the-roads women and-children and-whatever other appeasements
hostilis irae, non quidem in bello sed pro pace tendebantur.
of-hostile anger not indeed in war but for peace were-held-out
Nuntium de caede Galbae et imperio Othonis Fabius 64
the-news about the-murder of-Galba and the-empire of-Otho Fabius
Valens in civitate Leucorum accepit. nec militum animus
Valens in the-state of-the-Leuci received nor of-the-soldiers the-mind
in gaudium aut formidine permotus: bellum volvebat.
to joy or by-dread moved war it-was-turning-over

Gallis cunctatio exempta est: in Othonem ac Vitellium
for-the-Gauls hesitation taken-away was against Otho and Vitellius
odium par, ex Vitellio et metus. proxima Lingonum
hatred equal from Vitellius also fear the-nearest of-the-Lingones
civitas erat, fida partibus. benigne excepti modestia certavere,
state was loyal to-the-side kindly received in-restraint they-vied
sed brevis laetitia fuit cohortium intemperie, quas a
but brief the-joy was of-the-cohorts by-the-intemperance which from
legione quarta decima, ut supra memoravimus, digressas
the-legion fourth tenth as above we-recounted separated
exercitui suo Fabius Valens adiunxerat. iurgia primum, mox
to-army his-own Fabius Valens had-joined quarrels first soon
rixa inter Batavos et legionarios, dum his aut illis
a-brawl between the-Batavi and the-legionaries while to-these or those
studia militum adgregantur, prope in proelium exarsere,
the-sympathies of-the-soldiers are-attached almost into battle they-blazed
ni Valens animadversione paucorum oblitos iam Batavos
unless Valens by-the-punishment of-a-few forgetful now the-Batavi
imperii admonuisset. frustra adversus Aeduos quaesita belli
of-command had-reminded in-vain against the-Aedui sought of-war
causa: iussi pecuniam atque arma deferre gratuitos insuper
the-cause ordered money and arms to-bring free besides
commeatus praebuere. quod Aedui formidine Lugdunenses
supplies they-provided what the-Aedui from-dread the-Lugdunenses
gaudio fecere. sed legio Italica et ala Tauriana abductae:
from-joy did but the-legion Italian and the-squadron Taurian taken-away
cohortem duodevicensimam Lugduni, solitis sibi hibernis,
the-cohort eighteenth at-Lugdunum in-usual for-itself winter-quarters
relinqui placuit. Manlius Valens legatus Italicae legionis,
to-be-left it-was-decided Manlius Valens legate of-the-Italian legion
quamquam bene de partibus meritus, nullo apud Vitellium
although well of the-side having-deserved in-no with Vitellius

honore fuit: secretis eum criminationibus infamaverat Fabius
honor was by-secret him accusations had-defamed Fabius
ignarum et, quo incautior deciperetur, palam laudatum.
unaware and so-that more-unwary be-might-be-deceived openly praised
Veterem inter Lugdunensis et Viennensis discordiam 65
the-old between the-Lugdunenses and the-Viennenses discord
proximum bellum accenderat. multae in vicem clades,
the-last war had-kindled many in turn disasters
crebrius infestiusque quam ut tantum propter Neronem
more-frequently and-more-hostilely than as only on-account-of Nero
Galbamque pugnaretur. et Galba reditus Lugdunensium
and-Galba it-were-fought and Galba the-revenues of-the-Lugdunenses
occasione irae in fiscum verterat; multus contra in
on-the-occasion of-anger into the-treasury had-turned much on-the-other-hand toward
Viennensis honor: unde aemulatio et invidia et uno amne
the-Viennenses honor whence rivalry and envy and by-one river
discretis conexum odium. igitur Lugdunenses extimulare
to-men-divided a-joined hatred therefore the-Lugdunenses goaded
singulos militum et in eversionem Viennensium impellere,
individuals of-the-soldiers and to the-overthrow of-the-Viennenses drove
obsessam ab illis coloniam suam, adiutos Vindicis conatus,
besieged by them colony their-own helped of-Vindex the-attempts
conscriptas nuper legiones in praesidium Galbae referendo.
enrolled lately legions for the-protection of-Galba by-bringing-up
et ubi causas odiorum praetenderant, magnitudinem praedae
and when the-causes of-hatreds they-had-put-forward the-magnitude of-the-booty
ostendebant, nec iam secreta exhortatio, sed publicae preces:
they-were-showing nor now secret exhortation but public prayers
irent ultores, excinderent sedem Gallici belli: cuncta illic
let-them-go as-avengers let-them-destroy the-seat of-the-Gallic war everything there
externa et hostilia: se, coloniam Romanam et partem
foreign and hostile themselves a-colony Roman and part

exercitus et prosperarum adversarumque rerum socios, si
of-the-army and of-prosperous and-adverse things partners if
fortuna contra daret, iratis ne relinquerent.
fortune against-them should-give to-angry-men lest they-should-abandon-them
66 His et pluribus in eundem modum perpulerant ut ne
by-these and more in the-same way they-had-driven-them so-that not
legati quidem ac duces partium restingui posse iracundiam
the-legates even and generals of-the-side to-be-quenched to-be-able the-anger
exercitus arbitrarentur, cum haud ignari discriminis sui
of-the-army they-judged when not unaware of-danger their-own
Viennenses, velamenta et infulas praeferentes, ubi agmen
the-Viennenses the-veils and fillets carrying-before where the-column
incesserat, arma genua vestigia prensando flexere militum
had-advanced arms knees footsteps by-grasping turned of-the-soldiers
animos; addidit Valens trecenos singulis militibus sestertios.
the-minds added Valens three-hundred to-each soldier sesterces
tum vetustas dignitasque coloniae valuit et verba Fabi
then the-antiquity and-dignity of-the-colony prevailed and the-words of-Fabius
salutem incolumitatemque Viennensium commendantis aequis
the-safety and-security of-the-Viennenses commending with-fair
auribus accepta; publice tamen armis multati, privatis et
ears received publicly yet in-arms fined with-private and
promiscis copiis iuvere militem. sed fama constans fuit
promiscuous supplies they-aided the-soldiery but the-report consistent was
ipsum Valentem magna pecunia emptum. is diu sordidus,
himself Valens with-great money bought he long mean
repente dives mutationem fortunae male tegebat, accensis
suddenly rich the-change of-fortune badly was-hiding with-kindled
egestate longa cupidinibus immoderatus et inopi iuventa
by-want long desires immoderate and in-needy youth
senex prodigus. lento deinde agmine per finis
an-old-man prodigal with-slow then column through the-territory

Allobrogum ac Vocontiorum ductus exercitus, ipsa itinerum
of-the-Allobroges and of-the-Vocontii led the-army the-very of-the-marches
spatia et stativorum mutationes venditante duce, foedis
distances and of-the-camps the-changes with-selling the-general by-foul
pactionibus adversus possessores agrorum et magistratus
bargains against the-owners of-fields and the-magistrates
civitatum, adeo minaciter ut Luco (municipium id
of-states so threateningly that to-Lucus a-municipality that
Vocontiorum est) faces admoverit, donec pecunia mitigaretur.
of-the-Vocontii is torches he-applied until by-money he-was-softened
quotiens pecuniae materia deesset, stupris et adulteriis
whenever of-money the-material was-lacking by-debaucheries and adulteries
exorabatur. sic ad Alpis perventum.
he-was-won-over thus to the-Alps it-was-come

XIV · THE HELVETII

Caecina takes more plunder and blood. The twenty-first legion seizes money meant to pay a Helvetian garrison, and the Helvetii, unaware of Galba's death, intercept letters and hold a centurion; Caecina ravages their lands, sacks a spa town, and routs them on Mount Vocetius. Aventicum surrenders and Julius Alpinus is executed; before Vitellius, the envoy Claudius Cossus moves the soldiers to spare the state. Hearing that a cavalry squadron on the Po has come over with four towns, Caecina crosses the Pennine Alps.

Plus praedae ac sanguinis Caecina hausit. inritaverant 67
more of-booty and of-blood Caecina drank had-provoked
turbidum ingenium Helvetii, Gallica gens olim armis virisque,
the-turbulent nature the-Helvetii a-Gallic nation once by-arms and-men
mox memoria nominis clara, de caede Galbae ignari et
soon by-the-memory of-the-name famous of the-murder of-Galba unaware and

Vitellii imperium abnuentes. initium bello fuit avaritia
of-Vitellius the-empire refusing the-beginning to-the-war was the-avarice
ac festinatio unaetvicensimae legionis; rapuerant pecuniam
and haste of-the-twenty-first legion they-had-seized the-money
missam in stipendium castelli quod olim Helvetii suis
sent for the-pay of-a-fort which once the-Helvetii by-their-own
militibus ac stipendiis tuebantur. aegre id passi Helvetii,
soldiers and pay were-guarding ill this having-borne the-Helvetii
interceptis epistulis, quae nomine Germanici exercitus ad
with-intercepted letters which in-the-name of-the-German army to
Pannonicas legiones ferebantur, centurionem et quosdam
the-Pannonian legions were-being-carried a-centurion and some
militum in custodia retinebant. Caecina belli avidus
of-the-soldiers in custody they-were-detaining Caecina of-war eager
proximam quamque culpam, antequam paeniteret, ultum
the-nearest each fault before they-should-repent to-avenge
ibat: mota propere castra, vastati agri, direptus longa pace
was-going moved hastily the-camp laid-waste the-fields plundered in-the-long peace
in modum municipii extructus locus, amoeno salubrium
in the-manner of-a-municipality built a-place for-the-pleasant of-healthful
aquarum usu frequens; missi ad Raetica auxilia nuntii
waters use frequented were-sent to the-Raetian auxiliaries messengers
ut versos in legionem Helvetios a tergo adgrederentur.
that turned against the-legion the-Helvetii from the-rear they-should-attack
68 Illi ante discrimen feroces, in periculo pavidi, quamquam
they before the-crisis fierce in danger timid although
primo tumultu Claudium Severum ducem legerant,
at-the-first uproar Claudius Severus as-general they-had-chosen
non arma noscere, non ordines sequi, non in unum
not arms they-knew not the-ranks followed not into one
consulere. exitiosum adversus veteranos proelium, intuta
consulted deadly against veterans battle unsafe

obsidio dilapsis vetustate moenibus; hinc Caecina cum
a-siege with-fallen-down from-age walls on-this-side Caecina with
valido exercitu, inde Raeticae alae cohortesque et ipsorum
a-strong army on-that the-Raetian squadrons and-cohorts and of-the-very
Raetorum iuventus, sueta armis et more militiae
Raeti the-youth accustomed to-arms and in-the-manner of-service
exercita. undique populatio et caedes: ipsi medio
trained on-all-sides devastation and slaughter they-themselves in-the-midst
vagi, abiectis armis, magna pars saucii aut palantes,
wandering with-thrown-away arms a-great part wounded or straggling
in montem Vocetium perfugere. ac statim immissa cohorte
onto mount Vocetius fled and at-once with-sent-in cohort
Thraecum depulsi et consectantibus Germanis Raetisque
of-Thracians driven-down and with-pursuing Germans and-Raeti
per silvas atque in ipsis latebris trucidati. multa hominum
through the-woods and in the-very hiding-places butchered many of-men
milia caesa, multa sub corona venundata. cumque dirutis
thousands slain many under the-crown sold and-when with-destroyed
omnibus Aventicum gentis caput infesto agmine peteretur,
all Aventicum of-the-nation the-capital with-hostile column was-sought
missi qui dederent civitatem, et deditio accepta. in
there-were-sent men-to surrender the-state and the-surrender accepted on
Iulium Alpinum e principibus ut concitorem belli Caecina
Julius Alpinus of the-chiefs as instigator of-the-war Caecina
animadvertit: ceteros veniae vel saevitiae Vitellii reliquit.
inflicted-punishment the-rest to-the-pardon or savagery of-Vitellius he-left
Haud facile dictu est, legati Helvetiorum minus placabilem 69
not easy to-say it-is the-envoys of-the-Helvetii less placable
imperatorem an militem invenerint. civitatis excidium
the-emperor or the-soldiery found of-the-state the-destruction
poscunt, tela ac manus in ora legatorum intentant. ne
they-demand weapons and hands into the-faces of-the-envoys they-thrust not

Vitellius quidem verbis et minis temperabat, cum Claudius
Vitellius even in-words and threats was-restraining-himself when Claudius
Cossus, unus ex legatis, notae facundiae sed dicendi artem
Cossus one of the-envoys of-known eloquence but of-speaking the-art
apta trepidatione occultans atque eo validior, militis
with-apt trepidation concealing and therefore more-powerful of-the-soldiery
animum mitigavit. ut est mos, vulgus mutabile subitis
the-mind softened as is the-way the-crowd changeable by-sudden-things
et tam pronum in misericordiam quam immodicum saevitia
and as prone to pity as immoderate in-savagery
fuerat: effusis lacrimis et meliora constantius postulando
it-had-been with-poured-out tears and better-things more-steadily by-demanding
impunitatem salutemque civitati impetravere.
impunity and-safety for-the-state they-obtained
70 Caecina paucos in Helvetiis moratus dies dum sententiae
Caecina a-few among the-Helvetii having-lingered days until of-the-opinion
Vitellii certior fieret, simul transitum Alpium
of-Vitellius more-certain he-should-be-made at-the-same-time the-crossing of-the-Alps
parans, laetum ex Italia nuntium accipit alam Silianam
preparing happy from Italy news receives the-squadron Silian
circa Padum agentem sacramento Vitellii accessisse. pro
around the-Po operating to-the-oath of-Vitellius to-have-acceded as
consule Vitellium Siliani in Africa habuerant; mox a
proconsul Vitellius the-Silians in Africa had-had soon by
Nerone, ut in Aegyptum praemitterentur, exciti et
Nero so-that into Egypt they-might-be-sent-ahead summoned and
ob bellum Vindicis revocati ac tum in Italia manentes,
on-account-of the-war of-Vindex recalled and then in Italy remaining
instinctu decurionum, qui Othonis ignari, Vitellio obstricti
by-the-instigation of-the-decurions who of-Otho ignorant to-Vitellius bound
robur adventantium legionum et famam Germanici exercitus
the-strength of-the-approaching legions and the-fame of-the-German army

attollebant, transiere in partis et ut donum aliquod novo
were-extolling crossed to the-side and as a-gift some for-the-new
principi firmissima transpadanae regionis municipia, Mediolanum
emperor the-strongest of-the-Transpadane region municipalities Mediolanum
ac Novariam et Eporediam et Vercellas, adiunxere. id Caecinae
and Novaria and Eporedia and Vercellae they-added this to-Caecina
per ipsos compertum. et quia praesidio alae
through themselves learned and because by-the-protection of-a-squadron
unius latissima Italiae pars defendi nequibat, praemissis
one the-broadest of-Italy part to-be-defended could-not with-sent-ahead
Gallorum Lusitanorumque et Britannorum cohortibus et
of-Gauls and-of-Lusitanians and of-Britons cohorts and
Germanorum vexillis cum ala Petriana, ipse paulum
of-Germans detachments with the-squadron Petrian he-himself a-little
cunctatus est num Raeticis iugis in Noricum flecteret
hesitated has whether by-the-Raetian ridges into Noricum he-should-turn
adversus Petronium Urbicum procuratorem, qui concitis
against Petronius Urbicus the-procurator who with-summoned
auxiliis et interruptis fluminum pontibus fidus Othoni
auxiliaries and broken of-the-rivers the-bridges loyal to-Otho
putabatur. sed metu ne amitteret praemissas iam cohortis
was-thought but by-fear lest he-should-lose the-sent-ahead already cohorts
alasque, simul reputans plus gloriae retenta Italia
and-squadrons at-the-same-time reckoning more of-glory with-held Italy
et, ubicumque certatum foret, Noricos in cetera victoriae
and wherever contended it-had-been the-Norici into the-other of-victory
praemia cessuros, Poenino itinere subsignanum militem et
rewards going-to-pass by-the-Pennine route the-standard-guarding soldiery and
grave legionum agmen hibernis adhuc Alpibus transduxit.
the-heavy of-the-legions column with-wintry still Alps he-led-across

Otho, against expectation, does not sink into luxury. He spares and honors Marius Celsus, and the people's joy wins the death of Tigellinus, who cuts his own throat at Sinuessa; Crispinilla escapes. Otho and Vitellius trade letters, offers, and assassins. The Illyrian legions, the East, and Africa swear to Otho, but Spain, Aquitania, and Narbonese Gaul soon turn to Vitellius; Otho fills the consulships and courts states and provinces with grants. A raid of the Roxolani into Moesia is destroyed in the thaw, and honors are voted.

71 Otho interim contra spem omnium non deliciis neque
Otho meanwhile against the-expectation of-all not in-pleasures nor
desidia torpescere: dilatae voluptates, dissimulata luxuria
in-idleness to-grow-torpid postponed pleasures concealed luxury
et cuncta ad decorem imperii composita, eoque plus
and everything to the-dignity of-the-empire arranged and-therefore more
formidinis adferebant falsae virtutes et vitia reditura. Marium
of-dread they-brought false virtues and vices going-to-return Marius
Celsum consulem designatum, per speciem vinculorum
Celsus consul designate under the-guise of-chains
saevitiae militum subtractum, acciri in Capitolium
from-the-savagery of-the-soldiers withdrawn to-be-summoned into the-Capitol
iubet; clementiae titulus e viro claro et partibus inviso
he-orders of-clemency a-reputation from a-man famous and to-the-side hateful
petebatur. Celsus constanter servatae erga Galbam fidei crimen
was-sought Celsus steadfastly of-kept toward Galba loyalty the-charge
confessus, exemplum ultro imputavit. nec Otho
having-confessed the-example of-his-own-accord claimed-as-merit nor did-Otho
quasi ignosceret sed deos testis mutuae reconciliationis
as-if he-were-pardoning but the-gods as-witnesses of-mutual reconciliation
adhibens, statim inter intimos amicos habuit et mox bello
summoning at-once among his-intimate friends he-held-him and soon for-the-war

inter duces delegit, mansitque Celso velut fataliter etiam
among the-generals he-chose and-remained in-Celsus as-if by-fate also
pro Othone fides integra et infelix. laeta primoribus civitatis,
for Otho loyalty unimpaired and unlucky joyful to-the-chief of-the-state
celebrata in vulgus Celsi salus ne militibus quidem ingrata
celebrated among the-crowd of-Celsus the-safety not to-the-soldiers even unwelcome
fuit, eandem virtutem admirantibus cui irascebantur.
was the-same virtue admiring with-which they-were-angry
Par inde exultatio disparibus causis consecuta impetrato 72
equal then exultation from-unequal causes followed with-obtained
Tigellini exitio. Ofonius Tigellinus obscuris parentibus,
of-Tigellinus the-destruction Ofonius Tigellinus of-obscure parents
foeda pueritia, impudica senecta, praefecturam vigilum et
in-a-foul boyhood unchaste old-age the-prefecture of-the-watch and
praetorii et alia praemia virtutum, quia velocius
of-the-praetorian-guard and other rewards of-virtues because quicker
erat, vitiis adeptus, crudelitatem mox, deinde avaritiam,
it-was by-vices having-obtained cruelty soon then avarice
virilia scelera, exercuit, corrupto ad omne facinus Nerone,
manly crimes practiced with-corrupted to every deed Nero
quaedam ignaro ausus, ac postremo eiusdem desertor
some-things with-him-unaware having-dared and finally of-the-same deserter
ac proditor: unde non alium pertinacius ad poenam
and betrayer whence not another more-obstinately to punishment
flagitaverunt, diverso adfectu, quibus odium Neronis
they-demanded with-different feeling those-in-whom hatred of-Nero
inerat et quibus desiderium. apud Galbam Titi Vinii
was and those-in-whom longing with Galba of-Titus Vinius
potentia defensus, praetexentis servatam ab eo filiam. haud
by-the-power defended pleading saved by him his-daughter not
dubie servaverat, non clementia, quippe tot interfectis,
doubtfully he-had-saved-her not by-clemency since with-so-many slain

sed effugium in futurum, quia pessimus quisque diffidentia
but a-refuge for the-future because the-worst each from-distrust
praesentium mutationem pavens adversus publicum odium
of-present-things a-change fearing against public hatred
privatam gratiam praeparat: unde nulla innocentiae cura sed
private favor prepares whence no for-innocence care but
vices impunitatis. eo infensior populus, addita ad vetus
exchanges of-impunity therefore more-hostile the-people with-added to the-old
Tigellini odium recenti Titi Vinii invidia, concurrere ex
of-Tigellinus hatred the-recent of-Titus Vinius unpopularity ran-together from
tota urbe in Palatium ac fora et, ubi plurima vulgi
the-whole city into the-Palace and the-forums and where most of-the-crowd
licentia, in circum ac theatra effusi seditiosis vocibus
license into the-circus and theaters poured-out with-seditious cries
strepere, donec Tigellinus accepto apud Sinuessanas aquas
resounded until Tigellinus with-received at the-Sinuessan waters
supremae necessitatis nuntio inter stupra concubinarum
of-the-final necessity the-message amid the-debaucheries of-concubines
et oscula et deformis moras sectis novacula faucibus
and kisses and unsightly delays with-cut by-a-razor throat
infamem vitam foedavit etiam exitu sero et inhonesto.
an-infamous life he-disgraced even in-its-end late and dishonorable
73 Per idem tempus expostulata ad supplicium Calvia
through the-same time demanded for punishment Calvia
Crispinilla variis frustrationibus et adversa dissimulantis
Crispinilla by-various evasions and with-the-adverse of-the-dissembling
principis fama periculo exempta est. magistra libidinum
emperor reputation from-danger removed was the-mistress of-the-lusts
Neronis, transgressa in Africam ad instigandum in arma
of-Nero having-crossed into Africa for instigating to arms
Clodium Macrum, famem populo Romano haud obscure
Clodius Macer famine for-the-people Roman not obscurely

molita, totius postea civitatis gratiam obtinuit, consulari
having-contrived of-the-whole afterward state the-favor obtained by-a-consular
matrimonio subnixa et apud Galbam Othonem Vitellium
marriage supported and with Galba Otho Vitellius
inlaesa, mox potens pecunia et orbitate, quae bonis
unharmed soon powerful through-money and childlessness which in-good
malisque temporibus iuxta valent.
and-bad times alike avail
Crebrae interim et muliebribus blandimentis infectae ab 74
frequent meanwhile and with-womanish blandishments infected from
Othone ad Vitellium epistulae offerebant pecuniam et
Otho to Vitellius letters were-offering money and
gratiam et quemcumque e quietis locis prodigae vitae
favor and whatever from quiet places of-prodigal life
legisset. paria Vitellius ostentabat, primo mollius,
he-should-choose equal-things Vitellius was-holding-out at-first more-softly
stulta utrimque et indecora simulatione, mox quasi rixantes
with-foolish on-both-sides and unseemly pretense soon as-though brawling
stupra ac flagitia in vicem obiectavere, neuter falso. Otho,
debaucheries and outrages in turn they-cast-up neither falsely Otho
revocatis quos Galba miserat legatis, rursus ad utrumque
with-recalled those-whom Galba had-sent envoys again to each
Germanicum exercitum et ad legionem Italicam easque
German army and to the-legion Italian and-those
quae Lugduni agebant copias specie senatus misit.
which at-Lugdunum were-stationed forces in-the-name of-the-senate sent
legati apud Vitellium remansere, promptius quam ut retenti
the-envoys with Vitellius remained more-readily than that detained
viderentur; praetoriani, quos per simulationem officii legatis
they-should-seem the-praetorians whom under pretense of-duty to-the-envoys
Otho adiunxerat, remissi antequam legionibus miscerentur.
Otho had-joined were-sent-back before with-the-legions they-mingled

addidit epistulas Fabius Valens nomine Germanici exercitus
added letters Fabius Valens in-the-name of-the-German army
ad praetorias et urbanas cohortis de viribus partium
to the-praetorian and urban cohorts about the-strength of-the-side
magnificas et concordiam offerentis; increpabat ultro quod
magnificent and concord offering he-rebuked besides that
tanto ante traditum Vitellio imperium ad Othonem vertissent.
so-long before handed-over to-Vitellius the-empire to Otho they-had-turned
75 Ita promissis simul ac minis temptabantur, ut bello
so by-promises at-the-same-time and threats they-were-tested as in-war
impares, in pace nihil amissuri; neque ideo praetorianorum
unequal in peace nothing going-to-lose nor therefore of-the-praetorians
fides mutata. sed insidiatores ab Othone in Germaniam,
the-loyalty changed but spies by Otho into Germany
a Vitellio in urbem missi. utrisque frustra fuit, Vitellianis
by Vitellius into the-city sent for-both in-vain it-was to-the-Vitellians
inpune, per tantam hominum multitudinem mutua
with-impunity through so-great of-men a-multitude by-mutual
ignorantia fallentibus: Othoniani novitate vultus, omnibus
ignorance escaping-notice the-Othonians by-the-newness of-their-face with-all
in vicem gnaris, prodebantur. Vitellius litteras ad Titianum
in turn knowing were-betrayed Vitellius a-letter to Titianus
fratrem Othonis composuit, exitium ipsi filioque eius
the-brother of-Otho composed destruction to-himself and-to-the-son of-him
minitans ni incolumes sibi mater ac liberi servarentur.
threatening unless safe for-him his-mother and children were-kept
et stetit domus utraque, sub Othone incertum an metu:
and stood house each under Otho uncertain whether from-fear
Vitellius victor clementiae gloriam tulit.
Vitellius victorious of-clemency the-glory bore

Primus Othoni fiduciam addidit ex Illyrico nuntius iurasse 76
first to-Otho confidence added from Illyricum the-news to-have-sworn
in eum Dalmatiae ac Pannoniae et Moesiae legiones. idem
to him of-Dalmatia and of-Pannonia and of-Moesia the-legions the-same
ex Hispania adlatum laudatusque per edictum Cluvius
from Spain brought and-praised by edict Cluvius
Rufus: set statim cognitum est conversam ad Vitellium
Rufus but at-once learned it-was turned to Vitellius
Hispaniam. ne Aquitania quidem, quamquam ab Iulio Cordo
Spain not Aquitania even although by Julius Cordus
in verba Othonis obstricta, diu mansit. nusquam fides aut
to the-words of-Otho bound long remained nowhere loyalty or
amor: metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutabantur. eadem
love by-fear and necessity hither thither they-were-changed the-same
formido provinciam Narbonensem ad Vitellium vertit, facili
dread the-province Narbonese to Vitellius turned by-the-easy
transitu ad proximos et validiores. longinquae provinciae et
passage to the-nearest and stronger the-distant provinces and
quidquid armorum mari dirimitur penes Othonem manebat,
whatever of-arms by-sea is-separated with Otho remained
non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in
not from-the-side's zeal but there-was great weight in
nomine urbis ac praetexto senatus, et occupaverat animos
the-name of-the-city and the-pretext of-the-senate and had-seized minds
prior auditus. Iudaicum exercitum Vespasianus, Syriae legiones
first heard the-Jewish army Vespasian of-Syria the-legions
Mucianus sacramento Othonis adegere; simul Aegyptus
Mucianus to-the-oath of-Otho bound at-the-same-time Egypt
omnesque versae in Orientem provinciae nomine eius
and-all turned toward the-East provinces in-the-name his
tenebantur. idem Africae obsequium, initio Carthagine
were-held the-same of-Africa the-obedience with-the-beginning at-Carthage

orto neque expectata Vipstani Aproniani proconsulis auctoritate:
arisen nor with-awaited of-Vipstanus Apronianus the-proconsul the-authority
Crescens Neronis libertus (nam et hi malis temporibus
Crescens of-Nero a-freedman for also these in-evil times
partem se rei publicae faciunt) epulum plebi
a-part themselves of-the-thing public make a-banquet for-the-plebs
ob laetitiam recentis imperii obtulerat, et populus pleraque
for joy of-the-recent reign had-offered and the-people most-things
sine modo festinavit. Carthaginem ceterae civitates secutae.
without measure hastened-on Carthage the-other states followed
77 Sic distractis exercitibus ac provinciis Vitellio quidem ad
so with-divided armies and provinces for-Vitellius indeed for
capessendam principatus fortunam bello opus erat, Otho
seizing of-the-principate the-fortune of-war need there-was Otho
ut in multa pace munia imperii obibat, quaedam
as in deep peace the-duties of-the-empire was-performing some
ex dignitate rei publicae, pleraque contra decus ex
from the-dignity of-the-thing public most against propriety from
praesenti usu properando. consul cum Titiano fratre in
the-present need by-hurrying consul with Titianus his-brother to
kalendas Martias ipse; proximos mensis Verginio destinat
the-kalends of-March himself the-next months for-Verginius he-marks-out
ut aliquod exercitui Germanico delenimentum; iungitur
as some for-the-army German soothing is-joined
Verginio Pompeius Vopiscus praetexto veteris amicitiae;
to-Verginius Pompeius Vopiscus on-the-pretext of-old friendship
plerique Viennensium honori datum interpretabantur. ceteri
most to-the-Viennenses as-an-honor given interpreted-it the-other
consulatus ex destinatione Neronis aut Galbae mansere,
consulships from the-appointment of-Nero or of-Galba remained
Caelio ac Flavio Sabinis in Iulias, Arrio Antonino et
for-Caelius and Flavius the-Sabini till the-Julian for-Arrius Antoninus and

Mario Celso in Septembris, quorum honoribus ne Vitellius
Marius Celsus till the-September of-whom to-the-honors not-even Vitellius
quidem victor intercessit. sed Otho pontificatus auguratusque
indeed victorious objected but Otho with-pontificates and-augurates
honoratis iam senibus cumulum dignitatis addidit, aut recens
to-honored already old-men a-crowning of-dignity added or recently
ab exilio reversos nobilis adulescentulos avitis ac paternis
from exile returned noble young-men with-ancestral and paternal
sacerdotiis in solacium recoluit. redditus Cadio Rufo, Pedio
priesthoods in consolation he-restored was-given-back to-Cadius Rufus to-Pedius
Blaeso, † Saevino P ∗∗∗ senatorius locus. repetundarum
Blaesus (corrupt) to-Saevinus P (lacuna) senatorial rank for-extortion
criminibus sub Claudio ac Nerone ceciderant: placuit
on-charges under Claudius and Nero they-had-fallen it-was-decided
ignoscentibus verso nomine, quod avaritia fuerat, videri
by-those-pardoning with-turned name what avarice had-been to-seem
maiestatem, cuius tum odio etiam bonae leges peribant.
treason whose then through-hatred even good laws were-perishing
Eadem largitione civitatum quoque ac provinciarum animos 78
with-the-same largess of-the-states also and of-the-provinces the-minds
adgressus Hispalensibus et Emeritensibus familiarum
having-approached to-the-Hispalenses and Emeritenses of-families
adiectiones, Lingonibus universis civitatem Romanam, provinciae
additions to-the-Lingones all citizenship Roman to-the-province
Baeticae Maurorum civitates dono dedit; nova iura Cappadociae,
Baetica of-the-Moors the-states as-a-gift he-gave new laws for-Cappadocia
nova Africae, ostentata magis quam mansura. inter quae
new for-Africa displayed more than going-to-last among which-things
necessitate praesentium rerum et instantibus curis excusata ne
by-the-necessity of-present affairs and by-pressing cares excused not
tum quidem immemor amorum statuas Poppaeae per senatus
then even forgetful of-his-loves the-statues of-Poppaea by of-the-senate

consultum reposuit; creditus est etiam de celebranda Neronis
decree he-restored believed he-was also about celebrating of-Nero
memoria agitavisse spe vulgum adliciendi. et fuere
the-memory to-have-deliberated in-hope the-crowd of-enticing and there-were
qui imagines Neronis proponerent: atque etiam Othoni
those-who images of-Nero set-up and even to-Otho
quibusdam diebus populus et miles, tamquam nobilitatem
on-certain days the-people and soldiery as-though nobility
ac decus adstruerent, Neroni Othoni adclamavit. ipse in
and honor they-were-adding Nero Otho they-acclaimed he-himself in
suspenso tenuit, vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudore.
suspense held-it of-forbidding from-fear or of-acknowledging from-shame
79 Conversis ad civile bellum animis externa sine cura
with-turned to civil war minds foreign-things without care
habebantur. eo audentius Rhoxolani, Sarmatica gens,
were-held therefore more-boldly the-Rhoxolani a-Sarmatian nation
priore hieme caesis duabus cohortibus, magna spe
in-the-former winter with-slaughtered two cohorts with-great hope
Moesiam inruperant, ad novem milia equitum, ex ferocia
Moesia had-invaded about nine thousand of-horsemen from ferocity
et successu praedae magis quam pugnae intenta. igitur
and success on-booty more than on-battle intent therefore
vagos et incuriosos tertia legio adiunctis auxiliis repente
wandering and careless the-third legion with-joined auxiliaries suddenly
invasit. apud Romanos omnia proelio apta: Sarmatae
attacked with the-Romans all-things for-battle fit the-Sarmatians
dispersi aut cupidine praedae graves onere sarcinarum
scattered or by-desire of-booty heavy with-the-weight of-the-packs
et lubrico itinerum adempta equorum pernicitate
and by-the-slipperiness of-the-roads with-taken-away of-the-horses speed
velut vincti caedebantur. namque mirum dictu ut sit omnis
as-if bound were-cut-down for wonderful to-say how is all

Sarmatarum virtus velut extra ipsos. nihil ad pedestrem
of-the-Sarmatians valor as-it-were outside themselves nothing for infantry
pugnam tam ignavum: ubi per turmas advenere vix ulla
fighting so cowardly when by squadrons they-have-come scarcely any
acies obstiterit. sed tum umido die et soluto gelu
line would-withstand but then on-a-damp day and with-thawed frost
neque conti neque gladii, quos praelongos utraque manu
neither pikes nor swords which very-long with-both hand
regunt, usui, lapsantibus equis et catafractarum pondere. id
they-wield of-use with-slipping horses and of-the-mail-clad the-weight this
principibus et nobilissimo cuique tegimen, ferreis lamminis
for-the-chiefs and for-the-noblest each a-covering of-iron with-plates
aut praeduro corio consertum, ut adversus ictus impenetrabile
or of-very-hard leather fitted as against blows impenetrable
ita impetu hostium provolutis inhabile ad resurgendum;
so by-the-onset of-the-enemy for-the-overthrown unfit for rising-again
simul altitudine et mollitia nivis hauriebantur.
at-the-same-time by-the-depth and softness of-the-snow they-were-swallowed
Romanus miles facilis lorica et missili pilo aut lanceis
the-Roman soldier nimble in-breastplate and with-missile javelin or with-lances
adsultans, ubi res posceret, levi gladio inermem
assailing when the-situation demanded with-light sword the-unarmed
Sarmatam (neque enim scuto defendi mos est)
Sarmatian nor for with-a-shield to-defend-himself the-custom is
comminus fodiebat, donec pauci qui proelio superfuerant
at-close-quarters was-stabbing until a-few who the-battle had-survived
paludibus abderentur. ibi saevitia hiemis aut vulnerum
in-the-marshes hid there by-the-savagery of-winter or of-wounds
absumpti. postquam id Romae compertum, M. Aponius
consumed after this at-Rome was-learned Marcus Aponius
Moesiam obtinens triumphali statua, Fulvus Aurelius et
Moesia holding with-a-triumphal statue Fulvus Aurelius and

Iulianus Tettius ac Numisius Lupus, legati legionum,
Julianus Tettius and Numisius Lupus legates of-the-legions
consularibus ornamentis donantur, laeto Othone et gloriam
with-consular ornaments are-presented with-joyful Otho and the-glory
in se trahente, tamquam et ipse felix bello et
to himself drawing as-though also he-himself fortunate in-war and
suis ducibus suisque exercitibus rem publicam auxisset.
by-his-own generals and-his-own armies the-thing public had-increased

XVI · THE RIOT AT THE PALACE

A small matter nearly destroys the city: the seventeenth cohort is summoned from Ostia and its arms are loaded at nightfall, and the praetorians suspect treachery, kill officers, and ride for the Palace. Otho sends his guests away, and the leading men and women flee in terror before the soldiers burst into the banquet; standing on his couch, he calms them with tears. Next day, in the camp, he tells the soldiers that loyalty is kept by obedience and that the senate is the empire's head, and he punishes only two; the city remains afraid.

80 Parvo interim initio, unde nihil timebatur, orta seditio
from-a-small meanwhile beginning whence nothing was-feared arisen a-sedition
prope urbi excidio fuit. septimam decimam cohortem e
almost to-the-city for-destruction was the-seventh tenth cohort from
colonia Ostiensi in urbem acciri Otho iusserat; armandae
the-colony Ostian into the-city to-be-summoned Otho had-ordered of-arming
eius cura Vario Crispino tribuno e praetorianis data. is
it the-care to-Varius Crispinus a-tribune from the-praetorians given he
quo magis vacuus quietis castris iussa exequeretur, vehicula
so-that more free with-quiet camp the-orders he-might-carry-out the-wagons
cohortis incipiente nocte onerari aperto armamentario
of-the-cohort with-beginning night to-be-loaded with-opened armory

iubet. tempus in suspicionem, causa in crimen, adfectatio
orders the-time into suspicion the-cause into a-charge the-aim
quietis in tumultum evaluit, et visa inter temulentos
of-quiet into uproar grew and seen among drunken-men
arma cupidinem sui movere. fremit miles et
arms desire of-themselves roused roars the-soldiery and
tribunos centurionesque proditionis arguit, tamquam familiae
the-tribunes and-centurions of-treason accuses as-though the-households
senatorum ad perniciem Othonis armarentur, pars ignari et
of-the-senators for the-ruin of-Otho were-being-armed part unaware and
vino graves, pessimus quisque in occasionem praedarum,
with-wine heavy the-worst each for the-opportunity of-plunder
vulgus, ut mos est, cuiuscumque motus novi cupidum; et
the-crowd as the-way is of-any movement new desirous and
obsequia meliorum nox abstulerat. resistentem seditioni
the-obedience of-the-better the-night had-taken-away resisting the-sedition
tribunum et severissimos centurionum obtruncant; rapta arma,
the-tribune and the-strictest of-the-centurions they-cut-down seized arms
nudati gladii; insidentes equis urbem ac Palatium petunt.
bared swords sitting on-horses the-city and the-Palace they-seek
Erat Othoni celebre convivium primoribus feminis virisque; 81
there-was for-Otho a-crowded dinner-party with-chief women and-men
qui trepidi, fortuitusne militum furor an dolus imperatoris,
who alarmed whether-accidental of-the-soldiers the-fury or a-trick of-the-emperor
manere ac deprehendi an fugere et dispergi periculosius
to-remain and to-be-caught or to-flee and to-scatter more-dangerous
foret, modo constantiam simulare, modo formidine detegi,
would-be now firmness they-feigned now by-dread were-exposed
simul Othonis vultum intueri; utque evenit inclinatis ad
at-the-same-time of-Otho the-face watched and-as happens with-inclined toward
suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho, timebatur. sed haud
suspicion minds when feared Otho he-was-feared but not

secus discrimine senatus quam suo territus et praefectos
otherwise by-the-danger of-the-senate than by-his-own terrified both the-prefects
praetorii ad mitigandas militum iras statim miserat
of-the-praetorian-guard for soothing of-the-soldiers the-anger at-once he-had-sent
et abire propere omnis e convivio iussit. tum vero
and to-depart quickly all from the-dinner-party he-ordered then indeed
passim magistratus proiectis insignibus, vitata comitum
everywhere magistrates with-thrown-away insignia with-avoided of-companions
et servorum frequentia, senes feminaeque per tenebras
and of-slaves crowd old-men and-women through the-darkness
diversa urbis itinera, rari domos, plurimi amicorum tecta
different of-the-city roads few homes most of-friends the-roofs
et ut cuique humillimus cliens, incertas latebras petivere.
and as for-each the-humblest client uncertain hiding-places sought
82 Militum impetus ne foribus quidem Palatii coercitus quo
of-the-soldiers the-onset not by-the-doors even of-the-Palace restrained by-which
minus convivium inrumperent, ostendi sibi Othonem
less the-dinner-party they-should-burst-into to-be-shown to-themselves Otho
expostulantes, vulnerato Iulio Martiale tribuno et Vitellio
demanding with-wounded Julius Martialis the-tribune and Vitellius
Saturnino praefecto legionis, dum ruentibus obsistunt. undique
Saturninus prefect of-the-legion while the-rushing they-oppose on-all-sides
arma et minae, modo in centuriones tribunosque, modo
arms and threats now against the-centurions and-tribunes now
in senatum universum, lymphatis caeco pavore animis, et
against the-senate whole with-crazed by-blind panic minds and
quia neminem unum destinare irae poterant, licentiam in
because no-one one to-mark-out their-anger could license against
omnis poscentibus, donec Otho contra decus imperii toro
all demanding until Otho against the-dignity of-the-empire on-the-couch
insistens precibus et lacrimis aegre cohibuit, redieruntque
standing with-prayers and tears with-difficulty restrained-them and-they-returned

in castra inviti neque innocentes. postera die velut capta
to the-camp unwilling nor innocent on-the-next day as-if with-captured
urbe clausae domus, rarus per vias populus, maesta plebs;
city shut houses rare in the-streets the-people gloomy the-plebs
deiecti in terram militum vultus ac plus tristitiae quam
cast-down to the-ground of-the-soldiers the-faces and more of-sadness than
paenitentiae. manipulatim adlocuti sunt Licinius Proculus et
of-repentance company-by-company addressed have Licinius Proculus and
Plotius Firmus praefecti, ex suo quisque ingenio mitius
Plotius Firmus the-prefects from his-own each nature more-mildly
aut horridius. finis sermonis in eo ut quina milia nummum
or more-harshly the-end of-the-speech in this that five thousand of-sesterces
singulis militibus numerarentur: tum Otho ingredi castra
to-each soldier should-be-counted-out then Otho to-enter the-camp
ausus. atque illum tribuni centurionesque circumsistunt,
dared and him the-tribunes and-centurions surround
abiectis militiae insignibus otium et salutem flagitantes.
with-thrown-away of-service insignia leisure and safety demanding
sensit invidiam miles et compositus in obsequium auctores
perceived the-odium the-soldiery and composed into obedience the-authors
seditionis ad supplicium ultro postulabat.
of-the-sedition to punishment of-its-own-accord demanded
Otho, quamquam turbidis rebus et diversis militum animis, 83
Otho although with-troubled affairs and with-divided of-the-soldiers minds
cum optimus quisque remedium praesentis licentiae posceret,
since the-best each a-remedy for-the-present license demanded
vulgus et plures seditionibus et ambitioso imperio laeti
the-crowd and the-majority in-seditions and in-ambitious rule rejoicing
per turbas et raptus facilius ad civile bellum impellerentur,
through tumults and plunderings more-easily to civil war were-driven
simul reputans non posse principatum scelere quaesitum
at-the-same-time reflecting not to-be-able the-principate by-crime sought

subita modestia et prisca gravitate retineri, sed discrimine
by-sudden moderation and by-ancient gravity to-be-held but by-the-danger
urbis et periculo senatus anxius, postremo ita disseruit:
of-the-city and the-peril of-the-senate anxious finally thus he-spoke
'neque ut adfectus vestros in amorem mei accenderem,
neither that the-affections your into love of-me I-might-kindle
commilitones, neque ut animum ad virtutem cohortarer
comrades nor that your-spirit to valor I-might-exhort
(utraque enim egregie supersunt), sed veni postulaturus
both for excellently abound but I-have-come going-to-demand
a vobis temperamentum vestrae fortitudinis et erga me
from you a-tempering of-your courage and toward me
modum caritatis. tumultus proximi initium non cupiditate
a-limit of-affection of-the-uproar the-last the-beginning not by-desire
vel odio, quae multos exercitus in discordiam egere, ac ne
or by-hatred which many armies into discord have-driven and not
detrectatione quidem aut formidine periculorum: nimia pietas
by-refusal even or by-dread of-dangers excessive loyalty
vestra acrius quam considerate excitavit; nam saepe honestas
your more-keenly than considerately has-roused for often honorable
rerum causas, ni iudicium adhibeas, perniciosi exitus
of-things causes unless judgment you-apply ruinous outcomes
consequuntur. imus ad bellum. num omnis nuntios palam
follow we-are-going to war surely-not all news openly
audiri, omnia consilia cunctis praesentibus tractari ratio
to-be-heard all plans before-all present to-be-handled the-reason
rerum aut occasionum velocitas patitur? tam nescire quaedam
of-affairs or of-opportunities the-swiftness allows as-much not-to-know some-things
milites quam scire oportet: ita se ducum auctoritas, sic rigor
soldiers as to-know it-is-fitting so itself of-generals the-authority so the-rigor
disciplinae habet, ut multa etiam centuriones tribunosque
of-discipline holds that many-things even centurions and-tribunes

tantum iuberi expediat. si cur iubeantur quaerere singulis
only to-be-ordered it-is-expedient if why they-are-ordered to-ask to-individuals
liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidit. an et
be-allowed with-perishing obedience also command perishes or also
illic nocte intempesta rapientur arma? unus alterve perditus
there at-night untimely will-be-seized arms one or-another desperate
ac temulentus (neque enim pluris consternatione proxima
and drunken nor for more in-the-commotion last
insanisse crediderim) centurionis ac tribuni sanguine
to-have-raved would-I-believe of-a-centurion and of-a-tribune with-the-blood
manus imbuet, imperatoris sui tentorium inrumpet?'
his-hands will-be-stain of-emperor his-own the-tent will-be-burst-into
'Vos quidem istud pro me: sed in discursu ac tenebris et 84
you indeed this for me but in running-about and darkness and
rerum omnium confusione patefieri occasio etiam adversus
of-things all confusion to-be-laid-open opportunity even against
me potest. si Vitellio et satellitibus eius eligendi facultas
me can if to-Vitellius and to-the-henchmen his of-choosing the-power
detur, quem nobis animum, quas mentis imprecentur, quid
be-given what for-us mind what thoughts would-they-pray-for what
aliud quam seditionem et discordiam optabunt? ne miles
else than sedition and discord will-they-wish lest the-soldier
centurioni, ne centurio tribuno obsequatur, ut confusi pedites
the-centurion lest the-centurion the-tribune obey so-that confused foot
equitesque in exitium ruamus. parendo potius, commilitones,
and-horse into ruin we-may-rush by-obeying rather comrades
quam imperia ducum sciscitando res militares continentur,
than the-orders of-the-generals by-questioning things military are-held-together
et fortissimus in ipso discrimine exercitus est qui ante
and bravest in the-very crisis the-army is which before
discrimen quietissimus. vobis arma et animus sit: mihi
the-crisis quietest for-you arms and spirit let-be for-me

consilium et virtutis vestrae regimen relinquite. paucorum
counsel and of-valor your the-direction leave of-a-few
culpa fuit, duorum poena erit: ceteri abolete memoriam
the-fault was of-two the-punishment will-be the-rest blot-out the-memory
foedissimae noctis. nec illas adversus senatum voces ullus
of-the-foulest night nor those against the-senate words any
usquam exercitus audiat. caput imperii et decora omnium
anywhere army let-hear the-head of-the-empire and the-glories of-all
provinciarum ad poenam vocare non hercule illi, quos cum
the-provinces to punishment to-call not by-Hercules those whom just
maxime Vitellius in nos ciet, Germani audeant. ulline Italiae
now Vitellius against us rouses the-Germans would-dare would-any of-Italy
alumni et Romana vere iuventus ad sanguinem et caedem
nurslings and Roman truly youth to blood and slaughter
depoposcerit ordinem, cuius splendore et gloria sordis et
demand the-order whose by-splendor and glory the-meanness and
obscuritatem Vitellianarum partium praestringimus? nationes
obscurity of-the-Vitellian side we-outshine nations
aliquas occupavit Vitellius, imaginem quandam exercitus habet,
some has-seized Vitellius an-image some of-an-army he-has
senatus nobiscum est: sic fit ut hinc res publica,
the-senate with-us is so it-happens that on-this-side the-thing public
inde hostes rei publicae constiterint. quid? vos
on-that the-enemies of-the-thing public have-taken-their-stand what you
pulcherrimam hanc urbem domibus et tectis et congestu
most-beautiful this city by-houses and roofs and the-heaping
lapidum stare creditis? muta ista et inanima intercidere ac
of-stones to-stand do-you-believe dumb those and lifeless to-perish and
reparari promisca sunt: aeternitas rerum et pax gentium
to-be-restored interchangeable are the-eternity of-things and the-peace of-nations
et mea cum vestra salus incolumitate senatus firmatur. hunc
and my with your safety by-the-security of-the-senate is-made-firm this

auspicato a parente et conditore urbis nostrae institutum et
auspiciously by the-father and founder of-city our instituted and
a regibus usque ad principes continuum et immortalem,
from the-kings right to the-emperors continuous and immortal
sicut a maioribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus; nam
as from ancestors we-received so to-posterity let-us-hand-down for
ut ex vobis senatores, ita ex senatoribus principes nascuntur.'
as from you senators so from senators emperors are-born
Et oratio ad perstringendos mulcendosque militum animos 85
and the-speech for touching and-soothing of-the-soldiers the-minds
et severitatis modus (neque enim in pluris quam in duos
and of-severity the-limit nor for upon more than upon two
animadverti iusserat) grate accepta compositique ad praesens
to-be-punished he-had-ordered gratefully received and-composed for present
qui coerceri non poterant. non tamen quies urbi
those-who to-be-restrained not could not yet quiet to-the-city
redierat: strepitus telorum et facies belli, militibus ut nihil in
had-returned the-din of-weapons and the-face of-war with-soldiers as nothing in
commune turbantibus, ita sparsis per domos occulto habitu,
common disturbing so scattered through houses in-hidden dress
et maligna cura in omnis, quos nobilitas aut opes
and with-malignant care toward all whom nobility or wealth
aut aliqua insignis claritudo rumoribus obiecerat: Vitellianos
or some remarkable distinction to-rumors had-exposed the-Vitellian
quoque milites venisse in urbem ad studia partium
also soldiers to-have-come into the-city for the-zeal of-the-sides
noscenda plerique credebant: unde plena omnia suspicionum
to-be-learned most believed whence full everything of-suspicions
et vix secreta domuum sine formidine. sed plurimum
and scarcely the-privacies of-houses without dread but most
trepidationis in publico, ut quemque nuntium fama attulisset,
of-trepidation in public as each news report had-brought

animum vultumque conversis, ne diffidere dubiis ac parum
their-mind and-face having-turned lest to-distrust doubtful-things and too-little
gaudere prosperis viderentur. coacto vero in curiam
to-rejoice in-prosperous they-should-seem with-assembled indeed into the-senate-house
senatu arduus rerum omnium modus, ne contumax silentium,
senate difficult of-things all the-measure lest defiant silence
ne suspecta libertas; et privato Othoni nuper atque
lest suspect freedom and to-the-private-man Otho lately and
eadem dicenti nota adulatio. igitur versare sententias
the-same-things saying known flattery therefore they-turned-over their-opinions
et huc atque illuc torquere, hostem et parricidam Vitellium
and hither and thither twisted enemy and parricide Vitellius
vocantes, providentissimus quisque vulgaribus conviciis, quidam
calling the-most-provident each with-common abuse some
vera probra iacere, in clamore tamen et ubi plurimae voces,
true insults hurled in shouting yet and where most voices
aut tumultu verborum sibi ipsi obstrepentes.
or with-the-uproar of-words to-themselves themselves drowning

XVII · OTHO LEAVES ROME

Portents frighten the city, and a sudden Tiber flood brings hunger and blocks Otho's road to the war. Otho resolves to attack Narbonese Gaul by sea and names his commanders. Dolabella is removed to Aquinum, many magistrates and ex-consuls, Lucius Vitellius among them, must go with Otho as companions, and every order is afraid. The people begin to feel the war. On the fourteenth of March Otho commends the state to the senate, grants the exiles what is left of Nero's confiscations, addresses the assembly, and leaves Rome to his brother Titianus.

Prodigia insuper terrebant diversis auctoribus vulgata: in 86
prodigies moreover were-terrifying by-different authorities spread in
vestibulo Capitolii omissas habenas bigae, cui Victoria
the-forecourt of-the-Capitol dropped the-reins of-the-chariot on-which Victory
institerat, erupisse cella Iunonis maiorem humana
had-stood to-have-burst-out from-the-shrine of-Juno a-greater than-human
speciem, statuam divi Iulii in insula Tiberini amnis
form a-statue of-the-deified Julius on the-island of-the-Tiber river
sereno et immoto die ab occidente in orientem conversam,
on-a-clear and still day from west to east turned
prolocutum in Etruria bovem, insolitos animalium partus, et
to-have-spoken-out in Etruria an-ox unusual of-animals births and
plura alia rudibus saeculis etiam in pace observata, quae
many other-things in-rude ages even in peace observed which
nunc tantum in metu audiuntur. sed praecipuus et cum
now only in fear are-heard but the-chief and with
praesenti exitio etiam futuri pavor subita inundatione
present destruction also of-the-future the-terror from-the-sudden flooding
Tiberis, qui immenso auctu proruto ponte sublicio ac
of-the-Tiber which with-immense rise with-thrown-down bridge Sublician and
strage obstantis molis refusus, non modo iacentia et
by-the-wreckage of-the-obstructing mass poured-back not only the-lying and

plana urbis loca, sed secura eius modi casuum implevit:
flat of-the-city places but those-safe of-this kind of-mishaps filled
rapti e publico plerique, plures in tabernis et cubilibus
carried-off from the-public-streets many more in shops and beds
intercepti. fames in vulgus inopia quaestus et penuria
caught hunger among the-crowd from-want of-earnings and scarcity
alimentorum. corrupta stagnantibus aquis insularum
of-food rotted by-the-standing waters of-the-apartment-blocks
fundamenta, dein remeante flumine dilapsa. utque primum
the-foundations then with-returning river collapsed and-as first
vacuus a periculo animus fuit, id ipsum quod paranti
free from danger the-mind was this very that to-one-preparing
expeditionem Othoni campus Martius et via Flaminia iter
the-expedition Otho the-Field of-Mars and the-road Flaminian the-route
belli esset obstructum, a fortuitis vel naturalibus causis
of-the-war was blocked from fortuitous or natural causes
in prodigium et omen imminentium cladium vertebatur.
into a-prodigy and an-omen of-threatening disasters was-turned
87 Otho lustrata urbe et expensis bello consiliis, quando
Otho with-purified city and with-weighed for-war counsels since
Poeninae Cottiaeque Alpes et ceteri Galliarum aditus
the-Pennine and-Cottian Alps and the-other of-the-Gauls approaches
Vitellianis exercitibus claudebantur, Narbonensem Galliam
by-the-Vitellian armies were-closed Narbonese Gaul
adgredi statuit classe valida et partibus fida, quod
to-attack resolved with-the-fleet strong and to-the-side loyal because
reliquos caesorum ad pontem Mulvium et saevitia Galbae
the-survivors of-the-slain at the-bridge Mulvian and by-the-savagery of-Galba
in custodia habitos in numeros legionis composuerat, facta
in custody held into the-ranks of-a-legion he-had-formed with-given
et ceteris spe honoratae in posterum militiae. addidit classi
also to-the-rest hope of-honorable for the-future service he-added to-the-fleet

urbanas cohortis et plerosque e praetorianis, viris et robur
the-urban cohorts and many from the-praetorians the-sinews and strength
exercitus atque ipsis ducibus consilium et custodes. summa
of-the-army and to-the-very generals counsel and guards the-command
expeditionis Antonio Novello, Suedio Clementi primipilaribus,
of-the-expedition to-Antonius Novellus to-Suedius Clemens chief-centurions
Aemilio Pacensi, cui ademptum a Galba tribunatum
to-Aemilius Pacensis to-whom taken-away by Galba the-tribunate
reddiderat, permissa. curam navium Moschus libertus
he-had-restored entrusted the-care of-the-ships Moschus the-freedman
retinebat ad observandam honestiorum fidem immutatus.
retained for watching of-the-more-honorable the-loyalty unchanged
peditum equitumque copiis Suetonius Paulinus, Marius
of-the-foot and-horse for-the-forces Suetonius Paulinus Marius
Celsus, Annius Gallus rectores destinati, sed plurima fides
Celsus Annius Gallus directors appointed but most trust
Licinio Proculo praetorii praefecto. is urbanae militiae
in-Licinius Proculus of-the-praetorian-guard the-prefect he in-urban service
impiger, bellorum insolens, auctoritatem Paulini, vigorem Celsi,
energetic of-wars inexperienced the-authority of-Paulinus the-vigor of-Celsus
maturitatem Galli, ut cuique erat, criminando, quod facillimum
the-ripeness of-Gallus as in-each it-was by-accusing which easiest
factu est, pravus et callidus bonos et modestos anteibat.
to-do is depraved and crafty the-good and modest was-surpassing
Sepositus per eos dies Cornelius Dolabella in coloniam 88
removed during those days Cornelius Dolabella into the-colony
Aquinatem, neque arta custodia neque obscura, nullum
Aquinum neither close custody nor obscure no
ob crimen, sed vetusto nomine et propinquitate Galbae
for charge but by-his-old name and kinship with-Galba
monstratus. multos e magistratibus, magnam consularium
pointed-out many of the-magistrates a-great of-the-ex-consuls

partem Otho non participes aut ministros bello, sed
part Otho not as-sharers or ministers for-the-war but
comitum specie secum expedire iubet, in quis et
of-companions in-the-guise with-himself to-set-out orders among whom also
Lucium Vitellium, eodem quo ceteros cultu, nec ut
Lucius Vitellius with-the-same as the-rest treatment neither as
imperatoris fratrem nec ut hostis. igitur motae urbis curae;
of-the-emperor the-brother nor as an-enemy's therefore stirred of-the-city the-cares
nullus ordo metu aut periculo vacuus. primores senatus aetate
no order from-fear or danger free the-chief of-the-senate by-age
invalidi et longa pace desides, segnis et oblita bellorum
feeble and by-long peace idle the-slothful and forgetful of-wars
nobilitas, ignarus militiae eques, quanto magis occultare et
nobility ignorant of-service the-knights by-how-much more to-hide and
abdere pavorem nitebantur, manifestius pavidi. nec deerant
to-conceal their-fear they-strove more-manifestly fearful nor were-lacking
e contrario qui ambitione stolida conspicua arma, insignis
on the-contrary those-who with-ambition stupid conspicuous arms remarkable
equos, quidam luxuriosos apparatus conviviorum et inritamenta
horses some luxurious equipment of-banquets and stimulants
libidinum ut instrumentum belli mercarentur. sapientibus
of-lusts as the-equipment of-war bought for-the-wise
quietis et rei publicae cura; levissimus quisque et
of-quiet and of-the-thing public the-care the-most-frivolous each and
futuri improvidus spe vana tumens; multi adflicta fide in
of-the-future improvident with-hope empty swelling many with-ruined credit in
pace anxii, turbatis rebus alacres et per incerta tutissimi.
peace anxious with-disturbed affairs eager and amid uncertainties safest
89 Sed vulgus et magnitudine nimia communium curarum expers
but the-crowd and by-the-magnitude excessive of-common cares free-from
populus sentire paulatim belli mala, conversa in militum
the-people felt gradually of-war the-evils with-turned to of-the-soldiers

usum omni pecunia, intentis alimentorum pretiis, quae
use all money with-strained of-foods prices which
motu Vindicis haud perinde plebem attriverant, secura tum
in-the-rising of-Vindex not equally the-plebs had-worn-down with-safe then
urbe et provinciali bello, quod inter legiones Galliasque velut
the-city and provincial the-war which between the-legions and-the-Gauls as-if
externum fuit. nam ex quo divus Augustus res Caesarum
foreign was for from when the-deified Augustus the-affairs of-the-Caesars
composuit, procul et in unius sollicitudinem aut decus
settled far-away and for of-one the-anxiety or glory
populus Romanus bellaverat; sub Tiberio et Gaio tantum
the-people Roman had-waged-war under Tiberius and Gaius only
pacis adversa ad rem publicam pertinuere; Scriboniani
of-peace the-adversities to the-thing public pertained of-Scribonianus
contra Claudium incepta simul audita et coercita;
against Claudius the-undertakings at-the-same-time heard and repressed
Nero nuntiis magis et rumoribus quam armis depulsus: tum
Nero by-messages more and rumors than by-arms driven-out then
legiones classesque et, quod raro alias, praetorianus urbanusque
legions and-fleets and what rarely otherwise the-praetorian and-urban
miles in aciem deducti, Oriens Occidensque et quicquid
soldiery into the-battle-line led-down the-East and-the-West and whatever
utrimque virium est a tergo, si ducibus aliis bellatum
on-both-sides of-strength is from the-rear if with-generals other warred
foret, longo bello materia. fuere qui proficiscenti Othoni
it-had-been for-a-long war material there-were those-who to-the-setting-out Otho
moras religionemque nondum conditorum ancilium adferrent:
delays and-a-scruple of-not-yet put-away sacred-shields brought
aspernatus est omnem cunctationem ut Neroni quoque
spurned he-has all delay as for-Nero also
exitiosam; et Caecina iam Alpes transgressus extimulabat.
deadly and Caecina now the-Alps having-crossed was-goading-him

90 Pridie idus Martias commendata patribus re
on-the-day-before the-ides of-March with-entrusted to-the-fathers the-thing
publica reliquias Neronianarum sectionum nondum in fiscum
public the-remains of-the-Neronian confiscations not-yet into the-treasury
conversas revocatis ab exilio concessit, iustissimum donum
turned to-those-recalled from exile he-granted a-most-just gift
et in speciem magnificum, sed festinata iam pridem exactione
and in appearance magnificent but with-hastened long since collection
usu sterile. mox vocata contione maiestatem urbis et
in-use barren soon with-summoned assembly the-majesty of-the-city and
consensum populi ac senatus pro se attollens, adversum
the-consensus of-the-people and the-senate for himself extolling against
Vitellianas partis modeste disseruit, inscitiam potius legionum
the-Vitellian side moderately he-spoke the-ignorance rather of-the-legions
quam audaciam increpans, nulla Vitellii mentione, sive ipsius
than the-boldness reproaching with-no of-Vitellius mention whether his-own
ea moderatio, seu scriptor orationis sibi metuens contumeliis
this moderation or the-writer of-the-speech for-himself fearing from-insults
in Vitellium abstinuit, quando, ut in consiliis militiae
against Vitellius abstained since as in counsels of-war
Suetonio Paulino et Mario Celso, ita in rebus urbanis Galeri
Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus so in affairs urban of-Galerius
Trachali ingenio Othonem uti credebatur; et erant qui
Trachalus the-talent Otho to-use was-believed and there-were those-who
genus ipsum orandi noscerent, crebro fori usu celebre et
the-style itself of-speaking recognized by-frequent of-the-forum use renowned and
ad implendas populi auris latum et sonans. clamor vocesque
for filling of-the-people the-ears broad and sonorous the-shout and-cries
vulgi ex more adulandi nimiae et falsae: quasi dictatorem
of-the-crowd from the-custom of-flattering excessive and false as-if the-dictator
Caesarem aut imperatorem Augustum prosequerentur, ita
Caesar or the-emperor Augustus they-were-escorting so

studiis votisque certabant, nec metu aut amore, sed ex
in-zeal and-vows they-were-vying nor from-fear or love but from
libidine servitii: ut in familiis, privata cuique stimulatio, et
lust of-servitude as in households private for-each the-goad and
vile iam decus publicum. profectus Otho quietem urbis
cheap now the-honor public having-set-out Otho the-quiet of-the-city
curasque imperii Salvio Titiano fratri permisit.
and-the-cares of-the-empire to-Salvius Titianus his-brother entrusted

XVIII · TITUS AT PAPHOS

Titus, sent to greet Galba, learns at Corinth of his death and turns back, weighing his chances between hope and fear. He visits the temple of Venus at Paphos, whose founder, rites, and cone-shaped image Tacitus describes, and the priest Sostratus promises him great things. He rejoins his father. Vespasian and Mucianus, once at odds, are reconciled through Titus; both armies have sworn to Otho, and while others fight they decide to wait, the Jewish war nearly finished.

Struebat iam fortuna in diversa parte terrarum initia 1
was-building now fortune in the-opposite part of-the-world the-beginnings
causasque imperio, quod varia sorte laetum rei publicae
and-causes for-a-dynasty which with-varied lot joyful for-the-thing public
aut atrox, ipsis principibus prosperum vel exitio fuit. Titus
or frightful to-the-very emperors prosperous or for-ruin was Titus
Vespasianus, e Iudaea incolumi adhuc Galba missus a patre,
Vespasianus from Judaea with-unharmed still Galba sent by his-father
causam profectionis officium erga principem et maturam
as-the-cause of-the-journey the-duty toward the-emperor and ripe
petendis honoribus iuventam ferebat, sed vulgus fingendi
for-seeking offices youth was-alleging but the-crowd of-inventing
avidum disperserat accitum in adoptionem. materia sermonibus
greedy had-spread-it summoned for adoption as-material for-talk
senium et orbitas principis et intemperantia civitatis, donec
the-old-age and childlessness of-the-emperor and the-intemperance of-the-state until
unus eligatur, multos destinandi. augebat famam ipsius Titi
one should-be-chosen many of-marking-out increased the-report of-the-very Titus
ingenium quantaecumque fortunae capax, decor oris cum
the-talent of-whatever fortune capable the-comeliness of-his-face with
quadam maiestate, prosperae Vespasiani res, praesaga responsa,
a-certain majesty the-prosperous of-Vespasian affairs presaging oracles

et inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum etiam
and with-inclined to believing minds in-place of-omens even
fortuita. ubi Corinthi, Achaiae urbe, certos nuntios accepit de
chance-things when at-Corinth of-Achaea the-city sure news he-received about
interitu Galbae et aderant qui arma Vitellii bellumque
the-death of-Galba and there-were-present men-who the-arms of-Vitellius and-war
adfirmarent, anxius animo paucis amicorum adhibitis cuncta
affirmed anxious in-mind with-a-few of-his-friends summoned everything
utrimque perlustrat: si pergeret in urbem, nullam officii
on-both-sides he-surveys if he-should-go-on to the-city no of-the-duty
gratiam in alterius honorem suscepti, ac se Vitellio sive
gratitude in another's honor undertaken and himself for-Vitellius or
Othoni obsidem fore: sin rediret, offensam haud dubiam
for-Otho a-hostage going-to-be but-if he-should-return the-offense not doubtful
victoris, set incerta adhuc victoria et concedente in partis
of-the-victor but with-uncertain still the-victory and with-yielding to the-side
patre filium excusatum. sin Vespasianus rem publicam
the-father the-son excused but-if Vespasian the-thing public
susciperet, obliviscendum offensarum de bello agitantibus.
should-take-up there-must-be-forgetting of-the-offenses about war by-men-deliberating

2 His ac talibus inter spem metumque iactatum spes
by-these and such-things between hope and-fear tossed hope
vicit. fuerunt qui accensum desiderio Berenices reginae
won there-were those-who inflamed by-longing for-Berenice the-queen
vertisse iter crederent; neque abhorrebat a Berenice
to-have-turned his-route believed nor was-averse from Berenice
iuvenilis animus, sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo
the-young mind but for-conducting affairs no from it
impedimentum. laetam voluptatibus adulescentiam egit,
hindrance joyful in-pleasures a-youth he-spent
suo quam patris imperio moderatior. igitur oram
in-his-own than of-his-father reign more-restrained therefore the-coast

Achaiae et Asiae ac laeva maris praevectus, Rhodum et
of-Achaea and of-Asia and on-the-left of-the-sea having-sailed-along Rhodes and
Cyprum insulas, inde Syriam audentioribus spatiis petebat.
Cyprus the-islands thence Syria by-bolder stretches he-was-seeking
atque illum cupido incessit adeundi visendique templum
and him desire came-over of-visiting and-seeing the-temple
Paphiae Veneris, inclitum per indigenas advenasque. haud
of-the-Paphian Venus famous among natives and-strangers not
fuerit longum initia religionis, templi ritum, formam
it-would-be long the-beginnings of-the-worship of-the-temple the-rite the-form
deae (neque enim alibi sic habetur) paucis disserere.
of-the-goddess nor for elsewhere so is-she-held briefly to-set-forth
Conditorem templi regem Aeriam vetus memoria, quidam 3
the-founder of-the-temple king Aerias old memory some
ipsius deae nomen id perhibent. fama recentior tradit
of-the-very goddess the-name that declare report more-recent hands-down
a Cinyra sacratum templum deamque ipsam conceptam
by Cinyras consecrated the-temple and-the-goddess herself conceived
mari huc adpulsam; sed scientiam artemque haruspicum
from-the-sea hither driven but the-science and-art of-the-diviners
accitam et Cilicem Tamiram intulisse, atque ita pactum
summoned and the-Cilician Tamiras to-have-brought-in and so agreed
ut familiae utriusque posteri caerimoniis praesiderent. mox,
that of-the-family of-each descendants over-the-rites should-preside soon
ne honore nullo regium genus peregrinam stirpem antecelleret,
lest with-honor no the-royal race a-foreign stock should-surpass
ipsa quam intulerant scientia hospites cessere: tantum
from-the-very which they-had-brought-in science the-strangers withdrew only
Cinyrades sacerdos consulitur. hostiae, ut quisque vovit,
a-Cinyrad priest is-consulted victims as each has-vowed
sed mares deliguntur: certissima fides haedorum fibris.
but males are-chosen most-sure trust of-kids in-the-entrails

sanguinem arae obfundere vetitum: precibus et igne
blood on-the-altar to-pour is-forbidden with-prayers and fire
puro altaria adolentur, nec ullis imbribus quamquam in
pure the-altars are-kindled nor by-any rains although in
aperto madescunt. simulacrum deae non effigie humana,
the-open they-are-wet the-image of-the-goddess not in-figure human
continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum
a-continuous round with-broader beginning slender into circuit
metae modo exurgens, set ratio in obscuro.
of-a-turning-post in-the-manner rising but the-reason in obscurity

4 Titus spectata opulentia donisque regum quaeque alia laetum
Titus having-viewed the-wealth and-gifts of-kings and-whatever other joyful
antiquitatibus Graecorum genus incertae vetustati adfingit, de
in-antiquities of-the-Greeks race to-uncertain old-age attributes about
navigatione primum consuluit. postquam pandi viam et
the-voyage first consulted after to-be-opened the-way and
mare prosperum accepit, de se per ambages interrogat
the-sea favorable he-learned about himself in roundabout-words he-asks
caesis compluribus hostiis. Sostratus (sacerdotis id nomen
with-slain many victims Sostratus of-the-priest that the-name
erat) ubi laeta et congruentia exta magnisque consultis
was when joyful and agreeing the-entrails and-to-the-great consultations
adnuere deam videt, pauca in praesens et solita respondens,
to-nod the-goddess he-sees a-few-things for the-present and usual answering
petito secreto futura aperit. Titus aucto animo ad
with-asked-for privacy the-future he-opens Titus with-increased spirit to
patrem pervectus suspensis provinciarum et exercituum
his-father having-sailed with-suspended of-the-provinces and of-the-armies
mentibus ingens rerum fiducia accessit. Profligaverat bellum
minds huge in-affairs confidence was-added had-nearly-finished the-war
Iudaicum Vespasianus, obpugnatione Hierosolymorum reliqua,
Jewish Vespasian the-siege of-Jerusalem remaining

duro magis et arduo opere ob ingenium montis et
with-hard more and arduous labor on-account-of the-nature of-the-mountain and
pervicaciam superstitionis quam quo satis virium obsessis ad
the-obstinacy of-superstition than because enough of-strength to-the-besieged for
tolerandas necessitates superesset. tres, ut supra memoravimus,
enduring necessities remained three as above we-recounted
ipsi Vespasiano legiones erant, exercitae bello: quattuor
himself to-Vespasian legions were trained in-war four
Mucianus obtinebat in pace, sed aemulatio et proximi
Mucianus was-holding in peace but rivalry and of-the-nearest
exercitus gloria depulerat segnitiam, quantumque illis roboris
army the-glory had-driven-off sloth and-as-much to-those of-strength
discrimina et labor, tantum his vigoris addiderat integra
dangers and toil so-much to-these of-vigor had-added unbroken
quies et inexperti belli † labor. auxilia utrique cohortium
quiet and of-untried war (corrupt) toil auxiliaries to-both of-cohorts
alarumque et classes regesque ac nomen dispari fama celebre.
and-squadrons and fleets and-kings and a-name with-unequal fame celebrated
Vespasianus acer militiae anteire agmen, locum castris 5
Vespasian keen in-war went-before the-column a-place for-the-camp
capere, noctu diuque consilio ac, si res posceret,
chose by-night and-by-day with-counsel and if the-situation demanded
manu hostibus obniti, cibo fortuito, veste habituque
with-the-hand the-enemy resisted with-food chance-found in-dress and-bearing
vix a gregario milite discrepans; prorsus, si avaritia
scarcely from a-common soldier differing altogether if avarice
abesset, antiquis ducibus par. Mucianum e contrario
were-absent to-the-ancient generals equal Mucianus on the-contrary
magnificentia et opes et cuncta privatum modum
magnificence and wealth and everything the-private measure
supergressa extollebant; aptior sermone, dispositu provisuque
having-surpassed were-exalting more-apt in-speech in-arrangement and-foresight

civilium rerum peritus: egregium principatus temperamentum,
of-civil affairs skilled excellent of-the-principate a-blend
si demptis utriusque vitiis solae virtutes miscerentur.
if with-removed of-each vices only the-virtues were-mingled
ceterum hic Syriae, ille Iudaeae praepositus, vicinis
but this-one over-Syria that-one over-Judaea set with-neighboring
provinciarum administrationibus invidia discordes, exitu
of-the-provinces administrations from-envy at-odds at-the-end
demum Neronis positis odiis in medium consuluere,
at-last of-Nero with-laid-aside hatreds for the-common-good they-consulted
primum per amicos, dein praecipua concordiae fides Titus
first through friends then the-chief of-concord pledge Titus
prava certamina communi utilitate aboleverat, natura atque
the-perverse contests by-common advantage had-abolished by-nature and
arte compositus adliciendis etiam Muciani moribus. tribuni
art formed for-enticing even of-Mucianus the-character the-tribunes
centurionesque et vulgus militum industria licentia, per
and-centurions and the-mass of-the-soldiers by-industry by-license through
virtutes per voluptates, ut cuique ingenium, adsciscebantur.
virtues through pleasures as to-each was-the-nature were-won-over

6 Antequam Titus adventaret sacramentum Othonis acceperat
before Titus arrived the-oath of-Otho had-taken
uterque exercitus, praecipitibus, ut adsolet, nuntiis et
each army with-headlong as is-usual news and
tarda mole civilis belli, quod longa concordia quietus
with-the-slow mass of-the-civil war which by-long concord quiet
Oriens tunc primum parabat. namque olim validissima
the-East then first was-preparing for formerly the-strongest
inter se civium arma in Italia Galliave viribus
among themselves of-citizens arms in Italy or-Gaul with-the-strength
Occidentis coepta; et Pompeio, Cassio, Bruto, Antonio, quos
of-the-West begun and for-Pompey Cassius Brutus Antony whom

omnis trans mare secutum est civile bellum, haud prosperi
all across the-sea followed has civil war not prosperous
exitus fuerant; auditique saepius in Syria Iudaeaque Caesares
outcomes had-been and-heard more-often in Syria and-Judaea the-Caesars
quam inspecti. nulla seditio legionum, tantum adversus
than seen no sedition of-the-legions only against
Parthos minae, vario eventu; et proximo civili bello
the-Parthians threats with-varied outcome and in-the-last civil war
turbatis aliis inconcussa ibi pax, dein fides erga Galbam.
with-disturbed others unshaken there peace then loyalty toward Galba
mox, ut Othonem ac Vitellium scelestis armis res
soon when Otho and Vitellius with-wicked arms the-state
Romanas raptum ire vulgatum est, ne penes ceteros
Roman to-plunder to-be-going spread it-was lest with the-rest
imperii praemia, penes ipsos tantum servitii necessitas
of-the-empire the-rewards with themselves only of-servitude the-necessity
esset, fremere miles et viris suas circumspicere. septem
should-be grumbled the-soldiery and strength their-own surveyed seven
legiones statim et cum ingentibus auxiliis Syria Iudaeaque;
legions at-once and with huge auxiliaries Syria and-Judaea
inde continua Aegyptus duaeque legiones, hinc Cappadocia
thence adjoining Egypt and-two legions on-this-side Cappadocia
Pontusque et quicquid castrorum Armeniis praetenditur.
and-Pontus and whatever of-camps for-the-Armenians is-stretched-before
Asia et ceterae provinciae nec virorum inopes et pecunia
Asia and the-other provinces neither of-men lacking and in-money
opulentae. quantum insularum mari cingitur, et parando
rich as-many of-islands by-the-sea are-girt and for-preparing
interim bello secundum tutumque ipsum mare.
meanwhile the-war favorable and-safe the-very sea

7 Non fallebat duces impetus militum, sed bellantibus
not was-escaping the-generals the-impetus of-the-soldiers but with-others
aliis placuit expectari. bello civili victores victosque
warring it-was-decided to-be-waited in-war civil victors and-vanquished
numquam solida fide coalescere, nec referre Vitellium
never in-solid loyalty to-grow-together nor to-matter Vitellius
an Othonem superstitem fortuna faceret. rebus secundis
or Otho surviving fortune should-make in-things prosperous
etiam egregios duces insolescere: discordia militis ignavia
even excellent generals grow-insolent by-discord of-the-soldiery by-cowardice
luxurie et suismet vitiis alterum bello, alterum victoria
by-luxury and by-their-very-own vices the-one by-war the-other by-victory
periturum. igitur arma in occasionem distulere, Vespasianus
going-to-perish therefore their-arms for the-opportunity they-put-off Vespasian
Mucianusque nuper, ceteri olim mixtis consiliis; optimus
and-Mucianus lately the-rest long-ago with-mingled counsels the-best
quisque amore rei publicae, multos dulcedo praedarum
each by-love of-the-thing public many the-sweetness of-plunder
stimulabat, alios ambiguae domi res: ita boni malique
was-goading others ambiguous at-home affairs so the-good and-the-bad
causis diversis, studio pari, bellum omnes cupiebant.
from-causes different with-zeal equal war all desired

Achaea and Asia are alarmed by a pretender claiming to be Nero, a slave or freedman skilled at the lyre, who gathers deserters on Cythnus. Calpurnius Asprenas has his ship stormed, and the man is killed and his body shown in Asia and Rome. In the city the senate condemns the informer Annius Faustus on Vibius Crispus's charge.

Sub idem tempus Achaia atque Asia falso exterritae velut Nero 8
about the-same time Achaea and Asia falsely terrified as-if Nero
adventaret, vario super exitu eius rumore eoque pluribus
were-approaching with-varied about the-end his rumor and-therefore with-more
vivere eum fingentibus credentibusque. ceterorum casus
alive him feigning and-believing of-the-others the-fortunes
conatusque in contextu operis dicemus: tunc servus e
and-attempts in the-course of-the-work we-shall-tell then a-slave from
Ponto sive, ut alii tradidere, libertinus ex Italia, citharae
Pontus or as others have-handed-down a-freedman from Italy of-the-lyre
et cantus peritus, unde illi super similitudinem oris propior
and of-song skilled whence for-him besides the-likeness of-face nearer
ad fallendum fides, adiunctis desertoribus, quos inopia vagos
for deceiving credibility with-joined deserters whom by-want wandering
ingentibus promissis corruperat, mare ingreditur; ac vi
with-huge promises he-had-corrupted the-sea enters and by-the-force
tempestatum Cythnum insulam detrusus et militum quosdam
of-storms onto-Cythnus the-island thrust both soldiers some
ex Oriente commeantium adscivit vel abnuentis interfici
from the-East traveling took-in or refusing to-be-killed
iussit, et spoliatis negotiatoribus mancipiorum valentissimum
ordered and with-plundered traders of-slaves the-strongest
quemque armavit. centurionemque Sisennam dextras, concordiae
each armed and-the-centurion Sisenna right-hands of-concord

insignia, Syriaci exercitus nomine ad praetorianos ferentem
the-tokens of-the-Syrian army in-the-name to the-praetorians carrying
variis artibus adgressus est, donec Sisenna clam relicta insula
with-various arts attacked has until Sisenna secretly with-left island
trepidus et vim metuens aufugeret. inde late terror: multi
trembling and violence fearing fled thence widely terror many
ad celebritatem nominis erecti rerum novarum cupidine et
at the-celebrity of-the-name roused of-things new by-desire and
odio praesentium. gliscentem in dies famam fors discussit.
by-hatred of-present-things the-growing day-by day report chance dispelled

9 Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias Calpurnio Asprenati
Galatia and Pamphylia provinces to-Calpurnius Asprenas
regendas Galba permiserat. datae e classe Misenensi
to-be-ruled Galba had-entrusted there-were-given from the-fleet Misenian
duae triremes ad prosequendum, cum quibus Cythnum
two triremes for escorting with which Cythnus
insulam tenuit: nec defuere qui trierarchos nomine
the-island he-reached nor were-lacking those-who the-trierarchs in-the-name
Neronis accirent. is in maestitiam compositus et fidem
of-Nero summoned he into gloom composed and the-loyalty
suorum quondam militum invocans, ut eum in Syria aut
of-his-own once soldiers invoking that him in Syria or
Aegypto sisterent orabat. trierarchi, nutantes seu dolo,
Egypt they-should-set-down begged the-trierarchs wavering or by-trickery
adloquendos sibi milites et paratis omnium animis
to-be-addressed by-themselves the-soldiers and with-prepared of-all minds
reversuros firmaverunt. sed Asprenati cuncta ex fide
going-to-return they-affirmed but to-Asprenas everything in good-faith
nuntiata, cuius cohortatione expugnata navis et interfectus
reported whose by-exhortation stormed the-ship and killed

quisquis ille erat. corpus, insigne oculis comaque et torvitate
whoever he was the-body remarkable in-eyes and-hair and in-the-grimness
vultus, in Asiam atque inde Romam pervectum est.
of-the-face into Asia and thence to-Rome carried was
In civitate discordi et ob crebras principum mutationes
in a-state discordant and on-account-of frequent of-emperors changes
inter libertatem ac licentiam incerta parvae quoque res
between freedom and license uncertain small also matters
magnis motibus agebantur. Vibius Crispus, pecunia potentia
with-great commotions were-conducted Vibius Crispus in-money in-power
ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos, Annium
in-talent among the-famous more than among the-good Annius
Faustum equestris ordinis, qui temporibus Neronis delationes
Faustus of-the-knightly order who in-the-times of-Nero informings
factitaverat, ad cognitionem senatus vocabat; nam recens
had-practiced to the-trial of-the-senate was-summoning for recently
Galbae principatu censuerant patres, ut accusatorum causae
in-Galba's principate had-decreed the-fathers that of-the-accusers the-cases
noscerentur. id senatus consultum varie iactatum et,
should-be-tried that senate decree variously tossed and
prout potens vel inops reus inciderat, infirmum
according-as powerful or needy the-defendant had-fallen weak
aut validum, retinebat adhuc aliquid terroris. et propria
or strong it-held still something of-terror and by-his-own
vi Crispus incubuerat delatorem fratris sui pervertere,
force Crispus had-applied-himself the-informer of-brother his to-overthrow
traxeratque magnam senatus partem, ut indefensum et
and-had-drawn a-great of-the-senate part so-that undefended and
inauditum dedi ad exitium postularent. contra
unheard to-be-surrendered to death they-demanded on-the-other-hand
apud alios nihil aeque reo proderat quam nimia
among others nothing equally the-defendant helped as the-excessive

potentia accusatoris: dari tempus, edi crimina,
power of-the-accuser to-be-given time to-be-published the-charges
quamvis invisum ac nocentem more tamen audiendum
although hated and guilty by-custom yet to-be-heard
censebant. et valuere primo dilataque in paucos dies
they-voted and prevailed at-first and-postponed for a-few days
cognitio: mox damnatus est Faustus, nequaquam eo
the-trial soon condemned was Faustus by-no-means with-that
adsensu civitatis quem pessimis moribus meruerat: quippe
assent of-the-state which by-his-worst character he-had-earned for
ipsum Crispum easdem accusationes cum praemio exercuisse
himself Crispus the-same accusations with reward to-have-practiced
meminerant, nec poena criminis sed ultor displicebat.
they-remembered nor the-punishment of-the-crime but the-avenger displeased

XX · OTHO'S ADVANCE

Otho's war begins well: four legions from Dalmatia and Pannonia move toward him, and he sends praetorians, gladiators, and Annius Gallus with Spurinna to hold the Po. He marches on foot before the standards in an iron breastplate, unlike his reputation. His fleet ravages the Italian coast as if it were foreign land and routs the mountaineers of the Maritime Alps; at Albintimilium a Ligurian mother, tortured to reveal her son, points to her womb. Two battles on the Narbonese coast decide nothing, and in Corsica the procurator Pacarius is murdered.

11 Laeta interim Othoni principia belli, motis ad imperium
happy meanwhile for-Otho the-beginnings of-the-war with-moved to the-empire
eius e Dalmatia Pannoniaque exercitibus. fuere quattuor
his from Dalmatia and-Pannonia armies were four
legiones, e quibus bina milia praemissa; ipsae modicis
legions from which two-each thousands sent-ahead themselves at-moderate

intervallis sequebantur, septima a Galba conscripta, veteranae
intervals followed the-seventh by Galba enrolled veteran
undecima ac tertia decima et praecipui fama quartadecumani,
the-eleventh and the-third tenth and outstanding in-fame the-fourteenth-men
rebellione Britanniae compressa. addiderat gloriam Nero
with-the-rebellion of-Britain crushed had-added glory Nero
eligendo ut potissimos, unde longa illis erga Neronem fides
by-choosing as the-most-able whence long to-them toward Nero loyalty
et erecta in Othonem studia. sed quo plus virium
and roused toward Otho zeal but by-how-much more of-strength
ac roboris e fiducia tarditas inerat. agmen legionum
and of-vigor from confidence slowness was-in-it the-column of-the-legions
alae cohortesque praeveniebant; et ex ipsa urbe haud
the-squadrons and-cohorts went-ahead and from the-very city not
spernenda manus, quinque praetoriae cohortes et equitum
to-be-despised a-force five praetorian cohorts and of-cavalry
vexilla cum legione prima, ac deforme insuper auxilium,
detachments with the-legion first and unsightly besides an-auxiliary
duo milia gladiatorum, sed per civilia arma etiam severis
two thousands of-gladiators but through civil arms even by-strict
ducibus usurpatum. his copiis rector additus Annius
generals employed to-these forces as-director was-added Annius
Gallus, cum Vestricio Spurinna ad occupandas Padi ripas
Gallus with Vestricius Spurinna to seizing of-the-Po the-banks
praemissus, quoniam prima consiliorum frustra ceciderant,
sent-ahead since the-first of-the-plans in-vain had-fallen
transgresso iam Alpis Caecina, quem sisti intra Gallias
with-having-crossed already the-Alps Caecina whom to-be-halted within the-Gauls
posse speraverat. ipsum Othonem comitabantur speculatorum
to-be-able he-had-hoped himself Otho accompanied of-the-scouts
lecta corpora cum ceteris praetoriis cohortibus, veterani e
picked bodies with the-other praetorian cohorts veterans from

praetorio, classicorum ingens numerus. nec illi segne aut
the-praetorian-guard of-the-marines a-huge number nor was-his sluggish or
corruptum luxu iter, sed lorica ferrea usus est et ante
corrupted by-luxury the-march but a-cuirass iron wore he-has and before
signa pedes ire, horridus, incomptus famaeque dissimilis.
the-standards on-foot went rough unkempt and-of-his-fame unlike
12 Blandiebatur coeptis fortuna, possessa per mare
fawned on-the-undertakings fortune with-held through sea
et navis maiore Italiae parte penitus usque ad initium
and ships the-greater of-Italy part deeply right to the-beginning
maritimarum Alpium, quibus temptandis adgrediendaeque
of-the-Maritime Alps for-which to-be-tried and-to-be-attacked
provinciae Narbonensi Suedium Clementem, Antonium
the-province Narbonese Suedius Clemens Antonius
Novellum, Aemilium Pacensem duces dederat. sed Pacensis
Novellus Aemilius Pacensis as-generals he-had-given but Pacensis
per licentiam militum vinctus, Antonio Novello nulla
through the-license of-the-soldiers bound to-Antonius Novellus no
auctoritas: Suedius Clemens ambitioso imperio regebat, ut
authority Suedius Clemens with-ambitious command ruled as
adversus modestiam disciplinae corruptus, ita proeliorum
against the-restraint of-discipline corrupt so of-battles
avidus. non Italia adiri nec loca sedesque patriae
greedy not Italy to-be-approached nor the-places and-seats of-the-fatherland
videbantur: tamquam externa litora et urbes hostium urere,
seemed as-if foreign shores and cities of-enemies they-burned
vastare, rapere eo atrocius quod nihil usquam
they-laid-waste they-plundered so-much more-fiercely because nothing anywhere
provisum adversum metus. pleni agri, apertae domus;
foreseen against fears full the-fields open the-houses
occursantes domini iuxta coniuges et liberos securitate
meeting-them the-masters alongside wives and children in-the-security

pacis et belli malo circumveniebantur. maritimas tum
of-peace and of-war by-the-evil were-surrounded the-Maritime then
Alpis tenebat procurator Marius Maturus. is concita gente
Alps held the-procurator Marius Maturus he with-roused the-people
(nec deest iuventus) arcere provinciae finibus Othonianos
nor is-lacking youth to-keep-off from-the-province's borders the-Othonians
intendit: sed primo impetu caesi disiectique montani, ut
he-intends but at-the-first charge cut-down and-scattered the-mountaineers as
quibus temere collectis, non castra, non ducem noscitantibus,
for-whom rashly gathered not a-camp not a-leader recognizing
neque in victoria decus esset neque in fuga flagitium.
neither in victory honor was nor in flight disgrace
Inritatus eo proelio Othonis miles vertit iras in 13
provoked by-that battle of-Otho the-soldiery turned its-wrath upon
municipium Albintimilium. quippe in acie nihil praedae,
the-township Albintimilium for in the-battle-line nothing of-plunder
inopes agrestes et vilia arma; nec capi poterant, pernix
needy the-peasants and cheap their-arms nor to-be-caught could-they swift
genus et gnari locorum: sed calamitatibus insontium expleta
a-race and knowing of-the-places but by-the-calamities of-the-innocent satisfied
avaritia. auxit invidiam praeclaro exemplo femina Ligus,
greed increased hatred by-a-splendid example a-woman Ligurian
quae filio abdito, cum simul pecuniam occultari
who with-her-son hidden when at-the-same-time money to-be-concealed
milites credidissent eoque per cruciatus interrogarent
the-soldiers had-believed and-for-that-reason through tortures were-asking
ubi filium occuleret, uterum ostendens latere respondit,
where her-son she-was-hiding her-womb showing there-he-lay she-answered
nec ullis deinde terroribus aut morte constantiam vocis
nor by-any thereafter terrors or death the-constancy of-her-voice
egregiae mutavit.
remarkable changed

14 Imminere provinciae Narbonensi, in verba Vitellii adactae,
to-be-threatening the-province Narbonese into the-words of-Vitellius bound
classem Othonis trepidi nuntii Fabio Valenti attulere;
the-fleet of-Otho alarmed messengers to-Fabius Valens brought
aderant legati coloniarum auxilium orantes. duas
there-were-present envoys of-the-colonies help begging two
Tungrorum cohortis, quattuor equitum turmas, universam
of-the-Tungrians cohorts four of-horsemen troops the-whole
Trevirorum alam cum Iulio Classico praefecto misit, e quibus
of-the-Treviri squadron with Julius Classicus the-prefect he-sent of which
pars in colonia Foroiuliensi retenta, ne omnibus copiis in
part in the-colony of-Forum-Julii was-kept lest with-all forces onto
terrestre iter versis vacuo mari classis adceleraret. duodecim
the-land route turned with-empty sea the-fleet should-hurry twelve
equitum turmae et lecti e cohortibus adversus hostem
of-horsemen troops and picked-men from the-cohorts against the-enemy
iere, quibus adiuncta Ligurum cohors, vetus loci auxilium,
went to-whom was-joined of-Ligurians a-cohort old of-the-place garrison
et quingenti Pannonii, nondum sub signis. nec mora proelio:
and five-hundred Pannonians not-yet under the-standards nor delay to-battle
sed acies ita instructa ut pars classicorum mixtis paganis
but the-line so drawn-up that part of-the-marines with-mixed civilians
in collis mari propinquos exurgeret, quantum inter collis
on the-hills to-the-sea near should-rise whatever between the-hills
ac litus aequi loci praetorianus miles expleret, in ipso mari
and shore of-level ground the-praetorian soldiery should-fill in the-very sea
ut adnexa classis et pugnae parata conversa et minaci
that bound-to-it the-fleet and for-battle ready turned and with-threatening
fronte praetenderetur: Vitelliani, quibus minor peditum vis,
front should-be-stretched-before the-Vitellians to-whom smaller of-infantry the-force
in equite robur, Alpinos proximis iugis, cohortis densis
in the-cavalry the-strength the-Alpines on-the-nearest ridges the-cohorts in-close

ordinibus post equitem locant. Trevirorum turmae obtulere
ranks behind the-cavalry place the-Treviri's troops offered
se hosti incaute, cum exciperet contra
themselves to-the-enemy incautiously since there-received-them on-the-other-side
veteranus miles, simul a latere saxis urgeret apta ad
the-veteran soldiery at-the-same-time from the-flank with-stones pressed fit for
iaciendum etiam paganorum manus, qui sparsi inter milites,
throwing also of-civilians the-band who scattered among the-soldiers
strenui ignavique, in victoria idem audebant. additus perculsis
the-brave and-cowards in victory alike dared was-added to-the-routed
terror invecta in terga pugnantium classe: ita undique
terror with-carried-in against the-backs of-the-fighters the-fleet so on-all-sides
clausi, deletaeque omnes copiae forent ni victorem
shut-in and-destroyed all the-forces would-have-been had-not the-victorious
exercitum attinuisset obscurum noctis, obtentui fugientibus.
army held-back the-darkness of-night as-a-screen for-the-fleeing
Nec Vitelliani quamquam victi quievere: accitis auxiliis 15
nor the-Vitellians although beaten rested with-summoned auxiliaries
securum hostem ac successu rerum socordius agentem
the-unconcerned enemy and from-the-success of-things more-carelessly acting
invadunt. caesi vigiles, perrupta castra, trepidatum
they-attack were-cut-down the-watchmen was-burst-through the-camp there-was-panic
apud navis, donec sidente paulatim metu, occupato
among the-ships until with-subsiding gradually fear with-occupied
iuxta colle defensi, mox inrupere. atrox ibi caedes,
nearby a-hill defended-themselves soon burst-in fierce there slaughter
et Tungrarum cohortium praefecti sustentata diu acie
and of-the-Tungrian cohorts the-prefects with-sustained long the-line
telis obruuntur. ne Othonianis quidem incruenta victoria
by-missiles are-overwhelmed not to-the-Othonians even bloodless the-victory
fuit, quorum improvide secutos conversi equites
was of-whom rashly having-followed-on turned the-horsemen

circumvenerunt. ac velut pactis indutiis, ne hinc classis
surrounded and as-if with-agreed truce lest from-here the-fleet
inde eques subitam formidinem inferrent, Vitelliani
from-there the-cavalry sudden alarm should-bring the-Vitellians
retro Antipolim Narbonensis Galliae municipium, Othoniani
back to-Antipolis of-Narbonese Gaul a-township the-Othonians
Albingaunum interioris Liguriae revertere.
to-Albingaunum of-inner Liguria returned
16 Corsicam ac Sardiniam ceterasque proximi maris insulas fama
Corsica and Sardinia and-the-other of-the-nearest sea islands the-report
victricis classis in partibus Othonis tenuit. sed Corsicam
of-the-victorious fleet in the-side of-Otho held but Corsica
prope adflixit Decumi Pacarii procuratoris temeritas, tanta
almost ruined of-Decumus Pacarius the-procurator's rashness in-so-great
mole belli nihil in summam profutura, ipsi exitiosa. namque
a-mass of-war nothing to the-whole going-to-profit to-himself fatal for
Othonis odio iuvare Vitellium Corsorum viribus
of-Otho from-hatred to-help Vitellius of-the-Corsicans with-the-strength
statuit, inani auxilio etiam si provenisset. vocatis
he-decided with-useless help even if it-had-come-off with-summoned
principibus insulae consilium aperit, et contra dicere ausos,
the-chiefs of-the-island his-plan he-opens and against to-speak having-dared
Claudium Pyrrichum trierarchum Liburnicarum ibi navium,
Claudius Pyrrichus the-trierarch of-the-Liburnian there ships
Quintium Certum equitem Romanum, interfici iubet: quorum
Quintius Certus a-knight Roman to-be-killed he-orders whose
morte exterriti qui aderant, simul ignara et alieni
by-death terrified those-who were-present at-the-same-time ignorant and of-another's
metus socia imperitorum turba in verba Vitellii iuravere.
fear a-sharer of-the-inexperienced the-crowd into the-words of-Vitellius swore
sed ubi dilectum agere Pacarius et inconditos homines
but when a-levy to-hold Pacarius and untrained men

fatigare militiae muneribus occepit, laborem insolitum perosi
to-weary of-soldiering with-the-duties began the-labor unaccustomed hating
infirmitatem suam reputabant: insulam esse quam incolerent,
weakness their-own they-reflected an-island to-be which they-inhabited
et longe Germaniam virisque legionum; direptos vastatosque
and far-off Germany and-the-strength of-the-legions plundered and-laid-waste
classe etiam quos cohortes alaeque protegerent. et
by-the-fleet even those-whom cohorts and-squadrons protected and
aversi repente animi, nec tamen aperta vi: aptum tempus
turned-away suddenly their-minds nor yet with-open force a-fitting time
insidiis legere. digressis qui Pacarium frequentabant, nudus
for-ambush they-chose with-departed those-who Pacarius attended naked
et auxilii inops balineis interficitur; trucidati et comites.
and of-help destitute in-the-baths he-is-killed were-slaughtered also his-companions
capita ut hostium ipsi interfectores ad Othonem tulere;
the-heads as of-enemies themselves the-killers to Otho carried
neque eos aut Otho praemio adfecit aut puniit Vitellius,
nor them either Otho with-reward visited or punished Vitellius
in multa conluvie rerum maioribus flagitiis permixtos.
in the-great filth of-affairs with-greater crimes mingled

A cavalry squadron has opened Italy to Vitellius. Spurinna's mutinous praetorians force him out of Placentia, then return chastened to fortify it. Caecina arrives, his trousered dress and his wife Salonina offending the towns; his assault fails on the first day, the amphitheater burns, and on the second his Germans are beaten off. He withdraws to Cremona, and Otho puts his brother Titianus in command.

17 Aperuerat iam Italiam bellumque transmiserat, ut supra
had-opened already Italy and-the-war had-carried-across as above
memoravimus, ala Siliana, nullo apud quemquam Othonis
we-recounted the-squadron Silian with-no among anyone for-Otho
favore, nec quia Vitellium mallent, sed longa pax ad omne
favor nor because Vitellius they-preferred but long peace to every
servitium fregerat facilis occupantibus et melioribus
servitude had-broken-them easy for-the-seizers and about-the-better
incuriosos. florentissimum Italiae latus, quantum inter Padum
unconcerned the-most-flourishing of-Italy side as-much-as between the-Po
Alpisque camporum et urbium, armis Vitellii (namque et
and-the-Alps of-plains and of-cities by-the-arms of-Vitellius for both
praemissae a Caecina cohortes advenerant) tenebatur, capta
sent-ahead by Caecina cohorts had-arrived was-held was-captured
Pannoniorum cohors apud Cremonam; intercepti centum
of-Pannonians a-cohort near Cremona were-intercepted a-hundred
equites ac mille classici inter Placentiam Ticinumque.
horsemen and a-thousand marines between Placentia and-Ticinum
quo successu Vitellianus miles non iam flumine aut ripis
by-which success the-Vitellian soldiery no longer by-the-river or the-banks
arcebatur; inritabat quin etiam Batavos transrhenanosque
was-kept-off spurred indeed even the-Batavians and-trans-Rhenanes
Padus ipse, quem repente contra Placentiam transgressi raptis
the-Po itself which suddenly opposite Placentia having-crossed with-seized

quibusdam exploratoribus ita ceteros terruere ut adesse
certain scouts so the-rest terrified that to-be-present
omnem Caecinae exercitum trepidi ac falsi nuntiarent.
the-whole of-Caecina army alarmed and false they-reported
Certum erat Spurinnae (is enim Placentiam optinebat) 18
settled it-was for-Spurinna he for Placentia was-holding
necdum venisse Caecinam et, si propinquaret, coercere
not-yet to-have-come Caecina and if he-should-approach to-confine
intra munimenta militem nec tris praetorias cohortis et
within the-fortifications the-soldiery nor three praetorian cohorts and
mille vexillarios cum paucis equitibus veterano exercitui
a-thousand detachment-men with few horsemen to-a-veteran army
obicere: sed indomitus miles et belli ignarus correptis
to-oppose but untamed the-soldiery and of-war ignorant with-seized
signis vexillisque ruere et retinenti duci tela intentare,
standards and-banners rushed and at-the-restraining general weapons aimed
spretis centurionibus tribunisque: quin prodi Othonem
with-scorned centurions and-tribunes indeed that-was-betrayed Otho
et accitum Caecinam clamitabant. fit temeritatis alienae
and summoned Caecina they-kept-shouting becomes of-rashness another's
comes Spurinna, primo coactus, mox velle simulans,
the-companion Spurinna at-first compelled soon to-be-willing pretending
quo plus auctoritatis inesset consiliis si seditio mitesceret.
so-that more of-authority might-be-in his-counsels if the-mutiny should-soften
Postquam in conspectu Padus et nox adpetebat vallari 19
after in sight the-Po and night was-approaching to-be-palisaded
castra placuit. is labor urbano militi insolitus contundit
the-camp it-was-decided this labor to-the-city soldiery unaccustomed blunts
animos. tum vetustissimus quisque castigare credulitatem
their-spirits then the-oldest each chided credulity
suam, metum ac discrimen ostendere si cum exercitu
his-own the-fear and the-danger showed if with an-army

Caecina patentibus campis tam paucas cohortis circumfudisset.
Caecina in-open plains so few cohorts had-surrounded
iamque totis castris modesti sermones, et inserentibus
and-now in-the-whole camp modest talk and with-inserting
se centurionibus tribunisque laudari providentia ducis
themselves centurions and-tribunes was-praised the-foresight of-the-general
quod coloniam virium et opum validam robur ac sedem
because a-colony in-forces and wealth strong as-strength and seat
bello legisset. ipse postremo Spurinna, non tam culpam
for-the-war he-had-chosen himself at-last Spurinna not so-much the-fault
exprobrans quam rationem ostendens, relictis exploratoribus
reproaching as the-reason showing with-left scouts
ceteros Placentiam reduxit minus turbidos et imperia
the-rest to-Placentia led-back less turbulent and orders
accipientis. solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae
accepting were-strengthened the-walls battlements were-added were-increased
turres, provisa parataque non arma modo sed obsequium
towers were-provided and-prepared not arms only but obedience
et parendi amor, quod solum illis partibus defuit, cum
and of-obeying love which alone to-those parties was-lacking though
virtutis haud paeniteret.
of-courage not they-repented

20 At Caecina, velut relicta post Alpis saevitia ac licentia, modesto
but Caecina as-if with-left behind the-Alps savagery and license in-orderly
agmine per Italiam incessit. ornatum ipsius municipia
column through Italy advanced the-dress of-himself the-townships
et coloniae in superbiam trahebant, quod versicolori
and colonies into arrogance drew because in-a-many-colored
sagulo, bracas indutus togatos adloqueretur. uxorem quoque
cloak in-trousers clad toga-wearers he-addressed wife also
eius Saloninam, quamquam in nullius iniuriam insignis
his Salonina although to no-one's injury conspicuous

equo ostroque veheretur, tamquam laesi gravabantur,
on-a-horse and-in-purple she-rode as-if injured they-took-it-hard
insita mortalibus natura recentem aliorum felicitatem acribus
implanted in-mortals by-nature the-recent of-others prosperity with-keen
oculis introspicere modumque fortunae a nullis magis
eyes to-scrutinize and-a-measure in-fortune from none more
exigere quam quos in aequo viderunt. Caecina Padum
to-demand than those-whom on equal-terms they-have-seen Caecina the-Po
transgressus, temptata Othonianorum fide per conloquium
having-crossed with-tested of-the-Othonians the-loyalty through a-parley
et promissa, isdem petitus, postquam pax et concordia
and promises by-the-same assailed after peace and harmony
speciosis et inritis nominibus iactata sunt, consilia curasque
with-specious and empty names bandied were his-plans and-cares
in obpugnationem Placentiae magno terrore vertit, gnarus
to the-assault of-Placentia with-great terror he-turned knowing
ut initia belli provenissent famam in cetera fore.
how the-beginnings of-the-war had-turned-out the-fame for the-rest going-to-be
Sed primus dies impetu magis quam veterani exercitus artibus 21
but the-first day with-dash more than of-a-veteran army by-the-arts
transactus: aperti incautique muros subiere, cibo vinoque
was-spent exposed and-incautious the-walls they-approached with-food and-wine
praegraves. in eo certamine pulcherrimum amphitheatri opus,
heavy in that contest the-most-beautiful of-an-amphitheater work
situm extra muros, conflagravit, sive ab obpugnatoribus
situated outside the-walls burned-down whether by the-attackers
incensum, dum faces et glandis et missilem ignem in obsessos
set-afire while torches and bullets and missile fire at the-besieged
iaculantur, sive ab obsessis, dum regerunt. municipale vulgus,
they-hurl or by the-besieged while they-throw-back the-municipal crowd
pronum ad suspiciones, fraude inlata ignis alimenta credidit
prone to suspicions by-treachery brought-in of-the-fire the-fuel believed

a quibusdam ex vicinis coloniis invidia et aemulatione,
by certain from the-neighboring colonies from-envy and rivalry
quod nulla in Italia moles tam capax foret. quocumque casu
because no in Italy structure so capacious might-be by-whatever chance
accidit, dum atrociora metuebantur, in levi habitum, reddita
it-happened while worse-things were-feared as light was-held with-restored
securitate, tamquam nihil gravius pati potuissent, maerebant.
security as-if nothing graver to-suffer they-could-have they-grieved
ceterum multo suorum cruore pulsus Caecina, et nox
but with-much of-his-own-men's blood repulsed Caecina and the-night
parandis operibus absumpta. Vitelliani pluteos cratisque
with-preparing works was-used-up the-Vitellians screens and-hurdles
et vineas subfodiendis muris protegendisque obpugnatoribus,
and sheds for-undermining the-walls and-protecting the-attackers
Othoniani sudis et immensas lapidum ac plumbi aerisque
the-Othonians stakes and huge of-stones and of-lead and-bronze
molis perfringendis obruendisque hostibus expediunt. utrimque
masses for-breaking-through and-crushing the-enemies make-ready on-both-sides
pudor, utrimque gloria et diversae exhortationes hinc
shame on-both-sides glory and different exhortations from-here
legionum et Germanici exercitus robur, inde urbanae
of-the-legions and of-the-German army the-strength from-there of-the-city
militiae et praetoriarum cohortium decus attollentium; illi
soldiery and of-the-praetorian cohorts the-honor exalting those
ut segnem et desidem et circo ac theatris corruptum
as sluggish and idle and by-the-circus and theaters corrupted
militem, hi peregrinum et externum increpabant. simul
soldiery these as-foreign and alien reviled at-the-same-time
Othonem ac Vitellium celebrantes culpantesve uberioribus
Otho and Vitellius praising or-blaming by-richer
inter se probris quam laudibus stimulabantur.
among themselves insults than praises they-were-goaded

Vixdum orto die plena propugnatoribus moenia, fulgentes 22
scarcely with-risen day full of-defenders the-walls gleaming
armis virisque campi: densum legionum agmen, sparsa
with-arms and-men the-plains the-dense of-the-legions column the-scattered
auxiliorum manus altiora murorum sagittis aut saxis
of-the-auxiliaries band the-higher-parts of-the-walls with-arrows or stones
incessere, neglecta aut aevo fluxa comminus adgredi.
attacked the-neglected or with-age crumbling at-close-quarters assailed
ingerunt desuper Othoniani pila librato magis et certo
hurl-down from-above the-Othonians javelins with-poised more and sure
ictu adversus temere subeuntis cohortis Germanorum, cantu
stroke against rashly approaching cohorts of-Germans with-chant
truci et more patrio nudis corporibus super umeros
savage and in-fashion ancestral with-naked bodies over the-shoulders
scuta quatientium. legionarius pluteis et cratibus tectus
shields shaking the-legionary with-screens and hurdles covered
subruit muros, instruit aggerem, molitur portas: contra
undermines the-walls builds a-mound works-at the-gates opposite
praetoriani dispositos ad id ipsum molaris ingenti pondere
the-praetorians placed for that very-purpose millstones of-huge weight
ac fragore provolvunt. pars subeuntium obruti, pars confixi
and crash roll-forward part of-the-approachers crushed part pierced
et exangues aut laceri: cum augeret stragem trepidatio
and bloodless or mangled since increased the-slaughter panic
eoque acrius e moenibus vulnerarentur, rediere
and-thereby more-fiercely from the-walls they-were-wounded they-withdrew
infracta partium fama. et Caecina pudore coeptae temere
with-broken of-the-party the-fame and Caecina from-shame of-the-begun rashly
obpugnationis, ne inrisus ac vanus isdem castris adsideret,
assault lest mocked and empty in-the-same camp he-should-sit
traiecto rursus Pado Cremonam petere intendit. tradidere
with-crossed again the-Po Cremona to-seek he-intended gave-up

sese abeunti Turullius Cerialis cum compluribus classicis
themselves to-the-departing Turullius Cerialis with very-many marines
et Iulius Briganticus cum paucis equitum, hic praefectus
and Julius Briganticus with few of-horsemen this-one prefect
alae in Batavis genitus, ille primipilaris et
of-a-squadron among the-Batavians born that-one a-chief-centurion and
Caecinae haud alienus, quod ordines in Germania duxerat.
to-Caecina not a-stranger because companies in Germany he-had-led
23 Spurinna comperto itinere hostium defensam Placentiam,
Spurinna with-learned the-route of-the-enemy defended Placentia
quaeque acta et quid Caecina pararet, Annium Gallum
and-what-things done and what Caecina was-preparing Annius Gallus
per litteras docet. Gallus legionem primam in auxilium
through letters informs Gallus the-legion first to the-help
Placentiae ducebat, diffisus paucitati cohortium, ne longius
of-Placentia was-leading distrusting the-fewness of-the-cohorts lest a-longer
obsidium et vim Germanici exercitus parum tolerarent. ubi
siege and the-force of-the-German army too-little they-should-bear when
pulsum Caecinam pergere Cremonam accepit, aegre
repulsed Caecina to-be-proceeding to-Cremona he-learned with-difficulty
coercitam legionem et pugnandi ardore usque ad seditionem
restrained the-legion and of-fighting from-ardor right to mutiny
progressam Bedriaci sistit. inter Veronam Cremonamque
advanced at-Bedriacum he-halts between Verona and-Cremona
situs est vicus, duabus iam Romanis cladibus notus
situated is the-village by-two already Roman disasters known
infaustusque. Isdem diebus a Martio Macro haud procul
and-ill-omened in-the-same days by Martius Macer not far
Cremona prospere pugnatum; namque promptus animi
from-Cremona successfully was-fought for ready of-spirit
Martius transvectos navibus gladiatores in adversam Padi
Martius carried-across in-boats the-gladiators onto the-opposite of-the-Po

ripam repente effudit. turbata ibi Vitellianorum
bank suddenly poured-out were-thrown-into-confusion there of-the-Vitellians
auxilia, et ceteris Cremonam fugientibus caesi qui
the-auxiliaries and with-the-rest to-Cremona fleeing were-cut-down those-who
restiterant: sed repressus vincentium impetus ne novis subsidiis
had-stood-firm but was-checked of-the-winners the-charge lest by-new reserves
firmati hostes fortunam proelii mutarent. suspectum id
strengthened the-enemy the-fortune of-the-battle should-change suspicious that
Othonianis fuit, omnia ducum facta prave aestimantibus.
to-the-Othonians was all of-the-generals deeds wrongly judging
certatim, ut quisque animo ignavus, procax ore, Annium
in-rivalry as each in-spirit cowardly impudent in-mouth Annius
Gallum et Suetonium Paulinum et Marium Celsum —
Gallus and Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus
nam eos quoque Otho praefecerat — variis criminibus
for them also Otho had-put-in-command with-various charges
incessebant. acerrima seditionum ac discordiae incitamenta,
they-assailed the-fiercest of-mutinies and of-discord incitements
interfectores Galbae scelere et metu vaecordes miscere
the-killers of-Galba by-crime and fear frenzied threw-into-confusion
cuncta, modo palam turbidis vocibus, modo occultis ad
everything now openly with-turbulent voices now by-secret to
Othonem litteris; qui humillimo cuique credulus, bonos
Otho letters who to-the-humblest each credulous the-good
metuens trepidabat, rebus prosperis incertus et inter adversa
fearing trembled in-affairs prosperous unsteady and amid adversity
melior. igitur Titianum fratrem accitum bello praeposuit.
better therefore Titianus his-brother summoned to-the-war he-put-in-charge

XXII · THE CASTORS

Caecina sets an ambush at the place called the Castors, but Celsus and Paulinus learn of it and turn it against him; Paulinus's slowness lets the beaten Vitellians escape, and he is blamed. In Valens's army the arrogant Batavian cohorts are already a trouble, and when Valens sends some of them to Narbonese Gaul the legions mutiny; Valens hides in a slave's dress until his camp prefect Alfenus Varus's stratagem brings the soldiers to tears, and they carry him to the tribunal. His army, angry at the delay, joins Caecina, and the two generals' rivalry grows.

24 Interea Paulini et Celsi ductu res egregie gestae.
meanwhile of-Paulinus and of-Celsus under-the-leadership things outstandingly done
angebant Caecinam nequiquam omnia coepta et senescens
distressed Caecina in-vain all-things begun and declining
exercitus sui fama. pulsus Placentia, caesis nuper auxiliis,
of-army his the-fame repulsed from-Placentia with-cut-down lately auxiliaries
etiam per concursum exploratorum, crebra magis quam
even through the-clash of-scouts frequent more than
digna memoratu proelia, inferior, propinquante Fabio Valente,
worthy of-mention battles worsted with-approaching Fabius Valens
ne omne belli decus illuc concederet, reciperare gloriam
lest all of-the-war the-honor thither should-pass to-recover glory
avidius quam consultius properabat. ad duodecimum a
more-eagerly than more-prudently he-hastened at the-twelfth-milestone from
Cremona (locus Castorum vocatur) ferocissimos auxiliarium
Cremona the-place of-the-Castors is-called the-fiercest of-the-auxiliaries
imminentibus viae lucis occultos componit: equites
in-overhanging the-road groves hidden he-places the-horsemen
procedere longius iussi et inritato proelio sponte refugi
to-advance farther ordered and with-provoked battle of-accord fleeing-back
festinationem sequentium elicere, donec insidiae coorerentur.
the-haste of-the-pursuers to-draw-out until the-ambush should-rise-up

proditum id Othonianis ducibus, et curam peditum
betrayed that-was to-the-Othonian generals and the-charge of-the-infantry
Paulinus, equitum Celsus sumpsere. tertiae decimae legionis
Paulinus of-the-cavalry Celsus took of-the-third tenth legion
vexillum, quattuor auxiliorum cohortes et quingenti equites
the-detachment four of-auxiliaries cohorts and five-hundred horsemen
in sinistro locantur; aggerem viae tres praetoriae cohortes
on the-left are-placed the-embankment of-the-road three praetorian cohorts
altis ordinibus obtinuere; dextra fronte prima legio incessit
in-deep ranks held on-the-right front the-first legion advanced
cum duabus auxiliaribus cohortibus et quingentis equitibus:
with two auxiliary cohorts and five-hundred horsemen
super hos ex praetorio auxiliisque mille equites,
besides these from the-praetorian-guard and-auxiliaries a-thousand horsemen
cumulus prosperis aut subsidium laborantibus, ducebantur.
as-a-crowning to-success or a-support to-the-hard-pressed were-led
Antequam miscerentur acies, terga vertentibus Vitellianis, Celsus 25
before were-joined the-lines backs with-turning the-Vitellians Celsus
doli prudens repressit suos: Vitelliani temere exurgentes
of-the-trick aware held-back his-men the-Vitellians rashly rising
cedente sensim Celso longius secuti ultro in insidias
with-yielding gradually Celsus farther having-followed of-themselves into the-ambush
praecipitantur; nam a lateribus cohortes, legionum adversa
are-hurled for from the-flanks the-cohorts of-the-legions the-opposite
frons, et subito discursu terga cinxerant equites. signum
front and with-sudden dash the-rear had-surrounded the-horsemen the-signal
pugnae non statim a Suetonio Paulino pediti datum:
of-battle not at-once by Suetonius Paulinus to-the-infantry given
cunctator natura et cui cauta potius consilia cum ratione
a-delayer by-nature and to-whom cautious rather plans with reason
quam prospera ex casu placerent, compleri fossas, aperiri
than prosperous from chance pleased to-be-filled the-ditches to-be-opened

campum, pandi aciem iubebat, satis cito incipi victoriam
the-plain to-be-deployed the-line he-ordered quite quickly to-be-begun victory
ratus ubi provisum foret ne vincerentur. ea cunctatione
thinking when provided it-should-be that-not they-be-beaten by-that delay
spatium Vitellianis datum in vineas nexu traducum
room for-the-Vitellians was-given into vineyards by-the-intertwining of-the-vine-branches
impeditas refugiendi; et modica silva adhaerebat, unde rursus
entangled of-fleeing-back and a-moderate wood adjoined whence again
ausi promptissimos praetorianorum equitum interfecere.
having-dared the-readiest of-the-praetorian horsemen they-killed
vulneratur rex Epiphanes, impigre pro Othone pugnam ciens.
is-wounded king Epiphanes energetically for Otho the-fight rousing
26 Tum Othonianus pedes erupit; protrita hostium acie
then the-Othonian infantry burst-forth with-trampled of-the-enemy the-line
versi in fugam etiam qui subveniebant; nam Caecina
were-turned into flight even those-who were-coming-to-help for Caecina
non simul cohortis sed singulas acciverat, quae res in
not together the-cohorts but one-by-one had-summoned which thing in
proelio trepidationem auxit, cum dispersos nec usquam
the-battle panic increased since the-scattered nor anywhere
validos pavor fugientium abriperet. orta et in castris seditio
strong the-fright of-the-fleeing swept-away arose also in the-camp a-mutiny
quod non universi ducerentur: vinctus praefectus castrorum
because not all-together they-were-led was-bound the-prefect of-the-camp
Iulius Gratus, tamquam fratri apud Othonem militanti
Julius Gratus as-if for-his-brother with Otho serving
proditionem ageret, cum fratrem eius, Iulium Frontonem
treachery he-were-practicing since the-brother his Julius Fronto
tribunum, Othoniani sub eodem crimine vinxissent. ceterum
a-tribune the-Othonians under the-same charge had-bound but
ea ubique formido fuit apud fugientis occursantis, in acie
that everywhere the-dread was among the-fleeing the-meeting in the-line

pro vallo, ut deleri cum universo exercitu Caecinam
before the-rampart that to-be-destroyed with the-whole army Caecina
potuisse, ni Suetonius Paulinus receptui cecinisset,
to-have-been-able had-not Suetonius Paulinus for-retreat sounded
utrisque in partibus percrebruerit. timuisse se Paulinus
both on sides spread-abroad to-have-feared himself Paulinus
ferebat tantum insuper laboris atque itineris, ne Vitellianus
asserted so-much besides of-labor and of-march lest the-Vitellian
miles recens e castris fessos adgrederetur et perculsis
soldiery fresh from the-camp the-weary should-attack and for-the-routed
nullum retro subsidium foret. apud paucos ea ducis
no behind support should-be among the-few that of-the-general
ratio probata, in vulgus adverso rumore fuit.
reasoning approved among the-crowd with-hostile rumor it-was
Haud proinde id damnum Vitellianos in metum compulit 27
not so-much that loss the-Vitellians into fear drove
quam ad modestiam composuit: nec solum apud Caecinam, qui
as to restraint settled nor only among Caecina who
culpam in militem conferebat seditioni magis quam proelio
the-blame upon the-soldiery put for-mutiny more than for-battle
paratum: Fabii quoque Valentis copiae (iam enim Ticinum
ready of-Fabius also Valens the-forces now for Ticinum
venerat) posito hostium contemptu et reciperandi decoris
he-had-come with-laid-aside of-the-enemy contempt and of-recovering honor
cupidine reverentius et aequalius duci parebant. gravis
from-desire more-respectfully and more-evenly the-general obeyed serious
alioquin seditio exarserat, quam altiore initio (neque enim
otherwise a-mutiny had-blazed-up which from-a-deeper beginning nor for
rerum a Caecina gestarum ordinem interrumpi oportuerat)
of-the-things by Caecina done the-order to-be-interrupted was-it-right
repetam. cohortes Batavorum, quas bello Neronis a quarta
I-shall-take-up the-cohorts of-the-Batavians which in-the-war of-Nero from the-fourth

decima legione digressas, cum Britanniam peterent,
tenth legion separated when Britain they-were-making-for
audito Vitellii motu in civitate Lingonum Fabio Valenti
with-heard of-Vitellius the-movement in the-state of-the-Lingones to-Fabius Valens
adiunctas rettulimus, superbe agebant, ut cuiusque legionis
joined we-reported arrogantly behaved as of-each legion
tentoria accessissent, coercitos a se quartadecimanos,
the-tents they-approached restrained by themselves the-fourteenth-men
ablatam Neroni Italiam atque omnem belli fortunam in
taken-from Nero Italy and all of-the-war the-fortune in
ipsorum manu sitam iactantes. contumeliosum id militibus,
their-own hand placed boasting insulting that to-the-soldiers
acerbum duci; corrupta iurgiis aut rixis disciplina; ad
bitter to-the-general corrupted by-quarrels or brawls discipline at
postremum Valens e petulantia etiam perfidiam suspectabat.
last Valens from insolence even treachery suspected
28 Igitur nuntio adlato pulsam Trevirorum alam Tungrosque
therefore with-news brought repulsed of-the-Treviri the-squadron and-the-Tungrians
a classe Othonis et Narbonensem Galliam circumiri,
by the-fleet of-Otho and Narbonese Gaul to-be-surrounded
simul cura socios tuendi et militari astu cohortis
at-the-same-time from-concern the-allies of-protecting and by-military craft the-cohorts
turbidas ac, si una forent, praevalidas dispergendi, partem
turbulent and if together they-were very-powerful of-dispersing part
Batavorum ire in subsidium iubet. quod ubi auditum
of-the-Batavians to-go to the-help he-orders which when was-heard
vulgatumque, maerere socii, fremere legiones. orbari se
and-spread-abroad grieved the-allies growled the-legions to-be-bereft they
fortissimorum virorum auxilio; veteres illos et tot bellorum
of-the-bravest men of-the-help old those and of-so-many wars
victores, postquam in conspectu sit hostis, velut ex acie
the-victors after in sight is the-enemy as-if from the-battle-line

abduci. si provincia urbe et salute imperii potior
to-be-led-away if the-province than-the-city and the-safety of-the-empire more-important
sit, omnes illuc sequerentur; sin victoriae columen in Italia
be all thither they-should-follow but-if of-victory the-summit in Italy
verteretur, non abrumpendos ut corpori validissimos artus.
turned not to-be-broken-off as from-a-body the-strongest limbs
Haec ferociter iactando, postquam immissis lictoribus 29
these-things fiercely by-bandying after with-sent-in lictors
Valens coercere seditionem coeptabat, ipsum invadunt,
Valens to-check the-mutiny began him-himself they-attack
saxa iaciunt, fugientem sequuntur. spolia Galliarum et
stones they-throw the-fleeing they-pursue the-spoils of-the-Gauls and
Viennensium aurum, pretia laborum suorum, occultare
of-the-Viennese the-gold the-prices of-labors their-own to-be-hiding
clamitantes, direptis sarcinis tabernacula ducis ipsamque
shouting with-plundered baggage the-tents of-the-general and-the-very
humum pilis et lanceis rimabantur; nam Valens servili
ground with-javelins and lances they-were-searching for Valens in-a-slave's
veste apud decurionem equitum tegebatur. tum Alfenus Varus
dress with a-decurion of-horsemen was-hiding then Alfenus Varus
praefectus castrorum, deflagrante paulatim seditione, addit
the-prefect of-the-camp with-burning-out gradually the-mutiny adds
consilium, vetitis obire vigilias centurionibus, omisso
a-plan with-forbidden to-go-round the-watches centurions with-omitted
tubae sono, quo miles ad belli munia cietur.
of-the-trumpet the-sound by-which the-soldiery to of-war the-duties is-roused
igitur torpere cuncti, circumspectare inter se attoniti
therefore were-numb all looked-around among themselves stunned
et id ipsum quod nemo regeret paventes; silentio,
and that very-thing that no-one directed-them fearing by-silence
patientia, postremo precibus ac lacrimis veniam quaerebant.
by-submission at-last with-prayers and tears pardon they-sought

ut vero deformis et flens et praeter spem incolumis
when indeed disfigured and weeping and beyond hope unharmed
Valens processit, gaudium miseratio favor: versi in laetitiam,
Valens came-forth joy pity favor turned into gladness
ut est vulgus utroque immodicum, laudantes gratantesque
as is a-crowd either-way immoderate praising and-congratulating
circumdatum aquilis signisque in tribunal ferunt. ille
surrounded with-eagles and-standards onto the-tribunal they-carry he
utili moderatione non supplicium cuiusquam poposcit, ac
with-useful moderation not the-punishment of-anyone demanded and
ne dissimulans suspectior foret, paucos incusavit, gnarus
lest dissembling more-suspected he-should-be a-few he-accused knowing
civilibus bellis plus militibus quam ducibus licere.
in-civil wars more to-the-soldiers than to-the-generals to-be-allowed
30 Munientibus castra apud Ticinum de adversa Caecinae
to-the-fortifying the-camp at Ticinum about the-adverse of-Caecina
pugna adlatum, et prope renovata seditio tamquam fraude
battle was-reported and almost was-renewed the-mutiny as-if by-the-trickery
et cunctationibus Valentis proelio defuissent: nolle
and delays of-Valens from-the-battle they-had-been-absent they-refuse
requiem, non expectare ducem, anteire signa, urgere
rest not they-await the-general they-go-before the-standards they-urge-on
signiferos; rapido agmine Caecinae iunguntur. improspera
the-standard-bearers in-swift column with-Caecina they-join unfavorable
Valentis fama apud exercitum Caecinae erat: expositos
of-Valens the-reputation among the-army of-Caecina was exposed
se tanto pauciores integris hostium viribus querebantur,
themselves so-much fewer to-the-intact of-the-enemy forces they-complained
simul in suam excusationem et adventantium robur
at-the-same-time in their excuse and of-the-arrivers the-strength
per adulationem attollentes, ne ut victi et ignavi
through flattery exalting lest as beaten and cowardly

despectarentur. et quamquam plus virium, prope duplicatus
they-should-be-despised and although more of-strength almost doubled
legionum auxiliorumque numerus erat Valenti, studia tamen
of-legions and-auxiliaries the-number was for-Valens the-zeal yet
militum in Caecinam inclinabant, super benignitatem
of-the-soldiers toward Caecina inclined besides the-kindness
animi, qua promptior habebatur, etiam vigore aetatis,
of-mind in-which more-forthcoming he-was-held also by-the-vigor of-age
proceritate corporis et quodam inani favore. hinc aemulatio
by-the-tallness of-body and by-a-certain empty favor hence rivalry
ducibus: Caecina ut foedum ac maculosum, ille ut tumidum
for-the-generals Caecina as foul and stained he as swollen
ac vanum inridebant. sed condito odio eandem utilitatem
and vain mocked but with-hidden hatred the-same advantage
fovere, crebris epistulis sine respectu veniae probra
they-fostered in-frequent letters without regard for-pardon disgraces
Othoni obiectantes, cum duces partium Othonis quamvis
at-Otho casting while the-generals of-the-party of-Otho although
uberrima conviciorum in Vitellium materia abstinerent.
most-abundant of-abuse against Vitellius the-material refrained

Otho was feared more for his lusts, Vitellius despised for his gluttony. In Otho's council Paulinus argues for delay, since Vitellius has little behind him and Otho's forces are growing; Celsus and Gallus agree, but Titianus and Proculus urge battle, and Otho withdraws to Brixellum with a strong guard, weakening his army. Caecina and Valens bridge the Po; Macer's gladiators lose a fight on an island, and Macer is replaced by Flavius Sabinus.

31 Sane ante utriusque exitum, quo egregiam Otho famam,
certainly before of-each the-end by-which a-splendid Otho reputation
Vitellius flagitiosissimam meruere, minus Vitellii ignavae
Vitellius a-most-disgraceful earned less of-Vitellius the-slothful
voluptates quam Othonis flagrantissimae libidines timebantur:
pleasures than of-Otho the-most-burning lusts were-feared
addiderat huic terrorem atque odium caedes Galbae,
had-added to-this-one terror and hatred the-murder of-Galba
contra illi initium belli nemo imputabat.
on-the-other-hand to-that-one the-beginning of-the-war no-one charged
Vitellius ventre et gula sibi inhonestus, Otho luxu
Vitellius by-belly and gullet to-himself disgraceful Otho by-luxury
saevitia audacia rei publicae exitiosior ducebatur.
savagery daring to-the-thing public more-ruinous was-reckoned
Coniunctis Caecinae ac Valentis copiis nulla ultra penes
with-joined of-Caecina and of-Valens the-forces no further with
Vitellianos mora quin totis viribus certarent: Otho
the-Vitellians delay but-that with-all strength they-should-contend Otho
consultavit trahi bellum an fortunam experiri placeret.
deliberated to-be-drawn-out the-war or fortune to-try whether-it-pleased

32 Tunc Suetonius Paulinus dignum fama sua ratus, qua
then Suetonius Paulinus worthy of-reputation his-own thinking in-which
nemo illa tempestate militaris rei callidior habebatur, de
no-one in-that time of-military affairs more-skilled was-held about

toto genere belli censere, festinationem hostibus,
the-whole kind of-the-war to-give-his-opinion haste to-the-enemy
moram ipsis utilem disseruit: exercitum Vitellii universum
delay to-themselves useful he-argued the-army of-Vitellius entire
advenisse, nec multum virium a tergo, quoniam Galliae
to-have-arrived nor much of-strength at the-rear since the-Gauls
tumeant et deserere Rheni ripam inrupturis tam
are-swelling and to-desert of-the-Rhine the-bank with-going-to-burst-in such
infestis nationibus non conducat; Britannicum militem hoste
hostile nations not it-is-expedient the-British soldiery by-enemy
et mari distineri: Hispanias armis non ita redundare;
and sea to-be-kept-apart the-Spains in-arms not so to-overflow
provinciam Narbonensem incursu classis et adverso proelio
the-province Narbonese by-the-incursion of-the-fleet and by-adverse battle
contremuisse; clausam Alpibus et nullo maris subsidio
to-have-trembled shut-in by-the-Alps and with-no of-the-sea help
transpadanam Italiam atque ipso transitu exercitus vastam;
Transpadane Italy and by-the-very passage of-the-army laid-waste
non frumentum usquam exercitui, nec exercitum sine copiis
not grain anywhere for-the-army nor an-army without supplies
retineri posse: iam Germanos, quod genus militum apud
to-be-kept to-be-able now the-Germans which kind of-soldiers among
hostis atrocissimum sit, tracto in aestatem bello, fluxis
the-enemy most-ferocious is with-drawn into summer the-war with-flabby
corporibus, mutationem soli caelique haud toleraturos.
bodies the-change of-soil and-of-climate not going-to-endure
multa bella impetu valida per taedia et moras evanuisse.
many wars by-onset strong through wearinesses and delays to-have-vanished
contra ipsis omnia opulenta et fida, Pannoniam
on-the-other-hand for-themselves all-things wealthy and loyal Pannonia
Moesiam Dalmatiam Orientem cum integris exercitibus, Italiam
Moesia Dalmatia the-East with intact armies Italy

et caput rerum urbem senatumque et populum, numquam
and the-head of-things the-city and-the-senate and the-people never
obscura nomina, etiam si aliquando obumbrentur; publicas
obscure names even if at-times they-be-overshadowed public
privatasque opes et immensam pecuniam, inter civilis
and-private resources and immense money among civil
discordias ferro validiorem; corpora militum aut Italiae
discords than-the-sword stronger the-bodies of-the-soldiers either to-Italy
sueta aut aestibus; obiacere flumen Padum, tutas
accustomed or to-beats to-lie-across-their-path the-river Po safe
viris murisque urbis, e quibus nullam hosti cessuram
in-men and-walls the-cities of which none to-the-enemy going-to-yield
Placentiae defensione exploratum: proinde duceret bellum.
by-Placentia's defense proved therefore he-should-draw-out the-war
paucis diebus quartam decimam legionem, magna ipsam fama,
a-few days the-fourth tenth legion of-great itself fame
cum Moesicis copiis adfore: tum rursus deliberaturum
with the-Moesian forces to-be-going-to-be-present then again going-to-deliberate
et, si proelium placuisset, auctis viribus certaturos.
and if battle had-pleased with-increased strength going-to-contend
33 Accedebat sententiae Paulini Marius Celsus; idem placere
joined-himself to-the-opinion of-Paulinus Marius Celsus the-same to-be-pleasing
Annio Gallo, paucos ante dies lapsu equi adflicto,
to-Annius Gallus a-few before days by-the-fall of-his-horse injured
missi qui consilium eius sciscitarentur rettulerant. Otho
those-sent who the-plan his were-to-inquire had-reported Otho
pronus ad decertandum; frater eius Titianus et praefectus
inclined toward fighting-it-out brother his Titianus and the-prefect
praetorii Proculus, imperitia properantes, fortunam et
of-the-praetorian-guard Proculus from-inexperience hurrying fortune and
deos et numen Othonis adesse consiliis, adfore
the-gods and the-divinity of-Otho to-be-present at-the-counsels to-be-going-to-be-present

conatibus testabantur, neu quis obviam ire sententiae
at-the-attempts asserted and-lest anyone to-meet to-go the-opinion
auderet, in adulationem concesserant. postquam pugnari
should-dare into flattery they-had-yielded after to-be-fought
placitum, interesse pugnae imperatorem an seponi melius
it-was-decided to-be-present at-the-battle the-emperor or to-be-set-aside better
foret dubitavere. Paulino et Celso iam non adversantibus,
would-be they-doubted with-Paulinus and Celsus now not opposing
ne principem obiectare periculis viderentur idem illi
lest the-emperor to-expose to-dangers they-should-seem the-same those
deterioris consilii auctores perpulere ut Brixellum concederet
of-the-worse plan the-authors drove-him that to-Brixellum he-should-withdraw
ac dubiis proeliorum exemptus summae rerum et
and from-the-hazards of-battles exempted for-the-sum of-affairs and
imperii se ipsum reservaret. is primus dies Othonianas
of-the-empire himself himself he-should-reserve that the-first day the-Othonian
partis adflixit; namque et cum ipso praetoriarum cohortium
party damaged for both with himself of-the-praetorian cohorts
et speculatorum equitumque valida manus discessit, et
and of-the-scouts and-of-the-horsemen a-strong band departed and
remanentium fractus animus, quando suspecti duces et
of-those-remaining broken the-spirit since suspected the-generals and
Otho, cui uni apud militem fides, dum et ipse non nisi
Otho in-whom alone among the-soldiery trust while and himself not except
militibus credit, imperia ducum in incerto reliquerat.
the-soldiers trusts the-commands of-the-generals in doubt had-left
Nihil eorum Vitellianos fallebat, crebris, ut in civili bello, 34
nothing of-these the-Vitellians escaped with-frequent as in civil war
transfugiis; et exploratores cura diversa sciscitandi sua
desertions and the-scouts with-care diverse of-inquiring their-own
non occultabant. quieti intentique Caecina ac Valens, quando
not concealed quiet and-intent Caecina and Valens when

hostis imprudentia rueret, quod loco sapientiae est,
the-enemy by-imprudence should-rush which in-place of-wisdom is
alienam stultitiam opperiebantur, inchoato ponte transitum
another's folly they-awaited with-begun bridge the-crossing
Padi simulantes adversus obpositam gladiatorum manum,
of-the-Po feigning against the-opposed of-gladiators band
ac ne ipsorum miles segne otium tereret. naves pari
and lest their-own soldiery sluggish leisure should-wear-away ships at-equal
inter se spatio, validis utrimque trabibus conexae,
among themselves distance with-strong on-both-sides beams joined
adversum in flumen dirigebantur, iactis super ancoris
against into the-river were-directed with-thrown on-top anchors
quae firmitatem pontis continerent, sed ancorarum funes
which the-firmness of-the-bridge should-hold but of-the-anchors the-cables
non extenti fluitabant, ut augescente flumine inoffensus
not stretched floated so-that with-swelling the-river unbroken
ordo navium attolleretur. claudebat pontem imposita turris
the-line of-ships should-be-raised closed the-bridge set-on a-tower
et in extremam navem educta, unde tormentis ac machinis
and onto the-last ship brought-out whence by-engines and machines
hostes propulsarentur. Othoniani in ripa turrim struxerant
the-enemy might-be-driven-off the-Othonians on the-bank a-tower had-built
saxaque et faces iaculabantur.
and-stones and torches they-hurled

35 Et erat insula amne medio, in quam gladiatores navibus
and there-was an-island in-the-river middle into which the-gladiators in-boats
molientes, Germani nando praelabebantur. ac forte
toiling the-Germans by-swimming glided-ahead and by-chance
pluris transgressos completis Liburnicis per promptissimos
more having-crossed with-filled Liburnians through the-readiest
gladiatorum Macer adgreditur: sed neque ea constantia
of-the-gladiators Macer attacks but neither that steadiness

gladiatoribus ad proelia quae militibus, nec proinde nutantes
in-the-gladiators for battles which in-the-soldiers nor so-well tottering
e navibus quam stabili gradu e ripa vulnera derigebant.
from the-boats as with-steady step from the-bank wounds they-aimed
et cum variis trepidantium inclinationibus mixti remiges
and since by-the-various of-the-panicking lurchings mixed rowers
propugnatoresque turbarentur, desilire in vada
and-fighters were-thrown-into-confusion leaped into the-shallows
ultro Germani, retentare puppis, scandere foros aut
of-themselves the-Germans held-back the-sterns climbed the-gangways or
comminus mergere: quae cuncta in oculis utriusque exercitus
at-close-quarters sank-them which all-things in the-eyes of-each army
quanto laetiora Vitellianis, tanto acrius Othoniani
by-how-much more-joyful to-the-Vitellians by-so-much more-fiercely the-Othonians
causam auctoremque cladis detestabantur.
the-cause and-author of-the-disaster cursed
Et proelium quidem, abruptis quae supererant navibus, 36
and the-battle indeed with-torn-away which survived ships
fuga diremptum: Macer ad exitium poscebatur, iamque
by-flight broken-off Macer for death was-demanded and-now
vulneratum eminus lancea strictis gladiis invaserant,
wounded from-afar by-a-lance with-drawn swords they-had-attacked-him
cum intercursu tribunorum centurionumque protegitur.
when by-the-intervention of-the-tribunes and-centurions he-is-protected
nec multo post Vestricius Spurinna iussu Othonis, relicto
nor much later Vestricius Spurinna by-the-order of-Otho with-left
Placentiae modico praesidio, cum cohortibus subvenit. dein
at-Placentia a-moderate garrison with the-cohorts came-to-help then
Flavium Sabinum consulem designatum Otho rectorem
Flavius Sabinus consul designate Otho as-director
copiis misit, quibus Macer praefuerat, laeto milite
to-the-forces sent which Macer had-commanded with-glad soldiery

ad mutationem ducum et ducibus ob crebras
at the-change of-generals and with-the-generals on-account-of frequent
seditiones tam infestam militiam aspernantibus.
mutinies so hostile a-service spurning

XXIV · THE LUST FOR POWER

Some write that the armies thought of laying down their arms and letting the senate choose. Tacitus doubts it: Paulinus, prudent as he was, could not have hoped for such restraint in the crowd, nor such armies for agreement. The ancient lust for power grew with the empire, breaking out in Marius, Sulla, and Pompey, and the same divine anger drove Otho's and Vitellius's men. Otho's generals move their camp from Bedriacum; Otho's letters demand haste, and his army marches toward the confluence of the Po and the Arda.

37 Invenio apud quosdam auctores pavore belli seu fastidio
I-find among certain authors from-fear of-the-war or from-disgust
utriusque principis, quorum flagitia ac dedecus apertiore
of-each emperor whose crimes and disgrace by-more-open
in dies fama noscebantur, dubitasse exercitus num
day-by day report were-known to-have-hesitated the-armies whether
posito certamine vel ipsi in medium consultarent,
with-laid-aside the-contest either themselves in common should-deliberate
vel senatui permitterent legere imperatorem, atque eo
or to-the-senate should-allow to-choose the-emperor and for-that
duces Othonianos spatium ac moras suasisse, praecipua
the-generals Othonian time and delays to-have-urged with-special
spe Paulini, quod vetustissimus consularium et militia
hope of-Paulinus because the-oldest of-the-consulars and in-soldiering
clarus gloriam nomenque Britannicis expeditionibus meruisset.
famous glory and-a-name in-the-British expeditions he-had-earned

ego ut concesserim apud paucos tacito voto quietem
I though I-should-grant among a-few by-silent wish quiet
pro discordia, bonum et innocentem principem pro
instead-of discord a-good and innocent emperor instead-of
pessimis ac flagitiosissimis expetitum, ita neque Paulinum,
the-worst and most-disgraceful to-have-been-desired so neither Paulinus
qua prudentia fuit, sperasse corruptissimo saeculo tantam
of-what prudence he-was to-have-hoped in-a-most-corrupt age such
vulgi moderationem reor ut qui pacem belli amore
of-the-crowd moderation I-think that those-who peace of-war from-love
turbaverant, bellum pacis caritate deponerent, neque aut
had-disturbed war from-peace's affection should-lay-down nor either
exercitus linguis moribusque dissonos in hunc consensum
armies in-tongues and-customs discordant into this agreement
potuisse coalescere, aut legatos ac duces magna ex parte
to-have-been-able to-grow-together or legates and generals great in part
luxus egestatis scelerum sibi conscios nisi pollutum
of-luxury of-poverty of-crimes to-themselves conscious unless a-polluted
obstrictumque meritis suis principem passuros.
and-bound by-services their-own emperor going-to-suffer
Vetus ac iam pridem insita mortalibus potentiae cupido 38
old and now long-since implanted in-mortals of-power the-desire
cum imperii magnitudine adolevit erupitque; nam rebus
with of-the-empire the-greatness grew-up and-burst-forth for in-affairs
modicis aequalitas facile habebatur. sed ubi subacto orbe
moderate equality easily was-maintained but when with-subdued the-world
et aemulis urbibus regibusve excisis securas opes concupiscere
and with-rival cities or-kings destroyed secure wealth to-covet
vacuum fuit, prima inter patres plebemque certamina
free it-was the-first between the-fathers and-the-plebs contests
exarsere. modo turbulenti tribuni, modo consules praevalidi,
blazed-up now turbulent tribunes now consuls overpowerful

et in urbe ac foro temptamenta civilium bellorum; mox e
and in the-city and forum the-trials of-civil wars soon from
plebe infima C. Marius et nobilium saevissimus L. Sulla
the-plebs lowest Gaius Marius and of-the-nobles the-most-savage Lucius Sulla
victam armis libertatem in dominationem verterunt. post
conquered by-arms liberty into despotism turned after
quos Cn. Pompeius occultior non melior, et numquam
whom Gnaeus Pompey more-secret not better and never
postea nisi de principatu quaesitum. non discessere ab
afterward except about the-principate was-it-sought not departed from
armis in Pharsalia ac Philippis civium legiones, nedum
arms at Pharsalus and Philippi of-citizens the-legions much-less
Othonis ac Vitellii exercitus sponte posituri bellum
of-Otho and of-Vitellius the-armies of-accord going-to-lay-down war
fuerint: eadem illos deum ira, eadem hominum rabies,
would-have the-same them of-the-gods wrath the-same of-men madness
eaedem scelerum causae in discordiam egere. quod singulis
the-same of-crimes causes into discord drove that by-single
velut ictibus transacta sunt bella, ignavia principum
as-if strokes finished were the-wars by-the-cowardice of-the-emperors
factum est. sed me veterum novorumque morum reputatio
done was but me of-the-old and-new of-customs the-reflection
longius tulit: nunc ad rerum ordinem venio.
farther has-carried now to of-events the-order I-come

39 Profecto Brixellum Othone honor imperii penes Titianum
with-departed to-Brixellum Otho the-honor of-the-empire with Titianus
fratrem, vis ac potestas penes Proculum praefectum;
the-brother the-force and power with Proculus the-prefect
Celsus et Paulinus, cum prudentia eorum nemo uteretur,
Celsus and Paulinus since the-prudence of-them no-one used
inani nomine ducum alienae culpae praetendebantur;
with-empty name of-generals for-another's fault were-made-a-screen

tribuni centurionesque ambigui quod spretis melioribus
tribunes and-centurions wavering because with-spurned the-better
deterrimi valebant; miles alacer, qui tamen iussa
the-worst prevailed the-soldiery eager which yet the-orders
ducum interpretari quam exequi mallet. promoveri
of-the-generals to-interpret than to-carry-out would-prefer to-be-moved-forward
ad quartum a Bedriaco castra placuit, adeo
to the-fourth-milestone from Bedriacum the-camp it-was-decided so
imperite ut quamquam verno tempore anni et tot
unskillfully that although in-the-spring season of-the-year and so-many
circum amnibus penuria aquae fatigarentur. ibi de proelio
around rivers by-lack of-water they-were-wearied there about battle
dubitatum, Othone per litteras flagitante ut maturarent,
it-was-debated with-Otho through letters demanding that they-should-hasten
militibus ut imperator pugnae adesset poscentibus:
with-the-soldiers that the-emperor at-the-battle be-present demanding
plerique copias trans Padum agentis acciri postulabant.
most the-forces across the-Po operating to-be-summoned required
nec proinde diiudicari potest quid optimum factu fuerit,
nor so-well to-be-decided can-it what best to-do would-have-been
quam pessimum fuisse quod factum est.
as the-worst to-have-been what done was
Non ut ad pugnam sed ad bellandum profecti confluentis 40
not as to battle but to campaigning set-out the-confluence
Padi et Ardae fluminum, sedecim inde milium spatio
of-the-Po and of-the-Arda rivers sixteen thence of-miles at-a-distance
distantis, petebant. Celso et Paulino abnuentibus militem
standing they-sought with-Celsus and Paulinus refusing the-soldiery
itinere fessum, sarcinis gravem obicere hosti, non
by-the-march wearied with-baggage heavy to-throw-before the-enemy not
omissuro quo minus expeditus et vix quattuor milia
going-to-neglect by-which less unencumbered and scarcely four thousands

passuum progressus aut incompositos in agmine aut
of-paces having-advanced either disordered in the-column or
dispersos et vallum molientis adgrederetur, Titianus et
scattered and the-rampart toiling-on he-should-attack Titianus and
Proculus, ubi consiliis vincerentur, ad ius imperii
Proculus when in-counsel they-were-beaten to the-right of-command
transibant. aderat sane citus equo Numida cum atrocibus
passed-over arrived certainly swift on-horse a-Numidian with harsh
mandatis, quibus Otho increpita ducum segnitia rem
orders in-which Otho with-rebuked of-the-generals the-sluggishness the-matter
in discrimen mitti iubebat, aeger mora et spei impatiens.
into the-decision to-be-put ordered sick of-delay and of-hope impatient

XXV · THE BATTLE OF BEDRIACUM

As the tribunes come to parley with Caecina, scouts report the enemy. The Othonians, entangled among wagons on a narrow road, are told falsely that Vitellius's army has defected and greet the enemy, who answer with hostility. The legions fight on the road and in the vineyards, and the Batavians cut down the gladiators. The Othonians flee to Bedriacum; next day they surrender, victors and beaten weeping together.

41 Eodem die ad Caecinam operi pontis intentum duo
on-the-same day to Caecina on-the-work of-the-bridge intent two
praetoriarum cohortium tribuni, conloquium eius postulantes,
of-the-praetorian cohorts tribunes a-parley with-him demanding
venerunt: audire condiciones ac reddere parabat, cum
came to-hear the-terms and to-give-back he-was-preparing when
praecipites exploratores adesse hostem nuntiavere. interruptus
headlong scouts to-be-present the-enemy announced was-broken-off
tribunorum sermo, eoque incertum fuit insidias an proditionem
of-the-tribunes the-talk and-so uncertain it-was an-ambush or treachery

vel aliquod honestum consilium coeptaverint. Caecina dimissis
or some honorable plan they-had-begun Caecina with-dismissed
tribunis revectus in castra datum iussu Fabii Valentis
tribunes ridden-back into the-camp given by-the-order of-Fabius Valens
pugnae signum et militem in armis invenit. dum legiones de
of-battle the-signal and the-soldiery in arms finds while the-legions about
ordine agminis sortiuntur, equites prorupere; et mirum
the-order of-the-column cast-lots the-horsemen burst-forth and wonderful
dictu, a paucioribus Othonianis quo minus in vallum
to-tell by fewer Othonians by-which less onto the-rampart
inpingerentur, Italicae legionis virtute deterriti sunt: ea
they-should-be-driven of-the-Italic legion by-the-valor deterred were it
strictis mucronibus redire pulsos et pugnam resumere coegit.
with-drawn swords to-return the-repulsed and the-fight to-resume compelled
disposita Vitellianarum legionum acies sine trepidatione:
was-drawn-up of-the-Vitellian legions the-line without panic
etenim quamquam vicino hoste aspectus armorum densis
for although with-near the-enemy the-sight of-arms by-dense
arbustis prohibebatur. apud Othonianos pavidi duces, miles
groves was-prevented among the-Othonians fearful the-generals the-soldiery
ducibus infensus, mixta vehicula et lixae, et praeruptis
to-the-generals hostile mixed wagons and camp-followers and with-steep
utrimque fossis via quieto quoque agmini angusta.
on-both-sides ditches the-road for-a-quiet even column narrow
circumsistere alii signa sua, quaerere alii; incertus undique
crowded-round some the-standards their-own sought others uncertain on-all-sides
clamor adcurrentium, vocantium: ut cuique audacia vel formido,
the-shouting of-those-running-up of-those-calling as to-each daring or dread
in primam postremamve aciem prorumpebant aut relabebantur.
into the-first or-the-last line they-rushed-forward or slipped-back

42 Attonitas subito terrore mentis falsum gaudium in
stunned by-sudden terror the-minds false joy into
languorem vertit, repertis qui descivisse a Vitellio
languor turned with-found those-who to-have-revolted from Vitellius
exercitum ementirentur. is rumor ab exploratoribus Vitellii
the-army falsely-claimed that rumor by the-scouts of-Vitellius
dispersus, an in ipsa Othonis parte seu dolo seu
scattered or in the-very of-Otho party whether by-guile or
forte surrexerit, parum compertum. omisso pugnae ardore
by-chance it-arose too-little ascertained with-dropped of-battle ardor
Othoniani ultro salutavere; et hostili murmure excepti,
the-Othonians of-themselves saluted and with-hostile murmur received
plerisque suorum ignaris quae causa salutandi, metum
with-most of-their-own ignorant what the-cause of-saluting fear
proditionis fecere. tum incubuit hostium acies, integris
of-treachery made then pressed-on of-the-enemy the-line with-intact
ordinibus, robore et numero praestantior: Othoniani,
ranks in-strength and number superior the-Othonians
quamquam dispersi, pauciores, fessi, proelium tamen acriter
although scattered fewer tired the-battle yet fiercely
sumpsere. et per locos arboribus ac vineis impeditos non
took-up and through places with-trees and vines encumbered not
una pugnae facies: comminus eminus, catervis et cuneis
one of-the-fight the-face hand-to-hand from-afar in-bands and wedges
concurrebant. in aggere viae conlato gradu corporibus
they-clashed on the-embankment of-the-road with-joined step with-bodies
et umbonibus niti, omisso pilorum iactu gladiis
and bosses they-pushed with-dropped of-javelins hurling with-swords
et securibus galeas loricasque perrumpere: noscentes inter
and axes helmets and-cuirasses they-broke-through recognizing among
se, ceteris conspicui, in eventum totius belli certabant.
themselves to-the-rest conspicuous for the-outcome of-the-whole war they-contended

Forte inter Padum viamque patenti campo duae legiones 43
by-chance between the-Po and-the-road in-the-open plain two legions
congressae sunt, pro Vitellio unaetvicensima, cui cognomen
engaged were for Vitellius the-twenty-first to-which the-surname
Rapaci, vetere gloria insignis, e parte Othonis prima
Rapax by-old glory distinguished on the-side of-Otho the-first
Adiutrix, non ante in aciem deducta, sed ferox et
Adiutrix not before into battle led-out but fierce and
novi decoris avida. primani stratis unaetvicensimanorum
for-new honor greedy the-first-men with-laid-low of-the-twenty-first-men
principiis aquilam abstulere; quo dolore accensa legio et
the-front-ranks the-eagle carried-off by-which grief inflamed the-legion both
impulit rursus primanos, interfecto Orfidio Benigno legato,
drove-back in-turn the-first-men with-killed Orfidius Benignus the-legate
et plurima signa vexillaque ex hostibus rapuit. a parte
and very-many standards and-banners from the-enemy seized on side
alia propulsa quintanorum impetu tertia decima legio,
other was-driven-back of-the-fifth-men by-the-charge the-third tenth legion
circumventi plurium adcursu quartadecimani. et ducibus
were-surrounded of-more by-the-onrush the-fourteenth-men and with-generals
Othonis iam pridem profugis Caecina ac Valens subsidiis
of-Otho now long-since fugitives Caecina and Valens with-reserves
suos firmabant. accessit recens auxilium, Varus Alfenus
their-men strengthened arrived fresh help Varus Alfenus
cum Batavis, fusa gladiatorum manu, quam navibus
with the-Batavians with-routed of-gladiators the-band which in-boats
transvectam obpositae cohortes in ipso flumine trucidaverant:
carried-across the-opposed cohorts in the-very river had-slaughtered
ita victores latus hostium invecti.
so victorious into-the-flank of-the-enemy charged

44 Et media acie perrupta fugere passim Othoniani,
and with-the-middle line broken-through fled everywhere the-Othonians
Bedriacum petentes. immensum id spatium, obstructae
Bedriacum seeking huge that distance were-blocked
strage corporum viae, quo plus caedis fuit; neque
with-slaughter of-bodies the-roads by-which more of-killing there-was nor
enim civilibus bellis capti in praedam vertuntur. Suetonius
for in-civil wars the-captured into plunder are-turned Suetonius
Paulinus et Licinius Proculus diversis itineribus castra
Paulinus and Licinius Proculus by-different routes the-camp
vitavere. Vedium Aquilam tertiae decimae legionis legatum
avoided Vedius Aquila of-the-third tenth legion the-legate
irae militum inconsultus pavor obtulit. multo adhuc
to-the-wrath of-the-soldiers thoughtless fear offered with-much still
die vallum ingressus clamore seditiosorum et fugacium
day the-rampart having-entered by-the-shouting of-the-mutinous and fleeing
circumstrepitur; non probris, non manibus abstinent;
is-surrounded-with-din not from-insults not from-hands they-refrain
desertorem proditoremque increpant, nullo proprio crimine
a-deserter and-traitor they-call-him with-no his-own crime
eius sed more vulgi suum quisque flagitium aliis
of-his but in-the-way of-the-crowd his-own each disgrace at-others
obiectantes. Titianum et Celsum nox iuvit, dispositis iam
casting Titianus and Celsus night helped with-posted already
excubiis conpressisque militibus, quos Annius Gallus consilio
watches and-subdued soldiers whom Annius Gallus by-counsel
precibus auctoritate flexerat, ne super cladem adversae
by-prayers by-authority had-bent lest upon the-disaster of-the-adverse
pugnae suismet ipsi caedibus saevirent: sive finis
battle by-their-own themselves slaughters they-should-rage whether an-end
bello venisset seu resumere arma mallent, unicum victis
to-the-war had-come or to-resume arms they-preferred the-only for-the-beaten

in consensu levamentum. ceteris fractus animus: praetorianus
in agreement relief for-the-rest broken the-spirit the-praetorian
miles non virtute se sed proditione victum fremebat: ne
soldiery not by-valor himself but by-treachery beaten growled not
Vitellianis quidem incruentam fuisse victoriam, pulso
for-the-Vitellians even bloodless to-have-been the-victory with-repulsed
equite, rapta legionis aquila; superesse cum ipso Othone
cavalry with-seized of-the-legion eagle to-be-left with himself Otho
militum quod trans Padum fuerit, venire Moesicas legiones,
of-soldiers what across the-Po had-been to-be-coming the-Moesian legions
magnam exercitus partem Bedriaci remansisse: hos certe
a-great of-the-army part at-Bedriacum to-have-remained these surely
nondum victos et, si ita ferret, honestius in acie perituros.
not-yet beaten and if so it-should-bring more-honorably in battle going-to-perish
his cogitationibus truces aut pavidi extrema desperatione
by-these thoughts fierce or fearful from-utmost despair
ad iram saepius quam in formidinem stimulabantur.
to anger more-often than into dread they-were-goaded
At Vitellianus exercitus ad quintum a Bedriaco lapidem 45
but the-Vitellian army at the-fifth from Bedriacum milestone
consedit, non ausis ducibus eadem die obpugnationem
encamped with-not having-dared generals on-the-same day the-assault
castrorum; simul voluntaria deditio sperabatur: sed
of-the-camp at-the-same-time voluntary surrender was-hoped but
expeditis et tantum ad proelium egressis munimentum
for-the-unencumbered and only to battle gone-out protection
fuere arma et victoria. postera die haud ambigua Othoniani
were arms and victory on-the-next day with-not doubtful of-the-Othonian
exercitus voluntate et qui ferociores fuerant ad
army will and those-who more-ferocious had-been toward
paenitentiam inclinantibus missa legatio; nec apud duces
repentance inclining was-sent an-embassy nor among the-generals

Vitellianos dubitatum quo minus pacem concederent. legati
Vitellian was-it-doubted by-which less peace they-should-grant the-envoys
paulisper retenti: ea res haesitationem attulit ignaris
for-a-little-while kept that thing hesitation brought to-those-ignorant
adhuc an impetrassent. mox remissa legatione patuit
still whether they-had-obtained-it soon with-sent-back the-embassy lay-open
vallum. tum victi victoresque in lacrimas effusi, sortem
the-rampart then the-beaten and-the-victors into tears poured-out the-lot
civilium armorum misera laetitia detestantes; isdem
of-civil arms with-wretched joy cursing in-the-same
tentoriis alii fratrum, alii propinquorum vulnera fovebant: spes
tents some of-brothers others of-kinsmen the-wounds tended hopes
et praemia in ambiguo, certa funera et luctus, nec quisquam
and rewards in doubt certain deaths and grief nor anyone
adeo mali expers ut non aliquam mortem maereret. requisitum
so of-evil free that not some death he-mourned was-sought-out
Orfidii legati corpus honore solito crematur; paucos necessarii
of-Orfidius the-legate the-body with-honor customary is-burned a-few the-relatives
ipsorum sepelivere, ceterum vulgus super humum relictum.
of-themselves buried the-rest the-crowd on the-ground left

Otho awaits the news calmly. When it comes, the soldiers beg him to fight on, but he tells them that he will not throw away such courage and that the example of ending the war shall be his. He destroys letters, distributes money, and comforts his nephew; he quiets the soldiers threatening Verginius, spends a quiet night, and at dawn falls on a dagger. Soldiers kill themselves at his pyre. Tacitus records his origins, a portent of a strange bird, and the mutiny that pursues Verginius.

Opperiebatur Otho nuntium pugnae nequaquam trepidus et 46
awaited Otho the-news of-the-battle by-no-means alarmed and
consilii certus. maesta primum fama, dein profugi e proelio
of-his-plan certain a-sad first rumor then fugitives from the-battle
perditas res patefaciunt. non expectavit militum ardor
lost the-cause reveal not waited the-soldiers' ardor
vocem imperatoris; bonum haberet animum iubebant:
for-the-voice of-the-emperor good he-should-have courage they-bade
superesse adhuc novas viris, et ipsos extrema passuros
to-be-left still new strength and themselves the-utmost going-to-suffer
ausurosque. neque erat adulatio: ire in aciem, excitare
and-going-to-dare nor was-it flattery to-go into battle to-rouse
partium fortunam furore quodam et instinctu flagrabant.
of-the-party the-fortune with-frenzy a-certain and impulse they-burned
qui procul adstiterant, tendere manus, et proximi
those-who far-off had-stood-by stretched-out their-hands and the-nearest
prensare genua, promptissimo Plotio Firmo. is praetorii
clasped his-knees with-most-forward Plotius Firmus he of-the-praetorian-guard
praefectus identidem orabat ne fidissimum exercitum, ne
prefect repeatedly begged that-not a-most-loyal army that-not
optime meritos milites desereret: maiore animo tolerari
most-well deserving soldiers he-should-desert with-greater spirit to-be-borne
adversa quam relinqui; fortis et strenuos etiam contra
adversity than to-be-abandoned the-brave and vigorous even against

fortunam insistere spei, timidos et ignavos ad desperationem
fortune to-press-on to-hope the-timid and cowardly to despair
formidine properare. quas inter voces ut flexerat vultum
from-dread to-hurry which among voices as had-softened his-face
aut induraverat Otho, clamor et gemitus. nec praetoriani
or had-hardened Otho shouting and groaning nor the-praetorians
tantum, proprius Othonis miles, sed praemissi e Moesia
only own of-Otho soldiery but those-sent-ahead from Moesia
eandem obstinationem adventantis exercitus, legiones Aquileiam
the-same resolve of-the-arriving army the-legions Aquileia
ingressas nuntiabant, ut nemo dubitet potuisse renovari
having-entered announced so-that no-one doubt to-have-been-able to-be-renewed
bellum atrox, lugubre, incertum victis et victoribus.
the-war fierce mournful uncertain for-the-beaten and for-the-victors
47 Ipse aversus a consiliis belli 'hunc' inquit 'animum, hanc
himself turned-away from the-counsels of-war this he-said spirit this
virtutem vestram ultra periculis obicere nimis grande vitae
courage your further to-dangers to-expose too great of-life
meae pretium puto. quanto plus spei ostenditis, si vivere
my a-price I-think by-how-much more of-hope you-show if to-live
placeret, tanto pulchrior mors erit. experti in vicem sumus
it-pleased by-so-much more-beautiful death will-be tested in turn have
ego ac fortuna. nec tempus conputaveritis: difficilius est
I and fortune nor the-time you-should-reckon more-difficult it-is
temperare felicitati qua te non putes diu usurum. civile
to-moderate a-prosperity which you not should-think long going-to-use the-civil
bellum a Vitellio coepit, et ut de principatu certaremus
war from Vitellius began and that about the-principate we-should-contend
armis initium illic fuit: ne plus quam semel certemus
with-arms the-beginning there was that-not more than once we-contend
penes me exemplum erit; hinc Othonem posteritas aestimet.
with me the-example will-be from-this Otho posterity may-judge

fruetur Vitellius fratre, coniuge, liberis: mihi non ultione
will-enjoy Vitellius brother wife children to-me not of-vengeance
neque solaciis opus est. alii diutius imperium tenuerint,
nor of-consolations need is others longer the-empire may-have-held
nemo tam fortiter reliquerit. an ego tantum Romanae pubis,
no-one so bravely will-have-left or I so-much of-Roman youth
tot egregios exercitus sterni rursus et rei publicae
so-many excellent armies to-be-laid-low again and from-the-thing public
eripi patiar? eat hic mecum animus, tamquam perituri
to-be-snatched shall-suffer let-go this with-me spirit as-if going-to-perish
pro me fueritis, set este superstites. nec diu moremur,
for me you-would-have-been but be survivors nor long let-us-delay
ego incolumitatem vestram, vos constantiam meam. plura de
I the-safety your you the-constancy my more about
extremis loqui pars ignaviae est. praecipuum destinationis
last-things to-speak part of-cowardice is the-chief of-resolve
meae documentum habete quod de nemine queror; nam
my proof hold that about no-one I-complain for
incusare deos vel homines eius est qui vivere velit.'
to-accuse gods or men of-him is who to-live wishes
Talia locutus, ut cuique aetas aut dignitas, comiter 48
such-things having-spoken as to-each age or rank courteously
appellatos, irent propere neu remanendo iram victoris
addressed they-should-go quickly nor by-remaining the-wrath of-the-victor
asperarent, iuvenes auctoritate, senes precibus movebat,
should-sharpen the-young by-authority the-old by-prayers he-moved
placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lacrimas
calm in-face undaunted in-words the-untimely of-his-own tears
coercens. dari navis ac vehicula abeuntibus iubet; libellos
restraining to-be-given ships and carriages to-those-departing he-orders the-petitions
epistulasque studio erga se aut in Vitellium contumeliis
and-letters for-zeal toward himself or against Vitellius for-insults

insignis abolet; pecunias distribuit parce nec ut periturus. mox
conspicuous he-destroys money he-distributes sparingly nor as going-to-die soon
Salvium Cocceianum, fratris filium, prima iuventa, trepidum
Salvius Cocceianus of-his-brother the-son in-first youth alarmed
et maerentem ultro solatus est, laudando pietatem
and grieving of-his-own-accord consoled has by-praising the-devotion
eius, castigando formidinem: an Vitellium tam inmitis animi
his by-chiding the-dread or Vitellius of-such pitiless mind
fore ut pro incolumi tota domo ne hanc quidem sibi
going-to-be that for safe the-whole house not this even to-himself
gratiam redderet? mereri se festinato exitu clementiam
favor he-should-return to-earn himself by-a-hastened death the-mercy
victoris; non enim ultima desperatione sed poscente
of-the-victor not for in-final despair but with-demanding
proelium exercitu remisisse rei publicae novissimum
battle the-army to-have-spared to-the-thing public the-last
casum. satis sibi nominis, satis posteris suis nobilitatis
mischance enough for-himself of-name enough for-descendants his-own of-nobility
quaesitum. post Iulios Claudios Servios se primum in
sought after the-Julii Claudii Servii himself the-first into
familiam novam imperium intulisse: proinde erecto animo
a-family new the-empire to-have-brought therefore with-raised spirit
capesseret vitam, neu patruum sibi Othonem fuisse
he-should-take-up life nor his-uncle to-himself Otho to-have-been
aut oblivisceretur umquam aut nimium meminisset.
either he-should-forget ever or too-much should-remember

49 Post quae dimotis omnibus paulum requievit. atque illum
after which with-sent-away all for-a-little he-rested and him
supremas iam curas animo volutantem repens tumultus
last now cares in-mind turning-over a-sudden uproar
avertit, nuntiata consternatione ac licentia militum; namque
diverted with-announced the-consternation and license of-the-soldiers for

abeuntibus exitium minitabantur, atrocissima in Verginium
to-the-departing death they-were-threatening with-most-ferocious against Verginius
vi, quem clausa domo obsidebant. increpitis seditionis
violence whom in-the-shut house they-were-besieging with-rebuked of-the-mutiny
auctoribus regressus vacavit abeuntium adloquiis, donec
the-authors having-returned he-had-leisure for-the-departing's addresses until
omnes inviolati digrederentur. vesperascente die sitim haustu
all unharmed should-depart with-darkening day his-thirst with-a-drink
gelidae aquae sedavit. tum adlatis pugionibus duobus,
of-cold water he-allayed then with-brought daggers two
cum utrumque pertemptasset, alterum capiti subdidit.
when each he-had-tested one under-his-head he-put
et explorato iam profectos amicos, noctem quietam, utque
and with-ascertained now departed his-friends a-night quiet and-as
adfirmatur, non insomnem egit: luce prima in ferrum
is-affirmed not sleepless he-spent at-light first onto the-steel
pectore incubuit. ad gemitum morientis ingressi liberti
with-his-breast he-fell at the-groan of-the-dying-man having-entered freedmen
servique et Plotius Firmus praetorii praefectus unum
and-slaves and Plotius Firmus of-the-praetorian-guard prefect one
vulnus invenere. funus maturatum; ambitiosis id precibus
wound found the-funeral was-hastened with-ambitious that prayers
petierat ne amputaretur caput ludibrio futurum. tulere corpus
he-had-sought lest should-be-cut-off his-head for-mockery going-to-be carried the-body
praetoriae cohortes cum laudibus et lacrimis, vulnus manusque
the-praetorian cohorts with praises and tears the-wound and-hands
eius exosculantes. quidam militum iuxta rogum interfecere
his kissing certain of-the-soldiers beside the-pyre killed
se, non noxa neque ob metum, sed aemulatione
themselves not from-guilt nor on-account-of fear but from-emulation
decoris et caritate principis. ac postea promisce Bedriaci,
of-glory and from-love of-the-emperor and afterward indiscriminately at-Bedriacum

Placentiae aliisque in castris celebratum id genus mortis.
at-Placentia and-other in camps was-practiced that kind of-death
Othoni sepulchrum extructum est modicum et mansurum.
for-Otho a-tomb built was modest and going-to-last
hunc vitae finem habuit septimo et tricensimo aetatis anno.
this of-life end he-had in-the-seventh and thirtieth of-age year
50 Origo illi e municipio Ferentio, pater consularis,
the-origin to-him from the-township Ferentium the-father consular
avus praetorius; maternum genus impar nec tamen
the-grandfather praetorian the-maternal family unequal nor yet
indecorum. pueritia ac iuventa, qualem monstravimus. duobus
undistinguished boyhood and youth such-as we-have-shown by-two
facinoribus, altero flagitiosissimo, altero egregio, tantundem
deeds one most-disgraceful the-other excellent as-much
apud posteros meruit bonae famae quantum malae. ut conquirere
among posterity he-earned of-good fame as of-bad as to-search-out
fabulosa et fictis oblectare legentium animos procul
fabulous-things and by-fictions to-amuse of-the-readers the-minds far
gravitate coepti operis crediderim, ita vulgatis
from-the-gravity of-the-begun work I-should-believe so from-things-spread-abroad
traditisque demere fidem non ausim. die, quo
and-handed-down to-take-away credit not I-should-dare on-the-day on-which
Bedriaci certabatur, avem invisitata specie apud Regium
at-Bedriacum was-fought a-bird of-unseen appearance near Regium
Lepidum celebri luco consedisse incolae memorant, nec
Lepidum in-a-frequented grove to-have-settled the-inhabitants recount nor
deinde coetu hominum aut circumvolitantium alitum
thereafter by-the-gathering of-men or of-flying-around birds
territam pulsamve, donec Otho se ipse interficeret; tum
frightened or-driven-off until Otho himself himself should-kill then

ablatam ex oculis: et tempora reputantibus initium
taken from the-eyes and to-those-reckoning the-times the-beginning
finemque miraculi cum Othonis exitu competisse.
and-end of-the-marvel with of-Otho the-death to-have-coincided
In funere eius novata luctu ac dolore militum seditio, 51
at the-funeral his renewed by-the-grief and pain of-the-soldiers the-mutiny
nec erat qui coerceret. ad Verginium versi, modo ut
nor was-there one-who might-restrain to Verginius turned now that
reciperet imperium, nunc ut legatione apud Caecinam
he-should-take-back the-empire now that the-embassy to Caecina
ac Valentem fungeretur, minitantes orabant: Verginius
and Valens he-should-discharge threatening they-begged Verginius
per aversam domus partem furtim digressus inrumpentis
through the-back of-the-house part secretly departing the-bursting-in-men
frustratus est. earum quae Brixelli egerant cohortium
eluded has of-those which at-Brixellum had-been of-the-cohorts
preces Rubrius Gallus tulit, et venia statim impetrata,
the-prayers Rubrius Gallus carried and with-pardon at-once obtained
concedentibus ad victorem per Flavium Sabinum iis copiis
with-going-over to the-victor through Flavius Sabinus those forces
quibus praefuerat.
which he-had-commanded

Senators who had followed Otho are caught at Mutina, suspected by his soldiers and fearing to seem slow to welcome Vitellius; at Bononia a freedman's lie that the Othonians have won renews their danger until Valens's letters arrive. At Rome the games go on, Sabinus swears the city's troops to Vitellius, the people carry Galba's images round the temples, and the senate votes Vitellius every honor. Italy suffers more from the victors than from war.

52 Posito ubique bello magna pars senatus extremum
with-laid-down everywhere the-war a-great part of-the-senate the-utmost
discrimen adiit, profecta cum Othone ab urbe, dein
danger went-into having-set-out with Otho from the-city then
Mutinae relicta. illuc adverso de proelio adlatum: sed milites
at-Mutina left there adverse about battle was-reported but the-soldiers
ut falsum rumorem aspernantes, quod infensum Othoni
as false a-rumor spurning because hostile to-Otho
senatum arbitrabantur, custodire sermones, vultum habitumque
the-senate they-judged watched the-talk the-face and-bearing
trahere in deterius; conviciis postremo ac probris causam
dragged into the-worse with-abuse at-last and insults a-cause
et initium caedis quaerebant, cum alius insuper metus
and beginning of-slaughter they-sought while another besides fear
senatoribus instaret, ne praevalidis iam Vitellii partibus
upon-the-senators pressed lest with-overpowerful already of-Vitellius the-party
cunctanter excepisse victoriam crederentur. ita trepidi
hesitantly to-have-received the-victory they-should-be-believed so alarmed
et utrimque anxii coeunt, nemo privatim expedito consilio,
and on-both-sides anxious they-meet no-one privately with-a-ready plan
inter multos societate culpae tutior. onerabat paventium
among many by-sharing of-guilt safer burdened of-the-fearful

curas ordo Mutinensis arma et pecuniam offerendo,
the-cares the-council of-Mutina arms and money by-offering
appellabatque patres conscriptos intempestivo honore.
and-addressed-them fathers conscript with-untimely honor
Notabile iurgium fuit quo Licinius Caecina Marcellum 53
remarkable a-quarrel was in-which Licinius Caecina Marcellus
Eprium ut ambigua disserentem invasit. nec ceteri
Eprius as ambiguous-things arguing attacked nor the-others
sententias aperiebant: sed invisum memoria delationum
their-opinions opened but hated for-the-memory of-informings
expositumque ad invidiam Marcelli nomen inritaverat
and-exposed to odium of-Marcellus the-name had-provoked
Caecinam, ut novus adhuc et in senatum nuper adscitus
Caecina that new still and into the-senate lately enrolled
magnis inimicitiis claresceret. moderatione meliorum
by-great enmities he-might-become-famous by-the-moderation of-the-better
dirempti. et rediere omnes Bononiam, rursus consiliaturi;
were-parted and returned all to-Bononia again going-to-take-counsel
simul medio temporis plures nuntii sperabantur.
at-the-same-time in-the-middle of-time more messengers were-hoped
Bononiae, divisis per itinera qui recentissimum quemque
at-Bononia with-posted along the-routes men-who the-most-recent each
percontarentur, interrogatus Othonis libertus causam digressus
should-question questioned of-Otho a-freedman the-cause of-departing
habere se suprema eius mandata respondit; ipsum viventem
to-have himself the-last his instructions replied him living
quidem relictum, sed sola posteritatis cura et abruptis
indeed left but with-sole of-posterity care and with-broken-off
vitae blandimentis. hinc admiratio et plura interrogandi
of-life the-charms hence wonder and more of-questioning
pudor, atque omnium animi in Vitellium inclinavere.
shame and of-all the-minds toward Vitellius inclined

54 Intererat consiliis frater eius L. Vitellius seque iam
was-present at-the-counsels the-brother his Lucius Vitellius and-himself already
adulantibus offerebat, cum repente Coenus libertus Neronis
to-the-flatterers was-offering when suddenly Coenus a-freedman of-Nero
atroci mendacio universos perculit, adfirmans superventu
by-a-monstrous lie all struck asserting by-the-arrival
quartae decimae legionis, iunctis a Brixello viribus,
of-the-fourth tenth legion with-joined from Brixellum forces
caesos victores; versam partium fortunam.
to-have-been-cut-down the-victors to-have-been-turned of-the-party the-fortune
causa fingendi fuit ut diplomata Othonis, quae neglegebantur,
the-cause of-inventing was that the-passes of-Otho which were-being-neglected
laetiore nuntio revalescerent. et Coenus quidem raptim in
by-the-gladder news might-regain-force and Coenus indeed hurriedly into
urbem vectus paucos post dies iussu Vitellii poenas luit:
the-city carried a-few after days by-the-order of-Vitellius the-penalty paid
senatorum periculum auctum credentibus Othonianis militibus
of-the-senators the-danger increased with-believing the-Othonian soldiers
vera esse quae adferebantur. intendebat formidinem quod publici
true to-be what was-being-reported heightened the-dread that of-public
consilii facie discessum Mutina desertaeque partes forent.
counsel with-the-face departed from-Mutina and-deserted the-party had-been
nec ultra in commune congressi sibi quisque consuluere,
nor further in common having-met for-themselves each took-counsel
donec missae a Fabio Valente epistulae demerent metum. et
until sent by Fabius Valens letters should-take-away the-fear and
mors Othonis quo laudabilior eo velocius audita.
the-death of-Otho by-how-much more-praiseworthy by-so-much more-quickly heard
55 At Romae nihil trepidationis; Ceriales ludi ex more
but at-Rome nothing of-alarm the-Cerealian games according-to custom
spectabantur. ut cessisse Othonem et a Flavio Sabino
were-watched when to-have-yielded Otho and by Flavius Sabinus

praefecto urbis quod erat in urbe militum sacramento
the-prefect of-the-city what there-was in the-city of-soldiers to-the-oath
Vitellii adactum certi auctores in theatrum attulerunt,
of-Vitellius to-have-been-bound sure informants into the-theater brought
Vitellio plausere; populus cum lauru ac floribus Galbae imagines
to-Vitellius applauded the-people with laurel and flowers of-Galba the-images
circum templa tulit, congestis in modum tumuli coronis iuxta
around the-temples carried with-heaped into the-manner of-a-mound garlands beside
lacum Curtii, quem locum Galba moriens sanguine infecerat.
the-lake of-Curtius which place Galba dying with-his-blood had-stained
in senatu cuncta longis aliorum principatibus composita statim
in the-senate all-things in-long of-others principates arranged at-once
decernuntur; additae erga Germanicum exercitum laudes
are-decreed were-added toward the-German army praises
gratesque et missa legatio quae gaudio fungeretur. recitatae
and-thanks and was-sent an-embassy which the-rejoicing should-discharge were-read
Fabii Valentis epistulae ad consules scriptae haud immoderate:
of-Fabius Valens letters to the-consuls written not immoderately
gratior Caecinae modestia fuit quod non scripsisset.
more-pleasing of-Caecina the-modesty was that not he-had-written
Ceterum Italia gravius atque atrocius quam bello adflictabatur. 56
but Italy more-heavily and more-cruelly than by-war was-afflicted
dispersi per municipia et colonias Vitelliani spoliare, rapere,
scattered through the-townships and colonies the-Vitellians despoiled plundered
vi et stupris polluere: in omne fas nefasque avidi aut
by-violence and debaucheries polluted for every right and-wrong greedy or
venales non sacro, non profano abstinebant. et fuere
venal not from-sacred not from-profane they-refrained and there-were
qui inimicos suos specie militum interficerent. ipsique
those-who enemies their-own in-the-guise of-soldiers killed and-themselves
milites regionum gnari refertos agros, ditis dominos in
the-soldiers of-the-regions knowing the-crammed fields the-rich owners for

praedam aut, si repugnatum foret, ad exitium destinabant,
plunder or if resisted it-had-been to death marked-out
obnoxiis ducibus et prohibere non ausis. minus avaritiae
with-subservient generals and to-prohibit not having-dared less of-greed
in Caecina, plus ambitionis: Valens ob lucra et
in Caecina more of-ambition Valens on-account-of gains and
quaestus infamis eoque alienae etiam culpae dissimulator.
profits notorious and-so of-another's also guilt a-concealer
iam pridem attritis Italiae rebus tantum peditum
already long-since with-worn-down of-Italy the-resources so-great of-infantry
equitumque, vis damnaque et iniuriae aegre tolerabantur.
and-cavalry force and-losses and wrongs with-difficulty were-borne

XXVIII · VITELLIUS IN GAUL

Vitellius, still unaware of his victory, gathers troops, then honors his soldiers and the freedman Asiaticus; in Mauretania the procurator Albinus is murdered. At Lugdunum he presents his infant son as Germanicus, Otho's centurions are killed, and the self-styled god Mariccus is executed. Vitellius defers the title Augustus and has Dolabella murdered; his mother takes no joy in her son's fortune.

57 Interim Vitellius victoriae suae nescius ut ad integrum
meanwhile Vitellius of-victory his-own unaware as-if to a-fresh
bellum reliquas Germanici exercitus viris trahebat. pauci
war the-remaining of-the-German army forces was-drawing a-few
veterum militum in hibernis relicti, festinatis per Gallias
of-the-veteran soldiers in winter-quarters left with-hurried through the-Gauls
dilectibus, ut remanentium legionum nomina supplerentur.
levies that of-the-remaining legions the-names might-be-filled-up
cura ripae Hordeonio Flacco permissa; ipse e Britannico
the-care of-the-bank to-Hordeonius Flaccus entrusted himself from the-British

exercitu delecta octo milia sibi adiunxit. et paucorum
army picked eight thousands to-himself added and of-a-few
dierum iter progressus prosperas apud Bedriacum res ac
days journey having-advanced the-successful at Bedriacum fortunes and
morte Othonis concidisse bellum accepit: vocata contione
by-the-death of-Otho to-have-collapsed the-war he-learned with-called assembly
virtutem militum laudibus cumulat. postulante exercitu
the-courage of-the-soldiers with-praises he-heaps with-demanding the-army
ut libertum suum Asiaticum equestri dignitate donaret,
that freedman his-own Asiaticus with-knightly rank he-should-present
inhonestam adulationem conpescit; dein mobilitate ingenii,
the-disgraceful flattery he-checks then by-the-fickleness of-his-nature
quod palam abnuerat, inter secreta convivii largitur,
what openly he-had-refused amid the-privacies of-a-banquet he-bestows
honoravitque Asiaticum anulis, foedum mancipium et
and-honored Asiaticus with-the-rings a-foul chattel and
malis artibus ambitiosum.
by-evil arts ambitious
Isdem diebus accessisse partibus utramque Mauretaniam, 58
in-the-same days to-have-joined the-party each Mauretania
interfecto procuratore Albino, nuntii venere. Lucceius Albinus
with-killed the-procurator Albinus messengers came Lucceius Albinus
a Nerone Mauretaniae Caesariensi praepositus, addita
by Nero over-Mauretania Caesariensian set with-added
per Galbam Tingitanae provinciae administratione, haud
through Galba of-the-Tingitanian province the-administration not
spernendis viribus agebat. decem novem cohortes, quinque
to-be-despised forces was-active ten nine cohorts five
alae, ingens Maurorum numerus aderat, per latrocinia et
squadrons a-huge of-Moors number was-at-hand through brigandage and
raptus apta bello manus. caeso Galba in Othonem pronus
robberies fit for-war a-band with-slain Galba toward Otho inclined

nec Africa contentus Hispaniae angusto freto diremptae
nor with-Africa content over-Spain by-a-narrow strait separated
imminebat. inde Cluvio Rufo metus, et decimam legionem
he-loomed thence for-Cluvius Rufus fear and the-tenth legion
propinquare litori ut transmissurus iussit; praemissi
to-approach the-shore as-if going-to-cross he-ordered were-sent-ahead
centuriones qui Maurorum animos Vitellio conciliarent. neque
centurions who of-the-Moors the-minds to-Vitellius should-win nor
arduum fuit, magna per provincias Germanici exercitus
hard was-it great through the-provinces of-the-German army
fama; spargebatur insuper spreto procuratoris vocabulo
the-fame was-spread besides with-spurned of-procurator the-title
Albinum insigne regis et Iubae nomen usurpare.
Albinus the-insignia of-a-king and of-Juba the-name to-usurp
59 Ita mutatis animis Asinius Pollio alae praefectus,
so with-changed minds Asinius Pollio of-a-squadron prefect
e fidissimis Albino, et Festus ac Scipio cohortium
of the-most-loyal to-Albinus and Festus and Scipio of-cohorts
praefecti opprimuntur: ipse Albinus dum e Tingitana
prefects are-crushed himself Albinus while from the-Tingitanian
provincia Caesariensem Mauretaniam petit, adpulsu litoris
province Caesariensian Mauretania he-seeks at-the-landing of-the-shore
trucidatus; uxor eius cum se percussoribus obtulisset,
was-slaughtered the-wife his when herself to-the-assassins she-had-offered
simul interfecta est, nihil eorum quae fierent
at-the-same-time killed was nothing of-those-things which were-done
Vitellio anquirente: brevi auditu quamvis magna transibat,
with-Vitellius inquiring-into by-brief hearing however great he-passed
impar curis gravioribus. Exercitum itinere terrestri pergere
unequal to-cares weightier the-army by-the-route by-land to-proceed
iubet: ipse Arare flumine devehitur, nullo principali
he-orders himself on-the-Arar river is-carried-down with-no imperial

paratu, sed vetere egestate conspicuus, donec Iunius Blaesus
equipage but by-old poverty conspicuous until Junius Blaesus
Lugudunensis Galliae rector, genere inlustri, largus animo
of-Lugdunese Gaul the-governor in-family illustrious generous in-spirit
et par opibus, circumdaret principi ministeria, comitaretur
and equal in-wealth surrounded for-the-emperor service accompanied
liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus, quamvis odium Vitellius
liberally by-that very-thing disliked although his-hatred Vitellius
vernilibus blanditiis velaret. praesto fuere Luguduni victricium
with-slavish flatteries veiled at-hand were at-Lugdunum of-the-victorious
victarumque partium duces. Valentem et Caecinam pro
and-of-the-beaten parties the-generals Valens and Caecina before
contione laudatos curuli suae circumposuit. mox
the-assembly praised to-the-curule-chair his-own he-placed-around soon
universum exercitum occurrere infanti filio iubet, perlatumque
the-whole army to-meet his-infant son he-orders and-brought-out
et paludamento opertum sinu retinens Germanicum
and in-a-general's-cloak covered in-his-bosom holding Germanicus
appellavit cinxitque cunctis fortunae principalis insignibus.
he-called and-girded-him with-all of-fortune imperial the-insignia
nimius honos inter secunda rebus adversis in solacium cessit.
excessive the-honor amid prosperity in-things adverse into consolation passed
Tum interfecti centuriones promptissimi Othonianorum, unde 60
then were-killed the-centurions most-energetic of-the-Othonians whence
praecipua in Vitellium alienatio per Illyricos exercitus;
especial toward Vitellius estrangement through the-Illyrian armies
simul ceterae legiones contactu et adversus Germanicos
at-the-same-time the-other legions by-contagion and against the-German
milites invidia bellum meditabantur. Suetonium Paulinum
soldiers from-jealousy war were-meditating Suetonius Paulinus
ac Licinium Proculum tristi mora squalidos tenuit, donec
and Licinius Proculus in-sad delay squalid he-kept until

auditi necessariis magis defensionibus quam honestis uterentur.
heard necessary rather defenses than honorable they-employed
proditionem ultro imputabant, spatium longi ante proelium
treachery even they-claimed-credit-for the-length long before the-battle
itineris, fatigationem Othonianorum, permixtum vehiculis
march the-fatigue of-the-Othonians the-mixed-up with-wagons
agmen ac pleraque fortuita fraudi suae adsignantes. et
column and most accidents to-fraud their-own assigning and
Vitellius credidit de perfidia et fidem absolvit. Salvius
Vitellius believed about treachery and loyalty acquitted Salvius
Titianus Othonis frater nullum discrimen adiit, pietate
Titianus of-Otho the-brother no danger went-into by-family-love
et ignavia excusatus. Mario Celso consulatus servatur: sed
and cowardice excused for-Marius Celsus the-consulship is-kept but
creditum fama obiectumque mox in senatu Caecilio
it-was-believed by-rumor and-charged soon in the-senate against-Caecilius
Simplici, quod eum honorem pecunia mercari, nec sine
Simplex that that honor with-money to-buy and-not without
exitio Celsi, voluisset: restitit Vitellius deditque postea
the-ruin of-Celsus he-had-wished withstood Vitellius and-gave afterward
consulatum Simplici innoxium et inemptum. Trachalum
a-consulship to-Simplex harmless and unbought Trachalus
adversus criminantis Galeria uxor Vitellii protexit.
against the-accusers Galeria the-wife of-Vitellius protected
61 Inter magnorum virorum discrimina, pudendum dictu,
among of-great men the-perils shameful to-tell
Mariccus quidam, e plebe Boiorum, inserere sese
Mariccus a-certain from the-plebs of-the-Boii to-thrust himself
fortunae et provocare arma Romana simulatione numinum
on-fortune and to-challenge arms Roman by-the-pretense of-divinity
ausus est. iamque adsertor Galliarum et deus (nam
dared has and-now the-liberator of-the-Gauls and a-god for

id sibi indiderat) concitis octo milibus hominum
that on-himself he-had-bestowed with-roused eight thousand of-men
proximos Aeduorum pagos trahebat, cum gravissima civitas
the-nearest of-the-Aedui cantons was-drawing when the-most-weighty state
electa iuventute, adiectis a Vitellio cohortibus, fanaticam
with-picked youth with-added by Vitellius cohorts the-fanatical
multitudinem disiecit. captus in eo proelio Mariccus; ac
multitude scattered captured in that battle Mariccus and
mox feris obiectus quia non laniabatur, stolidum vulgus
soon to-beasts thrown because not he-was-torn the-stupid crowd
inviolabilem credebat, donec spectante Vitellio interfectus est.
inviolable believed-him until with-watching Vitellius killed he-was
Nec ultra in defectores aut bona cuiusquam saevitum: rata 62
nor further against the-rebels or the-goods of-anyone was-it-raged ratified
fuere eorum qui acie Othoniana ceciderant, testamenta aut
were of-those who in-the-line Othonian had-fallen the-wills or
lex intestatis: prorsus, si luxuriae temperaret, avaritiam non
the-law for-the-intestate altogether if his-luxury should-moderate greed not
timeres. epularum foeda et inexplebilis libido: ex urbe
you-would-fear for-feasts foul and insatiable lust from the-city
atque Italia inritamenta gulae gestabantur, strepentibus ab
and Italy incentives of-the-gullet were-carried with-resounding from
utroque mari itineribus; exhausti conviviorum apparatibus
each sea the-roads exhausted of-banquets by-the-preparations
principes civitatum; vastabantur ipsae civitates; degenerabat
the-chief-men of-the-states were-ruined the-very states degenerated
a labore ac virtute miles adsuetudine voluptatum et
from toil and courage the-soldiery by-habituation to-pleasures and
contemptu ducis. praemisit in urbem edictum quo
by-contempt of-the-general he-sent-ahead to the-city an-edict by-which
vocabulum Augusti differret, Caesaris non reciperet, cum
the-title of-Augustus he-would-defer of-Caesar not he-would-take although

de potestate nihil detraheret. pulsi Italia mathematici;
from power nothing he-took-away were-driven from-Italy the-astrologers
cautum severe ne equites Romani ludo et harena
it-was-provided severely that-not knights Roman by-the-school and arena
polluerentur. priores id principes pecunia et saepius vi
should-be-polluted former to-that emperors with-money and more-often by-force
perpulerant, ac pleraque municipia et coloniae aemulabantur
had-driven and most townships and colonies vied
corruptissimum quemque adulescentium pretio inlicere
the-most-corrupt each of-the-youths with-a-price to-entice
63 Sed Vitellius adventu fratris et inrepentibus dominationis
but Vitellius by-the-arrival of-his-brother and by-creeping-in of-despotism
magistris superbior et atrocior occidi Dolabellam iussit,
teachers more-arrogant and more-cruel to-be-killed Dolabella ordered
quem in coloniam Aquinatem sepositum ab Othone rettulimus.
whom into the-colony of-Aquinum set-aside by Otho we-reported
Dolabella audita morte Othonis urbem introierat: id ei
Dolabella with-heard the-death of-Otho the-city had-entered that to-him
Plancius Varus praetura functus, ex intimis Dolabellae
Plancius Varus the-praetorship having-held from the-intimate of-Dolabella
amicis, apud Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis obiecit,
friends before Flavius Sabinus the-prefect of-the-city charged
tamquam rupta custodia ducem se victis partibus
as-if with-broken custody the-leader himself to-the-beaten party
ostentasset; addidit temptatam cohortem quae Ostiae ageret;
he-had-shown added tampered-with the-cohort which at-Ostia was-stationed
nec ullis tantorum criminum probationibus in paenitentiam
nor with-any of-such charges proofs into repentance
versus seram veniam post scelus quaerebat. cunctantem super
turned late pardon after the-crime he-sought the-hesitating over
tanta re Flavium Sabinum Triaria L. Vitellii uxor,
so-great a-matter Flavius Sabinus Triaria of-Lucius Vitellius the-wife

ultra feminam ferox, terruit ne periculo principis famam
beyond a-woman fierce terrified lest by-the-peril of-the-emperor a-reputation
clementiae adfectaret. Sabinus suopte ingenio mitis, ubi
for-mercy he-should-court Sabinus by-his-own nature mild when
formido incessisset, facilis mutatu et in alieno discrimine
dread had-come-upon-him easy to-change and in another's danger
sibi pavens, ne adlevasse videretur, impulit ruentem.
for-himself fearing lest to-have-relieved he-should-seem pushed the-falling-man
Igitur Vitellius metu et odio quod Petroniam uxorem eius mox 64
therefore Vitellius from-fear and hatred because Petronia the-wife his soon
Dolabella in matrimonium accepisset, vocatum per epistulas
Dolabella into marriage had-taken summoned through letters
vitata Flaminiae viae celebritate devertere Interamnium
with-avoided of-the-Flaminian road the-crowding to-turn-aside to-Interamna
atque ibi interfici iussit. longum interfectori visum: in itinere
and there to-be-killed ordered tedious to-the-killer it-seemed on the-road
ac taberna proiectum humi iugulavit, magna cum invidia
and an-inn thrown-down on-the-ground he-cut-his-throat great with odium
novi principatus, cuius hoc primum specimen noscebatur.
of-the-new principate of-which this the-first specimen was-known
et Triariae licentiam modestum e proximo exemplum
and of-Triaria the-license a-modest from nearby example
onerabat, Galeria imperatoris uxor non immixta tristibus;
burdened Galeria of-the-emperor the-wife not mixed-in with-grim-things
et pari probitate mater Vitelliorum Sextilia, antiqui moris:
and of-equal uprightness the-mother of-the-Vitellii Sextilia of-old manners
dixisse quin etiam ad primas filii sui epistulas ferebatur,
to-have-said indeed even at the-first of-son her-own letters was-reported
non Germanicum a se sed Vitellium genitum. nec ullis
not a-Germanicus by herself but a-Vitellius born nor by-any

postea fortunae inlecebris aut ambitu civitatis in gaudium
afterward of-fortune allurements or by-the-courting of-the-state into joy
evicta domus suae tantum adversa sensit.
won-over of-house her-own only the-adversities felt

XXIX · THE VICTOR'S PROGRESS

Cluvius Rufus clears himself and is kept beside the emperor. The fourteenth legion quarrels with the Batavians at Turin and is sent back to Britain. At Ticinum a wrestling match ends with two auxiliary cohorts killed, and a slave of Verginius, accused of plotting, sets the soldiers against him. Vitellius dismisses auxiliaries and thins the legions. He visits the battlefield of Bedriacum, unmoved by the unburied dead, and Valens gives a gladiatorial show; a runaway slave claiming to be Scribonianus is executed, and news that the East has sworn fills Vitellius with arrogance.

65 Digressum a Luguduno Vitellium Cluvius Rufus adsequitur
having-departed from Lugdunum Vitellius Cluvius Rufus overtakes
omissa Hispania, laetitiam et gratulationem vultu ferens,
with-left Spain joy and congratulation on-his-face bearing
animo anxius et petitum se criminationibus gnarus. Hilarus
in-mind anxious and aimed-at himself by-accusations knowing Hilarus
Caesaris libertus detulerat tamquam audito Vitellii et
of-Caesar a-freedman had-informed as-if with-heard of-Vitellius and
Othonis principatu propriam ipse potentiam et possessionem
of-Otho the-principate his-own himself power and the-possession
Hispaniarum temptasset, eoque diplomatibus nullum
of-the-Spains he-had-attempted and-therefore on-the-passes no
principem praescripsisset; et interpretabatur quaedam ex
emperor he-had-written-at-the-head and he-interpreted certain-things from
orationibus eius contumeliosa in Vitellium et pro se
the-speeches his insulting toward Vitellius and for him

ipso popularia. auctoritas Cluvii praevaluit ut puniri
himself popular the-authority of-Cluvius prevailed so-that to-be-punished
ultro libertum suum Vitellius iuberet. Cluvius comitatui
even freedman his-own Vitellius ordered Cluvius to-the-retinue
principis adiectus, non adempta Hispania, quam rexit
of-the-emperor added not with-taken-away Spain which he-ruled
absens exemplo L. Arrunti. sed Arruntium Tiberius
absent by-the-example of-Lucius Arruntius but Arruntius Tiberius
Caesar ob metum, Vitellius Cluvium nulla formidine
Caesar on-account-of fear Vitellius Cluvius from-no dread
retinebat. non idem Trebellio Maximo honos: profugerat
was-keeping not the-same for-Trebellius Maximus honor he-had-fled
Britannia ob iracundiam militum; missus est in
from-Britain on-account-of the-anger of-the-soldiers sent was into
locum eius Vettius Bolanus e praesentibus.
the-place his Vettius Bolanus from those-present
Angebat Vitellium victarum legionum haudquaquam fractus 66
distressed Vitellius of-the-beaten legions by-no-means broken
animus. sparsae per Italiam et victoribus permixtae hostilia
the-spirit scattered through Italy and with-the-victors mingled hostile-things
loquebantur, praecipua quartadecimanorum ferocia, qui se
they-spoke especial of-the-fourteenth-men the-ferocity who themselves
victos abnuebant: quippe Bedriacensi acie vexillariis
beaten denied for in-the-Bedriacum line with-the-detachment-men
tantum pulsis viris legionis non adfuisse. remitti
only repulsed the-strength of-the-legion not to-have-been-present to-be-sent-back
eos in Britanniam, unde a Nerone exciti erant, placuit
them into Britain whence by Nero summoned they-had-been it-was-decided
atque interim Batavorum cohortis una tendere ob
and meanwhile of-the-Batavians the-cohorts together to-encamp on-account-of
veterem adversus quartadecimanos discordiam. nec diu in
the-old against the-fourteenth-men discord nor long in

tantis armatorum odiis quies fuit: Augustae Taurinorum, dum
such-great of-armed-men hatreds quiet was at-Augusta of-the-Taurini while
opificem quendam Batavus ut fraudatorem insectatur, legionarius
a-workman certain a-Batavian as a-cheat attacks a-legionary
ut hospitem tuetur, sui cuique commilitones adgregati a
as a-host defends his-own to-each comrades gathered from
conviciis ad caedem transiere. et proelium atrox arsisset,
abuse to slaughter passed and a-battle fierce would-have-blazed
ni duae praetoriae cohortes causam quartadecimanorum
had-not two praetorian cohorts the-cause of-the-fourteenth-men
secutae his fiduciam et metum Batavis fecissent:
having-followed to-these confidence and fear for-the-Batavians had-made
quos Vitellius agmini suo iungi ut fidos, legionem
whom Vitellius to-column his-own to-be-joined as loyal the-legion
Grais Alpibus traductam eo flexu itineris ire iubet
over-the-Graian Alps brought-across by-that bend of-the-route to-go orders
quo Viennam vitarent; namque et Viennenses timebantur.
by-which Vienna they-might-avoid for also the-Viennese were-feared
nocte, qua proficiscebatur legio, relictis passim ignibus
on-the-night on-which was-setting-out the-legion with-left everywhere fires
pars Taurinae coloniae ambusta, quod damnum, ut
part of-the-Taurinian colony was-burned which loss as
pleraque belli mala, maioribus aliarum urbium cladibus
most of-war evils by-the-greater of-other cities disasters
oblitteratum. quartadecimani postquam Alpibus degressi sunt,
blotted-out the-fourteenth-men after from-the-Alps descended were
seditiosissimus quisque signa Viennam ferebant: consensu
the-most-mutinous each the-standards to-Vienna were-carrying by-the-agreement
meliorum conpressi et legio in Britanniam transvecta.
of-the-better checked and the-legion into Britain carried-across

Proximus Vitellio e praetoriis cohortibus metus erat. 67
next for-Vitellius from the-praetorian cohorts the-fear was
separati primum, deinde addito honestae missionis lenimento,
separated first then with-added of-honorable discharge the-soothing
arma ad tribunos suos deferebant, donec motum a
arms to tribunes their-own they-handed-over until moved by
Vespasiano bellum crebresceret: tum resumpta militia robur
Vespasian the-war should-spread then with-resumed service the-strength
Flavianarum partium fuere. prima classicorum legio in
of-the-Flavian party they-were the-first of-marines legion into
Hispaniam missa ut pace et otio mitesceret, undecima
Spain was-sent that by-peace and leisure it-might-grow-mild the-eleventh
ac septima suis hibernis redditae, tertiadecimani
and the-seventh to-their-own winter-quarters restored the-thirteenth-men
struere amphitheatra iussi; nam Caecina Cremonae, Valens
to-build amphitheaters ordered for Caecina at-Cremona Valens
Bononiae spectaculum gladiatorum edere parabant, numquam
at-Bononia a-show of-gladiators to-give were-preparing never
ita ad curas intento Vitellio ut voluptatum oblivisceretur.
so on cares intent Vitellius that pleasures be-forgot
Et victas quidem partis modeste distraxerat: apud victores 68
and the-beaten indeed party moderately be-had-broken-up among the-victors
orta seditio, ludicro initio ni numerus caesorum
arose a-mutiny from-a-sportive beginning had-not the-number of-the-slain
invidiam Vitellio auxisset. discubuerat Vitellius Ticini
the-odium for-Vitellius had-increased had-reclined Vitellius at-Ticinum
adhibito ad epulas Verginio. legati tribunique ex moribus
with-invited to the-feast Verginius legates and-tribunes after the-manners
imperatorum severitatem aemulantur vel tempestivis conviviis
of-the-emperors strictness emulate or in-early banquets
gaudent; proinde miles intentus aut licenter agit. apud
delight accordingly the-soldiery intent or licentiously acts with

Vitellium omnia indisposita, temulenta, pervigiliis ac
Vitellius all-things disordered drunken to-all-night-revels and
bacchanalibus quam disciplinae et castris propiora. igitur
bacchanals than to-discipline and camps nearer therefore
duobus militibus, altero legionis quintae, altero e Galli
with-two soldiers one of-the-legion fifth the-other from the-Gallic
auxiliaribus, per lasciviam ad certamen luctandi accensis,
auxiliaries through horseplay to a-contest of-wrestling inflamed
postquam legionarius prociderat, insultante Gallo et iis
after the-legionary had-fallen with-mocking the-Gaul and with-those
qui ad spectandum convenerant in studia diductis, erupere
who for watching had-gathered into partisanships drawn-apart burst-forth
legionarii in perniciem auxiliorum ac duae cohortes interfectae.
the-legionaries for the-destruction of-the-auxiliaries and two cohorts were-killed
remedium tumultus fuit alius tumultus. pulvis procul et arma
the-remedy of-the-uproar was another uproar dust far-off and arms
aspiciebantur: conclamatum repente quartam decimam legionem
were-seen it-was-shouted suddenly the-fourth tenth legion
verso itinere ad proelium venire; sed erant agminis
with-turned route to battle to-be-coming but they-were of-the-column
coactores: agniti dempsere sollicitudinem. interim Verginii
the-rear-guards recognized they-removed the-anxiety meanwhile of-Verginius
servus forte obvius ut percussor Vitellii insimulatur: et
a-slave by-chance meeting-them as the-assassin of-Vitellius is-accused and
ruebat ad convivium miles, mortem Verginii exposcens. ne
rushed to the-banquet the-soldiery the-death of-Verginius demanding not
Vitellius quidem, quamquam ad omnis suspiciones pavidus,
Vitellius even although at all suspicions fearful
de innocentia eius dubitavit: aegre tamen cohibiti qui
about the-innocence his doubted with-difficulty yet restrained those-who
exitium consularis et quondam ducis sui flagitabant. nec
the-death of-a-consular and once general their-own demanded nor

quemquam saepius quam Verginium omnis seditio infestavit:
anyone more-often than Verginius every mutiny assailed
manebat admiratio viri et fama, set oderant ut fastiditi.
remained admiration of-the-man and fame but they-hated-him as spurned
Postero die Vitellius senatus legatione, quam ibi opperiri 69
on-the-next day Vitellius of-the-senate with-the-embassy which there to-wait
iusserat, audita transgressus in castra ultro pietatem militum
he-had-ordered heard having-crossed into the-camp even the-devotion of-the-soldiers
conlaudavit, frementibus auxiliis tantum impunitatis atque
praised with-growling the-auxiliaries so-much of-impunity and
adrogantiae legionariis accessisse. Batavorum cohortes,
of-arrogance to-the-legionaries to-have-been-added of-the-Batavians the-cohorts
ne quid truculentius auderent, in Germaniam remissae,
lest something more-savage they-should-dare into Germany were-sent-back
principium interno simul externoque bello parantibus
the-beginning for-internal at-the-same-time and-foreign war with-preparing
fatis. reddita civitatibus Gallorum auxilia, ingens numerus
the-fates were-returned to-the-states of-the-Gauls the-auxiliaries a-huge number
et prima statim defectione inter inania belli adsumptus.
and at-the-first at-once revolt among the-empty-shows of-war taken-on
ceterum ut largitionibus adfectae iam imperii opes
but that for-largesses impaired already of-the-empire the-resources
sufficerent, amputari legionum auxiliorumque numeros iubet
might-suffice to-be-cut-down of-the-legions and-auxiliaries the-numbers he-orders
vetitis supplementis; et promiscae missiones offerebantur.
with-forbidden reinforcements and indiscriminate discharges were-offered
exitiabile id rei publicae, ingratum militi, cui
ruinous that to-the-thing public unwelcome to-the-soldiery for-whom
eadem munia inter paucos periculaque ac labor crebrius
the-same duties among few and-dangers and toil more-frequently
redibant: et vires luxu corrumpebantur, contra veterem
came-round and strength by-luxury were-corrupted contrary-to the-old

disciplinam et instituta maiorum apud quos virtute quam
discipline and institutions of-the-ancestors among whom by-valor than
pecunia res Romana melius stetit.
by-money the-thing Roman better stood
70 Inde Vitellius Cremonam flexit et spectato munere Caecinae
thence Vitellius to-Cremona turned and with-watched the-show of-Caecina
insistere Bedriacensibus campis ac vestigia recentis victoriae
to-tread on-the-Bedriacum plains and the-traces of-the-recent victory
lustrare oculis concupivit, foedum atque atrox spectaculum.
to-survey with-eyes desired a-foul and grim spectacle
intra quadragensimum pugnae diem lacera corpora, trunci
within the-fortieth of-the-battle day mangled bodies maimed
artus, putres virorum equorumque formae, infecta tabo humus,
limbs rotting of-men and-horses shapes stained with-gore the-ground
protritis arboribus ac frugibus dira vastitas. nec minus
with-trampled trees and crops dreadful devastation nor less
inhumana pars viae quam Cremonenses lauru rosaque
inhuman a-part of-the-road which the-Cremonese with-laurel and-rose
constraverant, extructis altaribus caesisque victimis regium
had-strewn with-built altars and-slain victims kingly
in morem; quae laeta in praesens mox perniciem ipsis
into fashion which joyful for the-present soon destruction for-themselves
fecere. aderant Valens et Caecina, monstrabantque pugnae
made were-present Valens and Caecina and-showed of-the-battle
locos: hinc inrupisse legionum agmen, hinc equites
the-places from-here to-have-burst-in of-the-legions the-column from-here the-horsemen
coortos, inde circumfusas auxiliorum manus: iam
to-have-risen-up from-there poured-around of-the-auxiliaries the-bands now
tribuni praefectique, sua quisque facta extollentes, falsa
tribunes and-prefects their-own each deeds extolling false-things
vera aut maiora vero miscebant. vulgus quoque militum
true or greater than-the-true mixed the-crowd also of-the-soldiers

clamore et gaudio deflectere via, spatia certaminum
with-shouting and joy turned-aside from-the-road the-extents of-the-fighting
recognoscere, aggerem armorum, strues corporum intueri
recognized the-heap of-arms the-piles of-bodies gazed-at
mirari; et erant quos varia sors rerum lacrimaeque et
wondered-at and there-were those-whom the-various lot of-things and-tears and
misericordia subiret. at non Vitellius flexit oculos nec tot
pity came-upon but not Vitellius turned-aside his-eyes nor so-many
milia insepultorum civium exhorruit: laetus ultro et tam
thousands of-unburied citizens shuddered-at glad even and of-so
propinquae sortis ignarus instaurabat sacrum dis loci.
near a-lot ignorant he-renewed a-sacrifice to-the-gods of-the-place
Exim Bononiae a Fabio Valente gladiatorum spectaculum 71
thereafter at-Bononia by Fabius Valens of-gladiators a-show
editur, advecto ex urbe cultu. quantoque magis
is-given with-brought from the-city apparatus and-by-how-much more
propinquabat, tanto corruptius iter immixtis
he-drew-near by-so-much more-corrupt the-march with-intermingled
histrionibus et spadonum gregibus et cetero Neronianae
actors and of-eunuchs herds and the-rest of-the-Neronian
aulae ingenio; namque et Neronem ipsum Vitellius admiratione
court character for both Nero himself Vitellius with-admiration
celebrabat, sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua
celebrated to-follow singing accustomed not by-necessity by-which
honestissimus quisque, sed luxu et saginae mancipatus
the-most-honorable each but to-luxury and gluttony sold
emptusque. ut Valenti et Caecinae vacuos honoris mensis
and-bought that for-Valens and Caecina vacant of-office the-months
aperiret, coartati aliorum consulatus, dissimulatus Marci
he-might-open were-cut-short of-others the-consulships was-passed-over of-Marcus
Macri tamquam Othonianarum partium ducis; et Valerium
Macer as-if of-the-Othonian party a-general and Valerius

Marinum destinatum a Galba consulem distulit, nulla
Marinus designated by Galba consul he-put-off with-no
offensa, sed mitem et iniuriam segniter laturum. Pedanius
offense but mild and an-injury sluggishly going-to-bear Pedanius
Costa omittitur, ingratus principi ut adversus Neronem
Costa is-omitted disliked by-the-emperor as against Nero
ausus et Verginii extimulator, sed alias protulit causas;
having-dared and of-Verginius an-instigator but other he-put-forward reasons
actaeque insuper Vitellio gratiae consuetudine servitii
and-were-given besides to-Vitellius thanks from-habit of-servitude
72 Non ultra paucos dies quamquam acribus initiis coeptum
not beyond a-few days although with-keen beginnings begun
mendacium valuit. extiterat quidam Scribonianum se
the-lie prevailed had-appeared a-certain-man Scribonianus himself
Camerinum ferens, Neronianorum temporum metu in Histria
Camerinus giving-out of-the-Neronian times from-fear in Histria
occultatum, quod illic clientelae et agri veterum Crassorum
hidden because there the-clients and lands of-the-old Crassi
ac nominis favor manebat. igitur deterrimo quoque in
and of-the-name the-favor remained therefore with-the-worst each into
argumentum fabulae adsumpto vulgus credulum et quidam
the-plot of-the-tale taken-on the-crowd credulous and certain
militum, errore veri seu turbarum studio, certatim
of-the-soldiers from-ignorance of-the-truth or of-disturbances from-the-love eagerly
adgregabantur, cum pertractus ad Vitellium interrogatusque
were-gathering when dragged to Vitellius and-questioned
quisnam mortalium esset. postquam nulla dictis fides et
who-ever of-mortals he-was after no in-his-words credit and
a domino noscebatur condicione fugitivus, nomine Geta,
by his-master he-was-recognized by-condition a-runaway by-name Geta
sumptum de eo supplicium in servilem modum.
taken from him punishment into the-slave's manner

Vix credibile memoratu est quantum superbiae socordiaeque 73
scarcely credible to-tell it-is how-much of-arrogance and-of-sloth
Vitellio adoleverit, postquam speculatores e Syria Iudaeaque
in-Vitellius grew after scouts from Syria and-Judaea
adactum in verba eius Orientem nuntiavere. nam etsi
bound into the-words his the-East announced for although
vagis adhuc et incertis auctoribus erat tamen in ore
by-wandering still and uncertain informants it-was yet on the-mouth
famaque Vespasianus ac plerumque ad nomen eius Vitellius
and-in-rumor Vespasian and mostly at the-name his Vitellius
excitabatur: tum ipse exercitusque, ut nullo aemulo, saevitia
was-roused then himself and-the-army as-if with-no rival in-savagery
libidine raptu in externos mores proruperant.
lust plunder into foreign manners had-burst-out

XXX · VESPASIAN DECLARES

Vespasian weighs the war, his age, and his sons. Mucianus urges him in a long speech: he will not seek the empire for himself, Vespasian's house is worthier, Vitellius's armies are corrupted, and to deliberate is already to have revolted. Omens are recalled, among them the priest Basilides's reply at Carmel. Tiberius Alexander has the legions of Egypt swear on the first of July; soldiers hail Vespasian at Caesarea, Mucianus wins Syria at Antioch, and kings join.

At Vespasianus bellum armaque et procul vel iuxta sitas viris 74
but Vespasian war and-arms and far-off or near situated forces
circumspectabat. miles ipsi adeo paratus ut praeeuntem
surveyed the-soldiery to-himself so ready that him-leading
sacramentum et fausta Vitellio omnia precantem per
the-oath and favorable-things for-Vitellius all praying in
silentium audierint; Muciani animus nec Vespasiano alienus
silence they-heard of-Mucianus the-mind nor from-Vespasian estranged

et in Titum pronior; praefectus Aegypti Ti. Alexander
and toward Titus more-inclined the-prefect of-Egypt Tiberius Alexander
consilia sociaverat; tertiam legionem, quod e Syria in
(his)-plans had-joined the-third legion because from Syria into
Moesiam transisset, suam numerabat; ceterae Illyrici legiones
Moesia it-had-crossed his-own he-counted the-other of-Illyricum legions
secuturae sperabantur; namque omnis exercitus flammaverat
going-to-follow were-hoped for all armies had-inflamed
adrogantia venientium a Vitellio militum, quod truces
the-arrogance of-the-coming from Vitellius soldiers because savage
corpore, horridi sermone ceteros ut imparis inridebant. sed in
in-body rough in-speech the-others as unequal they-mocked but in
tanta mole belli plerumque cunctatio; et Vespasianus modo
so-great a-mass of-war mostly hesitation and Vespasian now
in spem erectus, aliquando adversa reputabat: quis ille dies
to hope roused sometimes adversities reckoned what that day
foret quo sexaginta aetatis annos et duos filios iuvenes
would-be on-which sixty of-age years and two sons young
bello permitteret? esse privatis cogitationibus progressum et,
to-war he-should-entrust to-be for-private thoughts an-advance and
prout velint, plus minusve sumi ex fortuna: imperium
according-as they-wish more or-less to-be-taken from fortune the-empire
cupientibus nihil medium inter summa aut praecipitia.
for-those-desiring nothing middle between the-highest or the-precipices
75 Versabatur ante oculos Germanici exercitus robur, notum
there-moved before his-eyes of-the-German army the-strength known
viro militari: suas legiones civili bello inexpertas, Vitellii
to-a-man military his-own legions in-civil war untried of-Vitellius
victricis, et apud victos plus querimoniarum quam virium.
the-victorious and among the-beaten more of-complaints than of-strength
fluxam per discordias militum fidem et periculum ex
wavering through discords of-the-soldiers the-loyalty and danger from

singulis: quid enim profuturas cohortis alasque, si unus
individuals what for going-to-profit the-cohorts and-squadrons if one
alterve praesenti facinore paratum ex diverso praemium
or-another by-an-immediate crime the-prepared from the-opposite-side reward
petat? sic Scribonianum sub Claudio interfectum, sic
should-seek so Scribonianus under Claudius killed so
percussorem eius Volaginium e gregario ad summa militiae
the-assassin his Volaginius from the-ranks to the-highest of-soldiering
provectum: facilius universos impelli quam singulos vitari.
raised more-easily all-together to-be-driven than individuals to-be-avoided
His pavoribus nutantem et alii legati amicique firmabant et 76
by-these fears wavering both other legates and-friends strengthened and
Mucianus, post multos secretosque sermones iam et coram
Mucianus after many and-secret talks now also openly
ita locutus: ‘omnes, qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt,
thus spoke all who of-great affairs the-plans undertake
aestimare debent an quod inchoatur rei publicae
to-weigh ought whether what is-begun to-the-thing public
utile, ipsis gloriosum, promptum effectu aut certe non
useful to-themselves glorious ready in-execution or at-least not
arduum sit; simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est,
hard be at-the-same-time himself he-who advises to-be-considered is
adiciatne consilio periculum suum, et, si fortuna coeptis
whether-he-adds to-the-plan danger his-own and if fortune the-undertakings
adfuerit, cui summum decus adquiratur. ego te, Vespasiane,
should-attend to-whom the-highest honor be-acquired I you Vespasian
ad imperium voco, quam salutare rei publicae, quam
to the-empire call how salutary to-the-thing public how
tibi magnificum, iuxta deos in tua manu positum est. nec
for-you magnificent next-to the-gods in your hand placed it-is nor
speciem adulantis expaveris: a contumelia quam a
the-appearance of-a-flatterer should-you-dread from insult than from

laude propius fuerit post Vitellium eligi. non adversus
praise nearer it-would-be after Vitellius to-be-chosen not against
divi Augusti acerrimam mentem nec adversus cautissimam
of-the-deified Augustus the-keenest mind nor against the-most-cautious
Tiberii senectutem, ne contra Gai quidem aut Claudii vel
of-Tiberius old-age not against of-Gaius even or of-Claudius or
Neronis fundatam longo imperio domum exurgimus; cessisti
of-Nero founded by-long rule the-house we-rise-up you-yielded
etiam Galbae imaginibus: torpere ultra et polluendam
even to-Galba's ancestral-masks to-be-torpid further and to-be-polluted
perdendamque rem publicam relinquere sopor et ignavia
and-to-be-ruined the-thing public to-leave sleep and cowardice
videretur, etiam si tibi quam inhonesta, tam tuta servitus
would-seem even if for-you as dishonorable so safe servitude
esset. abiit iam et transvectum est tempus quo posses
were has-gone already and passed is the-time in-which you-could
videri non cupisse: confugiendum est ad imperium. an
to-seem not to-have-desired one-must-take-refuge is in the-empire or
excidit trucidatus Corbulo? splendidior origine quam
has-it-slipped-your-mind slaughtered Corbulo more-splendid in-origin than
nos sumus, fateor, sed et Nero nobilitate natalium Vitellium
we are I-confess but also Nero in-nobility of-birth Vitellius
anteibat. satis clarus est apud timentem quisquis timetur. et
surpassed enough famous is with the-fearer whoever is-feared and
posse ab exercitu principem fieri sibi ipse Vitellius
to-be-able by an-army an-emperor to-be-made to-himself himself Vitellius
documento, nullis stipendiis, nulla militari fama, Galbae
as-proof by-no campaigns by-no military fame of-Galba
odio provectus. ne Othonem quidem ducis arte aut
through-hatred raised not Otho even by-a-general's skill or
exercitus vi, sed praepropera ipsius desperatione victum,
of-an-army by-the-force but by-the-over-hasty of-himself despair beaten

iam desiderabilem et magnum principem fecit, cum interim
already desirable and great an-emperor has-made while meanwhile
spargit legiones, exarmat cohortis, nova cotidie bello semina
he-disperses the-legions disarms the-cohorts new daily for-war seeds
ministrat. si quid ardoris ac ferociae miles habuit, popinis
supplies if anything of-ardor and of-ferocity the-soldiery had by-cookshops
et comissationibus et principis imitatione deteritur: tibi
and revels and of-the-emperor by-imitation it-is-worn-away for-you
e Iudaea et Syria et Aegypto novem legiones integrae, nulla
from Judaea and Syria and Egypt nine legions intact by-no
acie exhaustae, non discordia corruptae, sed firmatus usu
battle exhausted not by-discord corrupted but strengthened by-practice
miles et belli domitor externi: classium alarum cohortium
the-soldiery and of-war the-tamer foreign of-fleets of-squadrons of-cohorts
robora et fidissimi reges et tua ante omnis experientia.'
the-strength and most-loyal kings and your before all experience
'Nobis nihil ultra adrogabo quam ne post Valentem et 77
to-myself nothing further I-shall-claim than that-not after Valens and
Caecinam numeremur: ne tamen Mucianum socium spreveris,
Caecina we-be-counted lest yet Mucianus as-ally you-should-spurn
quia aemulum non experiris. me Vitellio antepono, te
because as-a-rival not you-find-(him) myself to-Vitellius I-prefer you
mihi. tuae domui triumphale nomen, duo iuvenes, capax
to-me to-your house a-triumphal name two young-men capable
iam imperii alter et primis militiae annis apud Germanicos
already of-empire one and in-the-first of-soldiering years among the-German
quoque exercitus clarus. absurdum fuerit non cedere imperio
also armies famous absurd it-would-be not to-yield the-empire
ei cuius filium adoptaturus essem, si ipse imperarem.
to-him whose son going-to-adopt I-would-be if myself I-ruled
ceterum inter nos non idem prosperarum adversarumque
but between us not the-same of-the-prosperous and-adverse

rerum ordo erit: nam si vincimus, honorem quem dederis
things the-order will-be for if we-win the-honor which you-give
habebo: discrimen ac pericula ex aequo patiemur. immo,
I-shall-have the-peril and dangers on equal-terms we-shall-suffer nay
ut melius est, tu tuos exercitus rege, mihi bellum et
as better it-is you your-own armies direct to-me the-war and
proeliorum incerta trade. acriore hodie disciplina victi
of-battles the-hazards hand-over with-keener today discipline the-beaten
quam victores agunt. hos ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas
than the-victors act these anger hatred of-vengeance desire
ad virtutem accendit: illi per fastidium et contumacia
to valor kindle those through disdain and defiance
hebescunt. aperiet et recludet contecta et tumescentia
grow-dull will-open and will-lay-bare the-bidden and swelling
victricium partium vulnera bellum ipsum; nec mihi maior
of-the-victorious party wounds the-war itself nor to-me greater
in tua vigilantia parsimonia sapientia fiducia est quam in
in your vigilance thrift wisdom confidence is than in
Vitellii torpore inscitia saevitia. sed meliorem in bello causam
of-Vitellius torpor ignorance savagery but a-better in war cause
quam in pace habemus; nam qui deliberant, desciverunt.'
than in peace we-have for those-who deliberate have-revolted

78 Post Muciani orationem ceteri audentius circumsistere, hortari,
after of-Mucianus the-speech the-rest more-boldly gathered-round urged
responsa vatum et siderum motus referre. nec erat
the-responses of-seers and of-the-stars the-movements they-reported nor was-be
intactus tali superstitione, ut qui mox rerum dominus
untouched by-such superstition as-one who soon of-things lord
Seleucum quendam mathematicum rectorem et praescium
Seleucus a-certain astrologer as-director and foreknower
palam habuerit. recursabant animo vetera omina: cupressus
openly had they-came-back to-his-mind old omens a-cypress

arbor in agris eius conspicua altitudine repente procideratac
tree on the-estate his conspicuous in-height suddenly had-fallen and
postera die eodem vestigio resurgens procera et latior virebat.
on-the-next day in-the-same footprint rising-again tall and broader was-green
grande id prosperumque consensu haruspicum et summa
great that and-favorable by-the-agreement of-the-soothsayers and the-highest
claritudo iuveni admodum Vespasiano promissa, sed primo
renown to-the-young very Vespasian promised but at-first
triumphalia et consulatus et Iudaicae victoriae decus
the-triumphal-insignia and the-consulship and of-the-Judaean victory the-glory
implesse fidem ominis videbatur: ut haec adeptus
to-have-fulfilled the-promise of-the-omen seemed when these-things attained
est, portendi sibi imperium credebat. est Iudaeam
he-has to-be-portended to-himself the-empire he-believed there-is Judaea
inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec
between and-Syria Carmel thus they-call the-mountain and-the-god nor
simulacrum deo aut templum — sic tradidere maiores—:
an-image for-the-god or temple so have-handed-down the-ancestors
ara tantum et reverentia. illic sacrificanti Vespasiano, cum
an-altar only and reverence there to-sacrificing Vespasian when
spes occultas versaret animo, Basilides sacerdos inspectis
hopes hidden he-was-turning in-mind Basilides the-priest with-inspected
identidem extis ‘quicquid est’ inquit, ‘Vespasiane, quod
repeatedly the-entrails whatever it-is he-said Vespasian that
paras, seu domum extruere seu prolatare agros sive ampliare
you-prepare whether a-house to-build or to-extend estates or to-enlarge
servitia, datur tibi magna sedes, ingentes termini, multum
slaves is-given to-you a-great seat huge boundaries much
hominum.’ has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc
of-men these riddles both at-once had-taken-up rumor and then
aperiebat; nec quicquam magis in ore vulgi. crebriores
was-opening nor anything more on the-mouth of-the-crowd more-frequent

apud ipsum sermones, quanto sperantibus plura dicuntur.
with him talk by-how-much to-those-hoping more is-said
haud dubia destinatione discessere Mucianus Antiochiam,
not with-doubtful determination they-departed Mucianus to-Antioch
Vespasianus Caesaream: illa Syriae, hoc Iudaeae caput est.
Vespasian to-Caesarea that of-Syria this of-Judaea the-capital is
79 Initium ferendi ad Vespasianum imperii Alexandriae
the-beginning of-conferring upon Vespasian the-empire at-Alexandria
coeptum, festinante Tiberio Alexandro, qui kalendis Iuliis
was-begun with-hastening Tiberius Alexander who on-the-kalends of-July
sacramento eius legiones adegit. isque primus principatus dies
to-the-oath his the-legions bound and-that the-first of-the-principate day
in posterum celebratus, quamvis Iudaicus exercitus quinto
into the-future was-celebrated although the-Judaean army on-the-fifth-day
nonas Iulias apud ipsum iurasset, eo ardore ut ne Titus
before-the-nones of-July before himself had-sworn with-such ardor that not Titus
quidem filius expectaretur, Syria remeans et consiliorum inter
even his-son was-waited-for from-Syria returning and of-the-plans between
Mucianum ac patrem nuntius. cuncta impetu militum
Mucianus and his-father the-messenger all-things by-the-impulse of-the-soldiers
acta non parata contione, non coniunctis legionibus.
done not with-prepared assembly not with-joined legions
80 Dum quaeritur tempus locus quodque in re tali
while is-sought a-time a-place and-what in a-thing such
difficillimum est, prima vox, dum animo spes timor, ratio
most-difficult is the-first voice while in-the-mind hope fear reason
casus obversantur, egressum cubiculo Vespasianum
chance hover having-come-out from-the-bedchamber Vespasian
pauci milites, solito adsistentes ordine ut legatum
a-few soldiers in-the-usual standing-by order as the-legate
salutaturi, imperatorem salutavere: tum ceteri adcurrere,
going-to-salute emperor saluted then the-others ran-up

Caesarem et Augustum et omnia principatus vocabula
Caesar and Augustus and all of-the-principate the-titles
cumulare. mens a metu ad fortunam transierat: in ipso
heaped the-mind from fear to fortune had-passed in himself
nihil tumidum, adrogans aut in rebus novis novum fuit. ut
nothing swollen arrogant or in affairs new new was as
primum tantae altitudinis obfusam oculis caliginem disiecit,
soon-as of-so-great height spread-over his-eyes the-mist he-dispelled
militariter locutus laeta omnia et affluentia excepit;
in-soldierly-fashion having-spoken joyful all-things and abundant he-received
namque id ipsum opperiens Mucianus alacrem militem
for that very-thing awaiting Mucianus the-eager soldiery
in verba Vespasiani adegit. tum Antiochensium theatrum
into the-words of-Vespasian bound then of-the-Antiochenes the-theater
ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentis et
having-entered where for-them to-deliberate the-custom is the-thronging and
in adulationem effusos adloquitur, satis decorus etiam Graeca
into flattery poured-out he-addresses quite elegant even in-Greek
facundia, omniumque quae diceret atque ageret arte quadam
eloquence and-of-all which he-said and did with-art a-certain
ostentator. nihil aeque provinciam exercitumque accendit
a-displayer nothing equally the-province and-the-army inflamed
quam quod adseverabat Mucianus statuisse Vitellium ut
as that asserted Mucianus to-have-resolved Vitellius that
Germanicas legiones in Syriam ad militiam opulentam
the-German legions into Syria to soldiering rich
quietamque transferret, contra Syriacis legionibus
and-quiet he-should-transfer on-the-other-hand for-the-Syrian legions
Germanica hiberna caelo ac laboribus dura mutarentur;
the-German winter-quarters in-climate and toils hard should-be-exchanged
quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio
for both the-provincials in-the-accustomed of-soldiers comradeship

gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus
delighted most by-ties and kinships
mixti, et militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et
mixed and by-the-soldiers from-the-long-standing of-service known and
familiaria castra in modum penatium diligebantur.
familiar the-camps in the-manner of-household-gods were-loved
81 Ante idus Iulias Syria omnis in eodem sacramento fuit.
before the-ides of-July Syria all in the-same oath was
accessere cum regno Sohaemus haud spernendis viribus,
joined with his-kingdom Sohaemus not to-be-despised in-forces
Antiochus vetustis opibus ingens et servientium regum
Antiochus in-ancient wealth huge and of-the-serving kings
ditissimus. mox per occultos suorum nuntios excitus ab
the-richest soon through secret of-his-own messengers summoned from
urbe Agrippa, ignaro adhuc Vitellio, celeri navigatione
the-city Agrippa with-unaware still Vitellius in-swift voyage
properaverat. nec minore animo regina Berenice partis
had-hurried nor with-less spirit queen Berenice the-party
iuvabat, florens aetate formaque et seni quoque Vespasiano
helped flourishing in-age and-beauty and to-the-old also Vespasian
magnificentia munerum grata. quidquid provinciarum adluitur
by-the-magnificence of-her-gifts pleasing whatever of-provinces is-washed
mari Asia atque Achaia tenus, quantumque introrsus in
by-the-sea Asia and Achaea as-far-as and-as-much-as inland toward
Pontum et Armenios patescit, iuravere; sed inermes legati
Pontus and the-Armenians lies-open swore but unarmed legates
regebant, nondum additis Cappadociae legionibus. consilium
ruled not-yet with-added to-Cappadocia legions a-council
de summa rerum Beryti habitum. illuc Mucianus cum
about the-sum of-affairs at-Berytus was-held thither Mucianus with
legatis tribunisque et splendidissimo quoque centurionum ac
legates and-tribunes and the-most-splendid each of-the-centurions and

militum venit, et e Iudaico exercitu lecta decora: tantum
of-the-soldiers came and from the-Judaean army chosen ornaments so-great
simul peditum equitumque et aemulantium inter se
at-the-same-time of-infantry and-cavalry and of-rivaling among themselves
regum paratus speciem fortunae principalis effecerant.
kings the-display the-appearance of-fortune imperial had-produced

XXXI · THE EAST PREPARES

Vespasian raises levies, money, and weapons, and leaves Titus to press the Judaean war; Mucianus marches west with a picked force while the fleet is ordered to Byzantium. Money is extorted throughout the provinces. The third legion's defection carries the Moesian legions, and Aponius Saturninus tries to have the legate Tettius Julianus murdered. In Pannonia Antonius Primus, a condemned forger, brings the legions over, the procurator Cornelius Fuscus spurs the war on, and letters to Britain, Spain, and Gaul set the war ablaze.

Prima belli cura agere dilectus, revocare veteranos; 82
the-first of-the-war care to-hold levies to-recall veterans
destinantur validae civitates exercendis armorum officinis; apud
are-marked-out strong states for-running of-arms workshops among
Antiochensis aurum argentumque signatur, eaque cuncta per
the-Antiochenes gold and-silver is-coined and-these all-things through
idoneos ministros suis quaeque locis festinabantur. ipse
suitable agents in-their-own each places were-hurried himself
Vespasianus adire, hortari, bonos laude, segnis exemplo
Vespasian went-round encouraged the-good by-praise the-sluggish by-example
incitare saepius quam coercere, vitia magis amicorum quam
roused more-often than he-checked the-vices rather of-his-friends than
virtutes dissimulans. multos praefecturis et procurationibus,
the-virtues ignoring many with-prefectures and procuratorships

plerosque senatorii ordinis honore percoluit, egregios
most of-the-senatorial order with-the-honor he-distinguished excellent
viros et mox summa adeptos; quibusdam fortuna pro
men and soon the-highest having-attained for-certain fortune instead-of
virtutibus fuit. donativum militi neque Mucianus prima
virtues was the-donative to-the-soldiery neither Mucianus at-the-first
contione nisi modice ostenderat, ne Vespasianus quidem plus
assembly except moderately had-shown nor Vespasian even more
civili bello obtulit quam alii in pace, egregie firmus adversus
in-civil war offered than others in peace outstandingly firm against
militarem largitionem eoque exercitu meliore. missi
military largess and-for-that-reason with-the-army better were-sent
ad Parthum Armeniumque legati, provisumque ne versis
to the-Parthian and-the-Armenian envoys and-it-was-provided lest with-turned
ad civile bellum legionibus terga nudarentur. Titum instare
to civil war the-legions the-rear should-be-bared Titus to-press-on
Iudaeae, Vespasianum obtinere claustra Aegypti placuit:
Judaea Vespasian to-hold the-barriers of-Egypt it-was-decided
sufficere videbantur adversus Vitellium pars copiarum et
to-suffice seemed against Vitellius part of-the-forces and
dux Mucianus et Vespasiani nomen ac nihil arduum
as-general Mucianus and of-Vespasian the-name and nothing hard
fatis. ad omnis exercitus legatosque scriptae epistulae
for-the-fates to all armies and-legates written letters
praeceptumque ut praetorianos Vitellio infensos reciperandae
and-it-was-instructed that the-praetorians to-Vitellius hostile of-recovering
militiae praemio invitarent.
their-service by-the-reward they-should-invite

83 Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperii
Mucianus with an-unencumbered band ally rather of-the-empire
quam ministrum agens, non lento itinere, ne cunctari videretur,
than servant playing not in-slow march lest to-delay he-should-seem

neque tamen properans, gliscere famam ipso spatio sinebat,
nor yet hurrying to-grow the-report by-the-very distance he-allowed
gnarus modicas viris sibi et maiora credi de
knowing moderate the-forces to-himself and greater-things to-be-believed about
absentibus; sed legio sexta et tredecim vexillariorum milia
the-absent but the-legion sixth and thirteen of-detachment-men thousands
ingenti agmine sequebantur. classem e Ponto Byzantium
in-a-huge column followed the-fleet from Pontus to-Byzantium
adigi iusserat, ambiguus consilii num omissa Moesia
to-be-brought he-had-ordered doubtful of-plan whether with-left Moesia
Dyrrachium pedite atque equite, simul longis navibus
Dyrrachium with-infantry and cavalry at-the-same-time with-long ships
versum in Italiam mare clauderet, tuta pone tergum
the-facing toward Italy sea he-should-close safe behind his-back
Achaia Asiaque, quas inermis exponi Vitellio, ni praesidiis
Achaea and-Asia which unarmed to-be-exposed to-Vitellius unless with-garrisons
firmarentur; atque ipsum Vitellium in incerto fore quam
they-were-strengthened and himself Vitellius in doubt going-to-be what
partem Italiae protegeret, si sibi Brundisium Tarentumque
part of-Italy he-should-protect if for-himself Brundisium and-Tarentum
et Calabriae Lucaniaeque litora infestis classibus peterentur.
and of-Calabria and-of-Lucania the-shores by-hostile fleets were-sought
Igitur navium militum armorum paratu strepere 84
therefore of-ships of-soldiers of-arms with-the-preparation resounded
provinciae, sed nihil aeque fatigabat quam pecuniarum
the-provinces but nothing equally wearied as of-money
conquisitio: eos esse belli civilis nervos dictitans Mucianus
the-collection those to-be of-war civil the-sinews repeating Mucianus
non ius aut verum in cognitionibus, sed solam magnitudinem
not right or the-true in the-hearings but sole the-greatness
opum spectabat. passim delationes, et locupletissimus quisque
of-wealth regarded everywhere informings and the-richest each

in praedam correpti. quae gravia atque intoleranda, sed
for plunder seized which-things heavy and intolerable but
necessitate armorum excusata etiam in pace mansere, ipso
by-the-necessity of-arms excused even in peace remained with-himself
Vespasiano inter initia imperii ad obtinendas iniquitates
Vespasian at the-beginnings of-his-reign for keeping injustices
haud perinde obstinante, donec indulgentia fortunae et
not so-much insisting until by-the-indulgence of-fortune and
pravis magistris didicit aususque est. propriis quoque
by-crooked teachers he-learned and-dared has from-his-own also
opibus Mucianus bellum iuvit, largus privatim, quod avidius
wealth Mucianus the-war helped generous privately because more-greedily
de re publica sumeret. ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum
from the-thing public he-would-take the-rest of-contributing money
exemplum secuti, rarissimus quisque eandem in reciperando
the-example followed the-rarest each the-same in recovering
licentiam habuerunt.
license had

85 Adcelerata interim Vespasiani coepta Illyrici exercitus
were-accelerated meanwhile of-Vespasian the-undertakings of-the-Illyrian army
studio transgressi in partis: tertia legio exemplum ceteris
by-the-zeal having-crossed to the-party the-third legion an-example to-the-other
Moesiae legionibus praebuit; octava erat ac septima
of-Moesia legions offered the-eighth was and the-seventh
Claudiana, imbutae favore Othonis, quamvis proelio non
Claudian steeped in-the-favor of-Otho although in-the-battle not
interfuissent. Aquileiam progressae, proturbatis qui de
they-had-taken-part to-Aquileia having-advanced with-driven-off those-who about
Othone nuntiabant laceratisque vexillis nomen Vitellii
Otho were-announcing and-with-torn the-banners the-name of-Vitellius
praeferentibus, rapta postremo pecunia et inter se
bearing-before with-seized at-last the-money and among themselves

divisa, hostiliter egerant. unde metus et ex metu consilium,
divided hostilely they-had-acted whence fear and from fear the-plan
posse imputari Vespasiano quae apud Vitellium excusanda
to-be-able to-be-charged-to Vespasian what with Vitellius to-be-excused
erant. ita tres Moesicae legiones per epistulas adliciebant
were so three Moesian legions through letters enticed
Pannonicum exercitum aut abnuenti vim parabant. in
the-Pannonian army or for-the-refusing force they-prepared in
eo motu Aponius Saturninus Moesiae rector pessimum
that commotion Aponius Saturninus of-Moesia the-governor a-most-wicked
facinus audet, misso centurione ad interficiendum Tettium
crime dares with-sent a-centurion to killing Tettius
Iulianum septimae legionis legatum ob simultates,
Julianus of-the-seventh legion the-legate on-account-of quarrels
quibus causam partium praetendebat. Iulianus comperto
for-which the-cause of-the-party he-put-forward Julianus with-discovered
discrimine et gnaris locorum adscitis per avia
the-danger and with-knowers of-the-places summoned through the-pathless-places
Moesiae ultra montem Haemum profugit; nec deinde civili
of-Moesia beyond the-mountain Haemus fled nor afterward in-civil
bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum
war took-part through various delays the-undertaken to Vespasian
iter trahens et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans.
journey dragging-out and from the-news lingering or hurrying
At in Pannonia tertia decima legio ac septima Galbiana, 86
but in Pannonia the-third tenth legion and the-seventh Galbian
dolorem iramque Bedriacensis pugnae retinentes, haud
the-pain and-wrath of-the-Bedriacum battle keeping not
cunctanter Vespasiano accessere, vi praecipua Primi
hesitantly to-Vespasian acceded by-the-force especial of-Primus
Antonii. is legibus nocens et tempore Neronis falsi
Antonius he by-the-laws guilty and in-the-time of-Nero of-forgery

damnatus inter alia belli mala senatorium ordinem reciperaverat.
condemned among other of-war evils the-senatorial rank had-recovered
praepositus a Galba septimae legioni scriptitasse Othoni
put-in-command by Galba over-the-seventh legion to-have-written-often to-Otho
credebatur, ducem se partibus offerens; a quo neglectus
he-was-believed as-a-general himself to-the-party offering by whom neglected
in nullo Othoniani belli usu fuit. labantibus Vitellii rebus
in no of-the-Othonian war use he-was with-tottering of-Vitellius the-fortunes
Vespasianum secutus grande momentum addidit, strenuus
Vespasian having-followed great weight he-added vigorous
manu, sermone promptus, serendae in alios invidiae
in-hand in-speech ready of-sowing against others odium
artifex, discordiis et seditionibus potens, raptor, largitor,
a-craftsman in-discords and seditions powerful a-plunderer a-lavisher
pace pessimus, bello non spernendus. iuncti inde Moesici ac
in-peace worst in-war not to-be-despised joined thence the-Moesian and
Pannonici exercitus Dalmaticum militem traxere, quamquam
Pannonian armies the-Dalmatian soldiery drew although
consularibus legatis nihil turbantibus. Tampius Flavianus
with-the-consular legates nothing disturbing Tampius Flavianus
Pannoniam, Pompeius Silvanus Dalmatiam tenebant, divites
Pannonia Pompeius Silvanus Dalmatia held rich
senes; sed procurator aderat Cornelius Fuscus, vigens aetate,
old-men but the-procurator was-at-hand Cornelius Fuscus vigorous in-age
claris natalibus. prima iuventa quietis cupidine senatorium
of-famous birth in-first youth of-quiet from-desire the-senatorial
ordinem exuerat; idem pro Galba dux coloniae suae,
rank he-had-put-off the-same for Galba the-leader of-colony his-own
eaque opera procurationem adeptus, susceptis Vespasiani
and-by-that service a-procuratorship having-attained with-taken-up of-Vespasian
partibus acerrimam bello facem praetulit: non tam
the-party the-fiercest for-the-war torch carried-before not so-much

praemiis periculorum quam ipsis periculis laetus pro
in-the-rewards of-dangers as in-the-dangers themselves glad instead-of
certis et olim partis nova ambigua ancipitia malebat.
sure-things and long-ago won new doubtful perilous-things he-preferred
igitur movere et quatere, quidquid usquam aegrum foret,
therefore to-move and to-shake whatever anywhere sick might-be
adgrediuntur. scriptae in Britanniam ad quartadecimanos, in
they-set-about written into Britain to the-fourteenth-men into
Hispaniam ad primanos epistulae, quod utraque legio pro
Spain to the-first-men letters because each legion for
Othone, adversa Vitellio fuerat; sparguntur per Gallias litterae;
Otho adverse to-Vitellius had-been are-scattered through the-Gauls letters
momentoque temporis flagrabat ingens bellum, Illyricis
and-in-a-moment of-time blazed a-huge war with-the-Illyrian
exercitibus palam desciscentibus, ceteris fortunam secuturis.
armies openly revolting the-others fortune going-to-follow

XXXII · VITELLIUS IN ROME

Vitellius moves toward Rome with sixty thousand armed men and a larger train of servants; near the city his soldiers clash with the people. He enters in the bordered toga and praises himself to the senate and people. As high priest he issues an edict on the day of the Allia and bears Helvidius Priscus's dissent; Caecina and Valens vie for power, and he is believed to squander nine hundred million sesterces in a few months.

Dum haec per provincias a Vespasiano ducibusque 87
while these-things through the-provinces by Vespasian and-the-generals
partium geruntur, Vitellius contemptior in dies segniorque,
of-the-party are-done Vitellius more-despised by the-day and-more-sluggish
ad omnis municipiorum villarumque amoenitates resistens,
at all of-the-townships and-of-the-villas the-pleasant-spots halting

gravi urbem agmine petebat. sexaginta milia armatorum
in-heavy the-city column sought sixty thousands of-armed-men
sequebantur, licentia corrupta; calonum numerus amplior,
followed by-license corrupted of-servants the-number larger
procacissimis etiam inter servos lixarum ingeniis;
with-most-insolent even among slaves of-the-camp-followers characters
tot legatorum amicorumque comitatus inhabilis ad
so-many of-legates and-friends the-retinue unfit for
parendum, etiam si summa modestia regeretur. onerabant
obeying even if with-the-utmost restraint it-were-ruled burdened
multitudinem obvii ex urbe senatores equitesque, quidam
the-multitude meeting-him from the-city senators and-knights some
metu, multi per adulationem, ceteri ac paulatim omnes
from-fear many through flattery the-rest and gradually all
ne aliis proficiscentibus ipsi remanerent. adgregabantur
lest with-others setting-out themselves they-should-remain were-gathering
e plebe flagitiosa per obsequia Vitellio cogniti, scurrae,
from the-plebs disgraceful through compliances to-Vitellius known buffoons
histriones, aurigae, quibus ille amicitiarum dehonestamentis
actors charioteers in-which he of-friendships the-disgraces
mire gaudebat. nec coloniae modo aut municipia congestu
wonderfully delighted nor colonies only or townships by-the-heaping
copiarum, sed ipsi cultores arvaque maturis iam frugibus
of-supplies but the-very tillers and-the-fields with-ripe already crops
ut hostile solum vastabantur.
as hostile soil were-laid-waste

88 Multae et atroces inter se militum caedes, post seditionem
many and fierce among themselves of-soldiers slaughters after the-mutiny
Ticini coeptam manente legionum auxiliorumque discordia;
at-Ticinum begun with-remaining of-legions and-auxiliaries discord
ubi adversus paganos certandum foret, consensu. sed plurima
when against civilians to-be-fought it-was in-agreement but the-greatest

strages ad septimum ab urbe lapidem. singulis ibi militibus
slaughter at the-seventh from the-city milestone to-individual there soldiers
Vitellius paratos cibos ut gladiatoriam saginam dividebat;
Vitellius prepared foods as gladiators' fattening-fare was-distributing
et effusa plebes totis se castris miscuerat. incuriosos
and poured-out the-plebs in-the-whole itself camp had-mingled the-unconcerned
milites — vernacula utebantur urbanitate — quidam spoliavere,
soldiers with-native they-used wit some despoiled
abscisis furtim balteis an accincti forent rogitantes. non tulit
with-cut-off stealthily belts whether girded they-were asking not bore
ludibrium insolens contumeliarum animus: inermem populum
the-mockery unaccustomed to-insults the-spirit the-unarmed people
gladiis invasere. caesus inter alios pater militis, cum filium
with-swords they-attacked was-slain among others the-father of-a-soldier while his-son
comitaretur; deinde agnitus et vulgata caede temperatum
he-accompanied then recognized and with-spread-abroad the-killing it-was-refrained
ab innoxiis. in urbe tamen trepidatum praecurrentibus
from the-innocent in the-city yet there-was-panic with-running-ahead
passim militibus; forum maxime petebant, cupidine visendi
everywhere soldiers the-forum chiefly they-sought from-desire of-seeing
locum in quo Galba iacuisset. nec minus saevum spectaculum
the-place in which Galba had-lain nor less savage a-spectacle
erant ipsi, tergis ferarum et ingentibus telis horrentes,
were themselves with-hides of-beasts and huge weapons bristling
cum turbam populi per inscitiam parum vitarent, aut ubi
when the-throng of-the-people through ignorance too-little they-avoided or when
lubrico viae vel occursu alicuius procidissent, ad
on-a-slippery-place of-the-road or by-the-collision of-someone they-had-fallen to
iurgium, mox ad manus et ferrum transirent. quin et tribuni
quarreling soon to hands and steel they-passed indeed even tribunes
praefectique cum terrore et armatorum catervis volitabant.
and-prefects with terror and of-armed-men bands flew-about

89 Ipse Vitellius a ponte Mulvio insigni equo,
himself Vitellius from the-bridge Mulvian on-a-distinguished horse
paludatus accinctusque, senatum et populum ante se
in-general's-cloak and-girded the-senate and the-people before himself
agens, quo minus ut captam urbem ingrederetur, amicorum
driving by-which less as a-captured city he-should-enter of-his-friends
consilio deterritus, sumpta praetexta et composito agmine
by-the-advice deterred with-put-on the-bordered-toga and with-ordered column
incessit. quattuor legionum aquilae per frontem totidemque
he-advanced of-four legions the-eagles along the-front and-as-many
circa e legionibus aliis vexilla, mox duodecim alarum
around from legions other the-banners then of-twelve squadrons
signa et post peditum ordines eques; dein quattuor et
the-standards and after of-infantry the-ranks the-cavalry then four and
triginta cohortes, ut nomina gentium aut species armorum
thirty cohorts as the-names of-the-peoples or the-kinds of-arms
forent, discretae. ante aquilas praefecti castrorum tribunique
were distinguished before the-eagles the-prefects of-the-camp and-tribunes
et primi centurionum candida veste, ceteri iuxta suam
and the-first of-the-centurions in-white dress the-rest beside his-own
quisque centuriam, armis donisque fulgentes; et militum
each century with-arms and-decorations gleaming and of-the-soldiers
phalerae torquesque splendebant: decora facies et non
the-medallions and-collars shone a-handsome appearance and not
Vitellio principe dignus exercitus. sic Capitolium ingressus
with-Vitellius as-emperor worthy an-army so the-Capitol having-entered
atque ibi matrem complexus Augustae nomine honoravit.
and there his-mother having-embraced of-Augusta with-the-name he-honored
90 Postera die tamquam apud alterius civitatis senatum
on-the-next day as-if before of-another state the-senate
populumque magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit,
and-people a-magnificent speech about him himself he-produced

industriam temperantiamque suam laudibus attollens, consciis
the-industry and-temperance his-own with-praises exalting with-conscious
flagitiorum ipsis qui aderant omnique Italia, per quam
of-the-crimes themselves who were-present and-all Italy through which
somno et luxu pudendus incesserat. vulgus tamen vacuum
in-sleep and luxury shameful he-had-advanced the-crowd yet empty
curis et sine falsi verique discrimine solitas adulationes
of-cares and without of-false and-true distinction the-usual flatteries
edoctum clamore et vocibus adstrepebat; abnuentique
taught with-shouting and voices applauded and-from-the-refusing
nomen Augusti expressere ut adsumeret, tam frustra quam
the-name of-Augustus they-forced that he-should-take-it as vainly as
recusaverat.
he-had-refused

Apud civitatem cuncta interpretantem funesti ominis loco 91
among a-state all-things interpreting of-a-deadly omen in-the-place
acceptum est quod maximum pontificatum adeptus Vitellius
taken was that the-highest pontificate having-attained Vitellius
de caerimoniis publicis xv kalendas Augustas
about ceremonies public on-the-fifteenth before-the-kalends of-August
edixisset, antiquitus infausto die Cremerensi Alliensique
had-issued-an-edict anciently ill-omened day by-the-Cremera and-Allia
cladibus: adeo omnis humani divinique iuris expers, pari
disasters so of-all human and-divine law without by-equal
libertorum amicorum socordia, velut inter temulentos agebat.
of-freedmen of-friends sloth as-if among drunkards he-acted
sed comitia consulum cum candidatis civiliter celebrans
but the-elections of-consuls with the-candidates like-a-citizen attending
omnem infimae plebis rumorem in theatro ut spectator,
every of-the-lowest plebs murmur in the-theater as a-spectator
in circo ut fautor adfectavit: quae grata sane et
in the-circus as a-partisan he-courted which-things pleasing certainly and

popularia, si a virtutibus proficiscerentur, memoria vitae
popular if from virtues they-proceeded from-the-memory of-life
prioris indecora et vilia accipiebantur. ventitabat in senatum,
former disgraceful and cheap were-received he-came-often into the-senate
etiam cum parvis de rebus patres consulerentur. ac forte
even when small about matters the-fathers were-consulted and by-chance
Priscus Helvidius praetor designatus contra studium eius
Priscus Helvidius praetor designate against the-wish his
censuerat. commotus primo Vitellius, non tamen ultra quam
had-voted moved at-first Vitellius not yet further than
tribunos plebis in auxilium spretae potestatis advocavit; mox
the-tribunes of-the-plebs to the-aid of-spurned power he-called soon
mitigantibus amicis, qui altiorem iracundiam eius verebantur,
with-soothing friends who a-deeper anger his feared
nihil novi accidisse respondit quod duo senatores in
nothing new to-have-happened he-replied that two senators in
re publica dissentirent; solitum se etiam Thraseae
the-thing public disagreed accustomed himself even to-Thrasea
contra dicere. inrisere plerique impudentiam aemulationis;
against to-speak mocked most the-impudence of-the-rivalry
aliis id ipsum placebat quod neminem ex praepotentibus,
to-others that very-thing pleased that no-one from the-overmighty
sed Thraseam ad exemplar verae gloriae legisset.
but Thrasea for a-model of-true glory he-had-chosen

92 Praeposuerat praetorianis Publilium Sabinum a praefectura
he-had-put-in-charge over-the-praetorians Publilius Sabinus from the-prefecture
cohortis, Iulium Priscum tum centurionem: Priscus Valentis,
of-a-cohort Julius Priscus then a-centurion Priscus of-Valens
Sabinus Caecinae gratia pollebant; inter discordis Vitellio
Sabinus of-Caecina by-the-favor were-powerful among the-quarreling for-Vitellius
nihil auctoritas. munia imperii Caecina ac Valens obibant,
no authority the-duties of-the-empire Caecina and Valens discharged

olim anxii odiis, quae bello et castris male dissimulata
long anxious from-hatreds which in-war and camps ill concealed
pravitas amicorum et fecunda gignendis inimicitiis civitas
the-crookedness of-friends and fertile in-producing enmities the-city
auxerat, dum ambitu comitatu et immensis salutantium
had-increased while in-canvassing in-retinue and with-huge of-greeters
agminibus contendunt comparanturque, variis in hunc
columns they-contend and-are-compared with-the-various toward this-one
aut illum Vitellii inclinationibus; nec umquam satis fida
or that-one of-Vitellius inclinations nor ever sufficiently loyal
potentia, ubi nimia est: simul ipsum Vitellium, subitis
power when excessive it-is at-the-same-time himself Vitellius with-sudden
offensis aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem, contemnebant
offenses or untimely flatteries changeable they-despised
metuebantque. nec eo segnius invaserant domos hortos
and-feared nor for-that more-sluggishly had-they-seized the-houses gardens
opesque imperii, cum flebilis et egens nobilium turba,
and-wealth of-the-empire while the-pitiable and needy of-nobles crowd
quos ipsos liberosque patriae Galba reddiderat, nulla
whom themselves and-their-children to-the-fatherland Galba had-restored by-no
principis misericordia iuvarentur. gratum primoribus civitatis
of-the-emperor pity were-helped pleasing to-the-chief-men of-the-state
etiam plebs adprobavit, quod reversis ab exilio iura
even the-plebs approved that to-the-returned from exile the-rights
libertorum concessisset, quamquam id omni modo servilia
over-freedmen he-had-granted although that in-every way servile
ingenia corrumpebant, abditis pecuniis per occultos aut
characters corrupted with-hidden moneys in secret or
ambitiosos sinus, et quidam in domum Caesaris transgressi
ambitious pockets and some into the-house of-Caesar having-passed
atque ipsis dominis potentiores.
and than-the-very masters more-powerful

93 Sed miles, plenis castris et redundante multitudine, in
but the-soldiery with-full camp and with-overflowing multitude in
porticibus aut delubris et urbe tota vagus, non principia
the-porticoes or shrines and the-city whole wandering not headquarters
noscere, non servare vigilias neque labore firmari: per
knew not kept watches nor by-toil was-strengthened through
inlecebras urbis et inhonesta dictu corpus otio, animum
the-allurements of-the-city and disgraceful to-tell the-body by-idleness the-mind
libidinibus imminuebant. postremo ne salutis quidem cura
by-lusts they-weakened at-last not of-health even with-care
infamibus Vaticani locis magna pars tetendit, unde crebrae
in-the-ill-famed of-the-Vatican places a-great part encamped whence frequent
in vulgus mortes; et adiacente Tiberi Germanorum
among the-crowd deaths and with-adjacent the-Tiber of-the-Germans
Gallorumque obnoxia morbis corpora fluminis aviditas et
and-Gauls liable to-diseases the-bodies for-the-river the-greed and
aestus impatientia labefecit. insuper confusus pravitate vel
of-heat the-intolerance weakened besides was-confused by-crookedness or
ambitu ordo militiae: sedecim praetoriae, quattuor urbanae
canvassing the-order of-service sixteen praetorian four city
cohortes scribebantur, quis singula milia inessent. plus in
cohorts were-enrolled in-which each thousand should-be more in
eo dilectu Valens audebat, tamquam ipsum Caecinam periculo
that levy Valens dared as-if himself Caecina from-danger
exemisset. sane adventu eius partes convaluerant, et
he-had-rescued certainly by-the-arrival his the-party had-recovered-strength and
sinistrum lenti itineris rumorem prospero proelio verterat.
the-sinister of-the-slow march rumor by-a-successful battle he-had-turned
omnisque inferioris Germaniae miles Valentem adsectabatur,
and-all of-lower Germany the-soldiery Valens followed
unde primum creditur Caecinae fides fluitasse.
whence first is-believed of-Caecina the-loyalty to-have-wavered

Ceterum non ita ducibus indulsit Vitellius ut non plus 94
but not so to-the-generals indulged Vitellius that not more
militi liceret. sibi quisque militiam sumpsere: quamvis
to-the-soldiery it-was-allowed for-himself each service took although
indignus, si ita maluerat, urbanae militiae adscribebatur;
unworthy if so he-had-preferred to-the-city service he-was-enrolled
rursus bonis remanere inter legionarios aut alaris
again to-the-good to-remain among the-legionaries or the-cavalrymen
volentibus permissum. nec deerant qui vellent, fessi
wishing it-was-permitted nor were-lacking those-who wished worn
morbis et intemperiem caeli incusantes; robora tamen
by-diseases and the-unhealthiness of-the-climate blaming the-strength yet
legionibus alisque subtracta, convulsum castrorum decus,
from-the-legions and-squadrons was-withdrawn was-wrecked of-the-camp the-glory
viginti milibus e toto exercitu permixtis magis quam
with-twenty thousand from the-whole army mixed-up rather than
electis. Contionante Vitellio postulantur ad supplicium Asiaticus
chosen with-addressing Vitellius are-demanded for execution Asiaticus
et Flavus et Rufinus duces Galliarum, quod pro Vindice
and Flavus and Rufinus leaders of-the-Gauls because for Vindex
bellassent. nec coercebat eius modi voces Vitellius: super
they-had-fought nor did-he-check of-this kind voices Vitellius besides
insitam animo ignaviam conscius sibi instare donativum
implanted in-the-mind cowardice conscious to-himself to-be-pressing the-donative
et deesse pecuniam omnia alia militi largiebatur.
and to-be-lacking money all other-things to-the-soldiery he-lavished
liberti principum conferre pro numero mancipiorum ut
the-freedmen of-the-emperors to-contribute according-to the-number of-their-slaves as
tributum iussi: ipse sola perdendi cura stabula aurigis
tribute ordered himself with-sole of-squandering care stables for-the-charioteers

extruere, circum gladiatorum ferarumque spectaculis opplere,
he-built the-circus of-gladiators and-of-beasts with-shows he-filled
tamquam in summa abundantia pecuniae inludere.
as-if in utmost abundance of-money he-made-sport
Quin et natalem Vitellii diem Caecina ac Valens editis
indeed even the-birth of-Vitellius day Caecina and Valens with-given
tota urbe vicatim gladiatoribus celebravere, ingenti
in-the-whole city ward-by-ward gladiators celebrated with-huge
paratu et ante illum diem insolito. laetum foedissimo cuique
apparatus and before that day unaccustomed joyful to-the-foulest each
apud bonos invidiae fuit quod extructis in campo Martio
among the-good of-odium it-was that with-built in the-field of-Mars
aris inferias Neroni fecisset. caesae publice victimae
altars funeral-offerings to-Nero he-had-made were-slain publicly victims
crematae que; facem Augustales subdidere, quod sacerdotium,
and-burned the-torch the-Augustales set-under which priesthood
ut Romulus Tatio regi, ita Caesar Tiberius Iuliae genti
as Romulus to-Tatius the-king so Caesar Tiberius to-the-Julian family
sacravit. nondum quartus a victoria mensis, et libertus
consecrated not-yet the-fourth from the-victory month and the-freedman
Vitellii Asiaticus Polyclitos Patrobios et vetera odiorum
of-Vitellius Asiaticus the-Polycliti the-Patrobii and old of-hatreds
nomina aequabat. nemo in illa aula probitate aut industria
names equaled no-one in that court in-uprightness or diligence
certavit: unum ad potentiam iter, prodigis epulis et sumptu
competed one to power the-road with-prodigal feasts and with-expense
ganeaque satiare inexplebilis Vitellii libidines. ipse abunde
and-gluttony to-satisfy the-insatiable of-Vitellius lusts himself abundantly
ratus si praesentibus frueretur, nec in longius consultans,
thinking if the-present he-enjoyed nor for longer taking-thought
noviens miliens sestertium paucissimis mensibus intervertisse
nine-hundred million sesterces in-very-few months to-have-squandered

creditur. magna et misera civitas, eodem anno Othonem
he-is-believed the-great and wretched state in-the-same year Otho
Vitellium passa, inter Vinios Fabios Icelos Asiaticos
Vitellius having-endured among the-Vinii the-Fabii the-Iceli the-Asiatici
varia et pudenda sorte agebat, donec successere Mucianus
in-varied and shameful lot lived until succeeded Mucianus
et Marcellus et magis alii homines quam alii mores.
and Marcellus and rather other men than other manners

XXXIII · CAECINA'S TREACHERY

The third legion's defection is reported to Vitellius, who plays it down and suppresses Vespasian's name. He summons auxiliaries slowly from Germany, Britain, and Spain, and the African legate Festus wavers. At last he orders Caecina and Valens out, but Caecina, honored at his parting, plots with Lucilius Bassus, prefect of the Ravenna and Misenum fleets, to betray him. Tacitus doubts the Flavian writers who credited his treachery to love of peace and the state.

Prima Vitellio tertiae legionis defectio nuntiatur, missis ab 96
first to-Vitellius of-the-third legion the-defection is-announced with-sent by
Aponio Saturnino epistulis, antequam is quoque Vespasiani
Aponius Saturninus letters before he also of-Vespasian
partibus adgregaretur; sed neque Aponius cuncta, ut trepidans
to-the-party joined but neither Aponius all-things as alarmed
re subita, perscripserat, et amici adulantes mollius
by-a-thing sudden had-written-out and friends flattering more-softly
interpretabantur: unius legionis eam seditionem, ceteris
interpreted of-one legion that the-mutiny in-the-other
exercitibus constare fidem. in hunc modum etiam Vitellius
armies to-stand-firm loyalty in this manner also Vitellius
apud milites disseruit, praetorianos nuper exauctoratos
before the-soldiers argued the-praetorians recently discharged

insectatus, a quibus falsos rumores dispergi, nec ullum
attacking by whom false rumors to-be-spread nor any
civilis belli metum adseverabat, suppresso Vespasiani nomine
of-civil war fear he-asserted with-suppressed of-Vespasian the-name
et vagis per urbem militibus qui sermones populi
and with-wandering through the-city soldiers who the-talk of-the-people
coercerent. id praecipuum alimentum famae erat.
should-check that the-chief nourishment of-rumor was
97 Auxilia tamen e Germania Britanniaque et Hispaniis
auxiliaries yet from Germany and-Britain and the-Spains
excivit, segniter et necessitatem dissimulans. perinde legati
he-summoned sluggishly and the-necessity concealing just-so the-legates
provinciaeque cunctabantur, Hordeonius Flaccus suspectis
and-provinces delayed Hordeonius Flaccus with-suspected
iam Batavis anxius proprio bello, Vettius Bolanus
already the-Batavians anxious about-his-own war Vettius Bolanus
numquam satis quieta Britannia, et uterque ambigui. neque
with-never sufficiently quiet Britain and each wavering nor
ex Hispaniis properabatur, nullo tum ibi consulari: trium
from the-Spains was-there-haste with-no then there consular of-the-three
legionum legati, pares iure et prosperis Vitellii rebus
legions the-legates equal in-right and with-prosperous of-Vitellius fortunes
certaturi ad obsequium, adversam eius fortunam ex aequo
going-to-compete for obedience the-adverse his fortune on equal-terms
detrectabant. in Africa legio cohortesque delectae a Clodio
declined in Africa the-legion and-the-cohorts levied by Clodius
Macro, mox a Galba dimissae, rursus iussu Vitellii militiam
Macer soon by Galba disbanded again by-the-order of-Vitellius service
cepere; simul cetera iuventus dabat impigre nomina.
took-up at-the-same-time the-other youth gave energetically their-names
quippe integrum illic ac favorabilem proconsulatum Vitellius,
for an-upright there and favored proconsulship Vitellius

famosum invisumque Vespasianus egerat: proinde socii de
a-notorious and-hated Vespasian had-held accordingly the-allies about
imperio utriusque coniectabant, sed experimentum contra fuit.
the-reign of-each conjectured but the-experience contrary was
Ac primo Valerius Festus legatus studia provincialium cum fide 98
and at-first Valerius Festus the-legate the-zeal of-the-provincials with loyalty
iuvit; mox nutabat, palam epistulis edictisque Vitellium, occultis
helped soon he-wavered openly by-letters and-edicts Vitellius by-secret
nuntiis Vespasianum fovens et haec illave defensurus,
messages Vespasian favoring and these-things or-those going-to-defend
prout invaluissent. deprehensi cum litteris edictisque
according-as they-should-have-prevailed caught with letters and-edicts
Vespasiani per Raetiam et Gallias militum et centurionum
of-Vespasian through Raetia and the-Gauls of-soldiers and of-centurions
quidam ad Vitellium missi necantur: plures fefellere, fide
some to Vitellius sent are-killed more escaped by-the-loyalty
amicorum aut suomet astu occultati. ita Vitellii paratus
of-friends or by-their-own cunning hidden so of-Vitellius the-preparations
noscebantur, Vespasiani consiliorum pleraque ignota, primum
were-known of-Vespasian of-the-plans most unknown first
socordia Vitellii, dein Pannonicae Alpes praesidiis insessae
by-the-sloth of-Vitellius then the-Pannonian Alps by-garrisons occupied
nuntios retinebant. mare quoque etesiarum flatu
the-messengers held-back the-sea also of-the-Etesian-winds by-the-blowing
in Orientem navigantibus secundum, inde adversum erat.
to the-East for-those-sailing favorable thence adverse was
Tandem inruptione hostium atrocibus undique nuntiis 99
at-last by-the-irruption of-the-enemy by-fierce from-all-sides messages
exterritus Caecinam ac Valentem expedire ad bellum iubet.
terrified Caecina and Valens to-make-ready for war he-orders
praemissus Caecina, Valentem e gravi corporis morbo tum
sent-ahead Caecina Valens from a-severe of-body disease then

primum adsurgentem infirmitas tardabat. longe alia proficiscentis
first rising weakness delayed far other of-the-departing
ex urbe Germanici exercitus species: non vigor corporibus, non
from the-city German army the-look not vigor in-the-bodies not
ardor animis; lentum et rarum agmen, fluxa arma, segnes
ardor in-the-minds slow and thin the-column slack the-arms sluggish
equi; impatiens solis pulveris tempestatum, quantumque
the-horses impatient of-sun of-dust of-storms and-by-how-much
hebes ad sustinendum laborem miles, tanto ad discordias
dull for enduring toil the-soldiery by-so-much to discords
promptior. accedebat huc Caecinae ambitio vetus, torpor
more-ready was-added hither of-Caecina ambition old torpor
recens, nimia fortunae indulgentia soluti in luxum, seu
recent from-the-excessive of-fortune indulgence relaxed into luxury or
perfidiam meditanti infringere exercitus virtutem inter artis
treachery for-one-meditating to-break of-the-army the-courage among his-arts
erat. credidere plerique Flavii Sabini consiliis concussam
it-was believed most of-Flavius Sabinus by-the-counsels shaken
Caecinae mentem, ministro sermonum Rubrio Gallo: rata apud
of-Caecina the-mind with-agent of-the-talks Rubrius Gallus ratified with
Vespasianum fore pacta transitionis. simul odiorum
Vespasian going-to-be the-terms of-the-going-over at-the-same-time of-the-hatreds
invidiaeque erga Fabium Valentem admonebatur ut impar apud
and-jealousy toward Fabius Valens he-was-reminded that unequal with
Vitellium gratiam virisque apud novum principem pararet.
Vitellius favor and-strength with the-new emperor he-should-procure
100 Caecina e complexu Vitellii multo cum honore digressus
Caecina from the-embrace of-Vitellius much with honor having-departed
partem equitum ad occupandam Cremonam praemisit. mox
part of-the-cavalry for seizing Cremona sent-ahead soon
vexilla primae, quartae, quintaedecimae, sextaedecimae
the-detachments of-the-first fourth fifteenth sixteenth

legionum, dein quinta et duoetvicensima secutae; postremo
legions then the-fifth and twenty-second followed in-the-last
agmine unaetvicensima Rapax et prima Italica incessere cum
column the-twenty-first Rapax and the-first Italic advanced with
vexillariis trium Britannicarum legionum et electis auxiliis.
the-detachment-men of-three British legions and picked auxiliaries
profecto Caecina scripsit Fabius Valens exercitui, quem ipse
with-departed Caecina wrote Fabius Valens to-the-army which himself
ductaverat, ut in itinere opperiretur: sic sibi cum Caecina
he-had-led that on the-march it-should-wait thus to-himself with Caecina
convenisse. qui praesens eoque validior mutatum id
to-have-been-agreed who present and-therefore stronger changed that
consilium finxit ut ingruenti bello tota mole occurreretur.
plan pretended that the-assailing war with-whole mass should-be-met
ita adcelerare legiones Cremonam, pars Hostiliam petere iussae:
so to-hurry the-legions to-Cremona part Hostilia to-seek ordered
ipse Ravennam devertit praetexto classem adloquendi; mox
himself to-Ravenna turned-aside on-the-pretext the-fleet of-addressing soon
Patavii secretum componendae proditionis quaesitum. namque
at-Patavium privacy of-arranging treachery was-sought for
Lucilius Bassus post praefecturam alae Ravennati
Lucilius Bassus after the-prefecture of-a-squadron over-the-Ravenna
simul ac Misenensi classibus a Vitellio praepositus,
at-the-same-time and Misenum fleets by Vitellius set
quod non statim praefecturam praetorii adeptus
because not at-once the-prefecture of-the-praetorian-guard attained
foret, iniquam iracundiam flagitiosa perfidia ulciscebatur. nec
he-had unjust anger by-disgraceful treachery avenged nor
sciri potest traxeritne Caecinam, an, quod evenit inter
to-be-known can-it whether-he-drew Caecina or as happens among
malos ut et similes sint, eadem illos pravitas impulerit.
the-wicked that also alike they-be the-same them crookedness impelled

101 Scriptores temporum, qui potiente rerum Flavia domo
the-writers of-the-times who with-holding-power of-affairs the-Flavian house
monimenta belli huiusce composuerunt, curam pacis et
the-records of-war this composed concern for-peace and
amorem rei publicae, corruptas in adulationem causas,
love of-the-thing public corrupted into flattery as-the-causes
tradidere: nobis super insitam levitatem et prodito Galba
have-handed-down to-us besides implanted fickleness and with-betrayed Galba
vilem mox fidem aemulatione etiam invidiaque, ne ab aliis
cheap afterward loyalty by-rivalry also and-jealousy lest by others
apud Vitellium anteirentur, pervertisse ipsum Vitellium
with Vitellius they-should-be-surpassed to-have-overthrown himself Vitellius
videntur. Caecina legiones adsecutus centurionum militumque
they-seem Caecina the-legions having-overtaken of-the-centurions and-soldiers
animos obstinatos pro Vitellio variis artibus subruebat: Basso
the-minds obstinate for Vitellius by-various arts undermined for-Bassus
eadem molienti minor difficultas erat, lubrica ad mutandam
the-same working-at less difficulty was with-slippery for changing
fidem classe ob memoriam recentis pro Othone militiae.
loyalty fleet on-account-of the-memory of-recent for Otho service

BOOK III

XXXIV · THE COUNCIL AT POETOVIO

The Flavian generals meet at Poetovio. Some would hold the Pannonian Alps and wait for Mucianus and the East; Antonius Primus argues for speed, since Vitellius's soldiers are softened by Italy's pleasures, the Pannonian legions eager for revenge, and the enemy's strength will return with time, and he offers to lead the cohorts himself. His fierce speech carries the soldiers. Fuscus backs him, Tampius Flavianus is suspected, Sarmatian chiefs are enlisted though their cavalry is declined, and Suebian kings are drawn in.

Meliore fato fideque partium Flavianarum duces consilia 1
with-better fate and-loyalty of-the-party Flavian the-generals the-plans
belli tractabant. Poetovionem in hiberna tertiae
of-war handled at-Poetovio in the-winter-quarters of-the-third
decimae legionis convenerant. illic agitavere placeretne
tenth legion they-had-met there they-debated whether-it-pleased
obstrui Pannoniae Alpes, donec a tergo vires universae
to-be-blocked the-Pannonian Alps until from the-rear the-forces all-together
consurgerent, an ire comminus et certare pro Italia
should-rise or to-go to-close-quarters and to-contend for Italy
constantius foret. quibus opperiri auxilia et trahere
more-resolute would-be those-to-whom to-wait-for auxiliaries and to-draw-out
bellum videbatur, Germanicarum legionum vim famamque
the-war seemed of-the-German legions the-force and-fame
extollebant, et advenisse mox cum Vitellio Britannici
extolled and to-have-arrived soon with Vitellius of-the-British
exercitus robora: ipsis nec numerum parem pulsarum
army the-strength to-themselves nor the-number equal of-the-routed
nuper legionum, et quamquam atrociter loquerentur, minorem
lately legions and although fiercely they-spoke smaller

esse apud victos animum. sed insessis interim Alpibus
to-be among the-beaten the-spirit but with-occupied meanwhile the-Alps
venturum cum copiis Orientis Mucianum; superesse
to-be-going-to-come with the-forces of-the-East Mucianus to-remain
Vespasiano mare, classis, studia provinciarum, per quas
to-Vespasian the-sea the-fleets the-zeal of-the-provinces through which
velut alterius belli molem cieret. ita salubri mora novas
as-if of-another war the-mass he-might-rouse so by-healthy delay new
viris adfore, ex praesentibus nihil periturum.
forces going-to-be-present of the-present nothing going-to-perish

2 Ad ea Antonius Primus (is acerrimus belli concitator)
to these-things Antonius Primus he the-fiercest of-war instigator
festinationem ipsis utilem, Vitellio exitiosam disseruit. plus
haste to-themselves useful to-Vitellius ruinous argued more
socordiae quam fiduciae accessisse victoribus; neque enim
of-sloth than of-confidence to-have-come-upon the-victors nor for
in procinctu et castris habitos: per omnia Italiae municipia
in readiness and camps kept through all of-Italy the-townships
desides, tantum hospitibus metuendos, quanto ferocius ante
idle only to-their-hosts to-be-feared by-how-much more-fiercely before
se egerint, tanto cupidius insolitas voluptates hausisse.
they acted by-so-much more-greedily unaccustomed pleasures to-have-drunk-in
circo quoque ac theatris et amoenitate urbis emollitos
by-the-circus also and theaters and the-pleasantness of-the-city softened
aut valetudinibus fessos: sed addito spatio rediturum
or by-illnesses worn but with-added time to-be-going-to-return
et his robur meditatione belli; nec procul Germaniam,
also to-these strength by-the-practice of-war nor far-off Germany
unde vires; Britanniam freto dirimi, iuxta Gallias
whence forces Britain by-a-strait to-be-separated next-to the-Gauls
Hispaniasque, utrimque viros equos tributa, ipsamque Italiam
and-the-Spains on-both-sides men horses tributes and-itself Italy

et opes urbis; ac si inferre arma ultro velint,
and the-wealth of-the-city and if to-carry arms of-their-own-accord they-wish
duas classis vacuumque Illyricum mare. quid tum claustra
two fleets and-empty the-Illyrian sea what then the-barriers
montium profutura? quid tractum in aestatem aliam
of-the-mountains going-to-profit what drawn into summer another
bellum? unde interim pecuniam et commeatus? quin potius
the-war whence meanwhile money and supplies indeed rather
eo ipso uterentur quod Pannonicae legiones deceptae
that very-thing they-should-use that the-Pannonian legions deceived
magis quam victae resurgere in ultionem properent, Moesici
more than beaten to-rise-up for vengeance hurry the-Moesian
exercitus integras viris attulerint. si numerus militum potius
armies intact forces have-brought if the-number of-soldiers rather
quam legionum putetur, plus hinc roboris, nihil libidinum;
than of-legions be-reckoned more on-this-side of-strength nothing of-lusts
et profuisse disciplinae ipsum pudorem: equites vero ne
and to-have-profited discipline itself shame the-cavalry indeed not
tum quidem victos, sed quamquam rebus adversis disiectam
then even beaten but although in-affairs adverse scattered
Vitellii aciem. ‘duae tunc Pannonicae ac Moesicae alae
of-Vitellius the-line two then Pannonian and Moesian squadrons
perrupere hostem: nunc sedecim alarum coniuncta signa
broke-through the-enemy now of-sixteen squadrons the-joined standards
pulsu sonituque et nube ipsa operient ac superfundent
by-the-beat and-sound and by-the-cloud itself will-cover and will-overwhelm
oblitos proeliorum equites equosque. nisi quis retinet,
forgetful of-battles horsemen and-horses unless someone holds-me-back
idem suasor auctorque consilii ero. vos, quibus fortuna
the-same the-adviser and-author of-the-plan I-shall-be you for-whom fortune
in integro est, legiones continete: mihi expeditae cohortes
in intact is the-legions hold-back for-me unencumbered cohorts

sufficient. iam reseratam Italiam, impulsas Vitellii res
will-suffice soon unlocked Italy shaken of-Vitellius the-fortunes
audietis. iuvabit sequi et vestigiis vincentis insistere.'
you-will-hear it-will-please to-follow and on-the-footsteps of-the-victor to-tread
3 Haec ac talia flagrans oculis, truci voce, quo latius
these-things and such burning in-his-eyes in-a-fierce voice so-that more-widely
audiretur (etenim se centuriones et quidam militum
he-might-be-heard for themselves centurions and some of-the-soldiers
consilio miscuerant), ita effudit ut cautos quoque ac
to-the-council had-mingled so he-poured-out that the-cautious also and
providos permoveret, vulgus et ceteri unum virum ducemque,
far-sighted he-moved the-crowd and the-rest the-one man and-general
spreta aliorum segnitia, laudibus ferrent. hanc sui
with-scorned of-the-others sluggishness with-praises they-extolled this of-himself
famam ea statim contione commoverat, qua recitatis
repute at-that at-once assembly he-had-roused in-which with-read
Vespasiani epistulis non ut plerique incerta disseruit,
of-Vespasian the-letters not as most uncertain-things he-argued
huc illuc tracturus interpretatione, prout conduxisset:
this-way that-way going-to-draw by-interpretation according-as it-had-suited
aperte descendisse in causam videbatur, eoque gravior
openly to-have-come-down into the-cause he-seemed and-therefore weightier
militibus erat culpae vel gloriae socius.
to-the-soldiers he-was of-guilt or of-glory the-partner
4 Proxima Cornelii Fusci procuratoris auctoritas. is quoque
next of-Cornelius Fuscus the-procurator the-authority he also
inclementer in Vitellium invehi solitus nihil spei sibi
unsparingly against Vitellius to-inveigh accustomed nothing of-hope for-himself
inter adversa reliquerat. Tampius Flavianus, natura ac
in adversity had-left Tampius Flavianus by-nature and
senecta cunctator, suspiciones militum inritabat, tamquam
old-age a-delayer the-suspicions of-the-soldiers provoked as-if

adfinitatis cum Vitellio meminisset; idemque, quod coeptante
of-kinship with Vitellius he-remembered and-the-same because with-beginning
legionum motu profugus, dein sponte remeaverat,
of-the-legions the-movement fled then of-his-own-accord had-returned
perfidiae locum quaesisse credebatur. nam Flavianum,
of-treachery an-opportunity to-have-sought he-was-believed for Flavianus
omissa Pannonia ingressum Italiam et discrimini exemptum,
with-left Pannonia having-entered Italy and from-danger removed
rerum novarum cupido legati nomen resumere et misceri
of-things new the-desire of-legate the-name to-resume and to-be-mixed
civilibus armis impulerat, suadente Cornelio Fusco, non quia
in-civil arms had-impelled with-urging Cornelius Fuscus not because
industria Flaviani egebat, sed ut consulare nomen surgentibus
the-industry of-Flavianus he-needed but that a-consular name for-the-rising
cum maxime partibus honesta specie praetenderetur.
at-this-moment most party under-honorable appearance should-be-put-forward
Ceterum ut transmittere in Italiam impune et usui foret, 5
but that to-cross into Italy with-impunity and of-use it-might-be
scriptum Aponio Saturnino, cum exercitu Moesico celeraret.
it-was-written to-Aponius Saturninus with the-army Moesian he-should-hasten
ac ne inermes provinciae barbaris nationibus exponerentur,
and lest unarmed the-provinces to-barbarian nations should-be-exposed
principes Sarmatarum Iazugum, penes quos civitatis regimen,
the-chiefs of-the-Sarmatians Iazyges with whom of-the-state the-government
in commilitium adsciti. plebem quoque et vim equitum,
into comradeship summoned the-commons also and the-force of-cavalry
qua sola valent, offerebant: remissum id munus, ne inter
in-which alone they-are-strong offered was-declined that service lest amid
discordias externa molirentur aut maiore ex diverso
discords foreign-things they-should-contrive or for-greater from the-opposite-side
mercede ius fasque exuerent. trahuntur in partis Sido
pay right and-divine-law they-should-put-off are-drawn to the-party Sido

atque Italicus reges Sueborum, quis vetus obsequium erga
and Italicus kings of-the-Suebi in-whom old obedience toward
Romanos et gens fidei † commissior† patientior. posita
the-Romans and a-race of-loyalty (corrupt) more-entrusted more-enduring placed
in latus auxilia, infesta Raetia, cui Porcius Septiminus
on the-flank auxiliaries hostile Raetia to-which Porcius Septiminus
procurator erat, incorruptae erga Vitellium fidei. igitur
procurator was of-uncorrupted toward Vitellius loyalty therefore
Sextilius Felix cum ala Auriana et octo cohortibus ac
Sextilius Felix with the-squadron Aurian and eight cohorts and
Noricorum iuventute ad occupandam ripam Aeni fluminis,
of-the-Norici the-youth to seizing the-bank of-the-Aenus river
quod Raetos Noricosque interfluit, missus. nec his aut
which the-Raeti and-Norici flows-between sent nor with-these or
illis proelium temptantibus, fortuna partium alibi transacta.
those battle attempting the-fortune of-the-party elsewhere was-decided

XXXV · THE INVASION OF ITALY

Antonius and Arrius Varus seize Aquileia, Patavium, and Ateste, surprise a Vitellian post at Forum Alieni, and restore Galba's statues. Verona is chosen as the war's base, though Vespasian had ordered a halt at Aquileia. Caecina, encamped strongly at Hostilia, lets the chance slip while he bargains for treachery. The Flavian soldiers riot against Tampius Flavianus, whom Antonius saves, then against Aponius Saturninus, who hides in a furnace; with both consulars gone, Antonius holds sole command.

6 Antonio vexillarios e cohortibus et partem equitum
to-Antonius the-detachment-men from the-cohorts and part of-the-cavalry
ad invadendam Italiam rapienti comes fuit Arrius Varus,
for invading Italy hurrying the-companion was Arrius Varus

strenuus bello, quam gloriam et dux Corbulo et
vigorous in-war which glory both the-general Corbulo and
prosperae in Armenia res addiderant. idem secretis apud
successful in Armenia affairs had-added the-same in-secret with
Neronem sermonibus ferebatur Corbulonis virtutes criminatus;
Nero talks was-said of-Corbulo the-virtues to-have-accused
unde infami gratia primum pilum adepto laeta
whence by-infamous favor the-first spear for-(him)-having-attained joyful
ad praesens male parta mox in perniciem vertere. sed
for the-present ill gained-things soon into ruin turned but
Primus ac Varus occupata Aquileia per proxima quaeque et
Primus and Varus with-occupied Aquileia through the-nearest each and
Opitergii et Altini laetis animis accipiuntur. relictum Altini
at-Opitergium and Altinum with-glad minds are-received was-left at-Altinum
praesidium adversus classis Ravennatis conatus, nondum
a-garrison against of-the-fleet Ravenna the-attempts not-yet
defectione eius audita. inde Patavium et Ateste partibus
with-the-defection its heard thence Patavium and Ateste to-the-party
adiunxere. illic cognitum tris Vitellianas cohortis et alam,
they-joined there it-was-learned three Vitellian cohorts and a-squadron
cui Sebosianae nomen, ad Forum Alieni ponte iuncto
to-which Sebosian the-name at Forum Alieni with-the-bridge joined
consedisse. placuit occasio invadendi incuriosos; nam id
to-have-encamped pleased an-opportunity of-attacking the-unconcerned for that
quoque nuntiabatur. luce prima inermos plerosque oppressere.
also was-reported at-light first unarmed most they-overwhelmed
praedictum ut paucis interfectis ceteros pavore ad
it-was-ordered-beforehand that with-few killed the-rest by-fear to
mutandam fidem cogerent. et fuere qui se
changing loyalty they-should-compel and there-were those-who themselves

statim dederent: plures abrupto ponte instanti hosti
at-once surrendered more with-broken-down bridge from-the-pressing enemy
viam abstulerunt. principia belli secundum Flavianos data.
the-road took-away the-beginnings of-the-war in-favor-of the-Flavians given
7 Vulgata victoria legiones septima Galbiana, tertia decima
with-spread-abroad the-victory the-legions seventh Galbian third tenth
Gemina cum Vedio Aquila legato Patavium alacres veniunt.
Gemina with Vedius Aquila the-legate to-Patavium eager come
ibi pauci dies ad requiem sumpti, et Minicius Iustus
there a-few days for rest were-taken and Minicius Justus
praefectus castrorum legionis septimae, quia adductius
prefect of-the-camp of-the-legion seventh because more-tightly
quam civili bello imperitabat, subtractus militum irae ad
than in-civil war he-commanded withdrawn from-the-soldiers' wrath to
Vespasianum missus est. desiderata diu res interpretatione
Vespasian sent was the-desired long thing by-interpretation
gloriaque in maius accipitur, postquam Galbae imagines
and-glory into the-greater is-taken after of-Galba the-images
discordia temporum subversas in omnibus municipiis recoli
by-the-discord of-the-times overturned in all the-townships to-be-restored
iussit Antonius, decorum pro causa ratus, si placere Galbae
ordered Antonius fitting for the-cause thinking if to-please of-Galba
principatus et partes revirescere crederentur.
the-principate and the-party to-revive should-be-believed
8 Quaesitum inde quae sedes bello legeretur. Verona
it-was-asked thence what seat for-the-war should-be-chosen Verona
potior visa, patentibus circum campis ad pugnam equestrem,
preferable seemed with-open around plains for battle cavalry
qua praevalebant: simul coloniam copiis validam
in-which they-were-superior at-the-same-time a-colony in-resources strong
auferre Vitellio in rem famamque videbatur. possessa
to-take-away from-Vitellius for the-cause and-repute it-seemed was-occupied

ipso transitu Vicetia; quod per se parvum (etenim
on-the-very passage Vicetia which in itself small for
modicae municipio vires) magni momenti locum obtinuit
moderate to-the-township forces of-great weight a-place held
reputantibus illic Caecinam genitum et patriam hostium
to-those-reflecting there Caecina born and the-fatherland from-the-enemy's
duci ereptam. in Veronensibus pretium fuit: exemplo
general snatched in the-Veronese the-reward was by-example
opibusque partis iuvere; et interiectus exercitus Raetiam
and-wealth the-party they-helped and interposed the-army Raetia
Iuliasque Alpis, ne pervium illa Germanicis exercitibus
and-the-Julian Alps lest passable that for-the-German armies
foret, obsaepserat. quae ignara Vespasiano aut vetita:
it-should-be had-blocked which-things unknown to-Vespasian or forbidden
quippe Aquileiae sisti bellum expectarique Mucianum
for at-Aquileia to-be-halted the-war and-to-be-awaited Mucianus
iubebat, adiciebatque imperio consilium, quando Aegyptus,
he-ordered and-added to-the-command a-reason since Egypt
claustra annonae, vectigalia opulentissimarum provinciarum
the-barriers of-the-grain-supply the-revenues of-the-wealthiest provinces
obtinerentur, posse Vitellii exercitum egestate stipendii
were-held to-be-able of-Vitellius the-army by-want of-pay
frumentique ad deditionem subigi. eadem Mucianus crebris
and-of-grain to surrender to-be-driven the-same Mucianus in-frequent
epistulis monebat, incruentam et sine luctu victoriam
letters advised bloodless and without grief victory
et alia huiusce modi praetexendo, sed gloriae avidus
and other-things of-this kind putting-forward but of-glory greedy
atque omne belli decus sibi retinens. ceterum ex
and all of-the-war the-honor for-himself keeping but from
distantibus terrarum spatiis consilia post res adferebantur.
distant of-lands spaces the-plans after the-events were-brought

9 Igitur repentino incursu Antonius stationes hostium inrupit;
therefore in-a-sudden raid Antonius the-outposts of-the-enemy broke-into
temptatisque levi proelio animis ex aequo discessum.
and-with-tested in-a-light battle spirits on equal-terms it-was-parted
mox Caecina inter Hostiliam, vicum Veronensium, et paludes
soon Caecina between Hostilia a-village of-the-Veronese and the-marshes
Tartari fluminis castra permuniit, tutus loco, cum
of-the-Tartarus river a-camp fortified safe by-the-place since
terga flumine, latera obiectu paludis tegerentur. quod si
the-rear by-the-river the-flanks by-the-barrier of-the-marsh were-covered but if
adfuisset fides, aut opprimi universis Vitellianorum viribus
had-been-present loyalty either to-be-crushed by-all of-the-Vitellians forces
duae legiones, nondum coniuncto Moesico exercitu, potuere,
two legions with-not-yet joined the-Moesian army could
aut retro actae deserta Italia turpem fugam conscivissent.
or back driven with-deserted Italy a-shameful flight would-have-resolved-on
sed Caecina per varias moras prima hostibus prodidit
but Caecina through various delays the-first to-the-enemy betrayed
tempora belli, dum quos armis pellere promptum erat,
the-times of-the-war while those-whom by-arms to-repulse easy it-was
epistulis increpat, donec per nuntios pacta perfidiae
by-letters he-chides until through messengers the-terms of-the-treachery
firmaret. interim Aponius Saturninus cum legione septima
he-should-confirm meanwhile Aponius Saturninus with the-legion seventh
Claudiana advenit. legioni tribunus Vipstanus Messala praeerat,
Claudian arrives the-legion the-tribune Vipstanus Messalla commanded
claris maioribus, egregius ipse et qui solus ad id
of-famous ancestors distinguished himself and who alone to that
bellum artis bonas attulisset. has ad copias nequaquam
war arts good had-brought these to forces by-no-means
Vitellianis paris (quippe tres adhuc legiones erant) misit
to-the-Vitellians equal for three still legions they-were sent

epistulas Caecina, temeritatem victa arma tractantium incusans.
letters Caecina the-rashness beaten arms of-those-handling blaming
simul virtus Germanici exercitus laudibus attollebatur,
at-the-same-time the-valor of-the-German army with-praises was-exalted
Vitellii modica et vulgari mentione, nulla in Vespasianum
of-Vitellius with-moderate and common mention no against Vespasian
contumelia: nihil prorsus quod aut corrumperet hostem
insult nothing at-all which either might-corrupt the-enemy
aut terreret. Flavianarum partium duces omissa prioris
or might-terrify of-the-Flavian party the-generals with-dropped of-former
fortunae defensione pro Vespasiano magnifice, pro causa
fortune the-defense for Vespasian magnificently for the-cause
fidenter, de exercitu securi, in Vitellium ut inimici
confidently about the-army unconcerned against Vitellius as enemies
praesumpsere, facta tribunis centurionibusque retinendi
were-presumptuous with-made to-tribunes and-centurions of-keeping
quae Vitellius indulsisset spe; atque ipsum Caecinam non
what Vitellius had-granted hope and himself Caecina not
obscure ad transitionem hortabantur. recitatae pro contione
obscurely to going-over they-urged were-read before the-assembly
epistulae addidere fiduciam, quod submisse Caecina, velut
the-letters added confidence because submissively Caecina as-if
offendere Vespasianum timens, ipsorum duces contemptim
to-offend Vespasian fearing their-own generals contemptuously
tamquam insultantes Vitellio scripsissent.
as-if insulting Vitellius had-written
Adventu deinde duarum legionum, e quibus tertiam Dillius 10
at-the-arrival then of-two legions of which the-third Dillius
Aponianus, octavam Numisius Lupus ducebant, ostentare
Aponianus the-eighth Numisius Lupus led to-display
viris et militari vallo Veronam circumdare placuit.
their-strength and with-a-military rampart Verona to-surround it-was-decided

forte Galbianae legioni in adversa fronte valli opus
by-chance to-the-Galbian legion on the-opposite front of-the-rampart the-work
cesserat, et visi procul sociorum equites vanam formidinem ut
had-fallen and seen far-off of-the-allies horsemen an-empty dread as-if
hostes fecere. rapiuntur arma metu proditionis. ira militum
enemies caused are-snatched arms from-fear of-treachery the-wrath of-the-soldiers
in Tampium Flavianum incubuit, nullo criminis argumento, sed
upon Tampius Flavianus fell with-no of-crime proof but
iam pridem invisus turbine quodam ad exitium poscebatur:
already long-since hated by-a-whirlwind a-certain for death he-was-demanded
propinquum Vitellii, proditorem Othonis, interceptorem
the-kinsman of-Vitellius the-betrayer of-Otho the-interceptor
donativi clamitabant. nec defensioni locus, quamquam
of-the-donative they-kept-shouting nor for-defense room-was-there although
supplicis manus tenderet, humi plerumque stratus, lacera
suppliant hands he-stretched-out on-the-ground mostly laid with-torn
veste, pectus atque ora singultu quatiens. id ipsum apud
dress his-breast and face with-sobbing shaking that very-thing among
infensos incitamentum erat, tamquam nimius pavor conscientiam
the-hostile an-incentive was as-if excessive fear guilty-conscience
argueret. obturbabatur militum vocibus Aponius, cum loqui
should-prove was-shouted-down of-the-soldiers by-the-voices Aponius when to-speak
coeptaret; fremitu et clamore ceteros aspernantur. uni
he-began with-growling and shouting the-others they-spurn to-the-one
Antonio apertae militum aures; namque et facundia aderat
Antonius open of-the-soldiers the-ears for both eloquence was-at-hand
mulcendique vulgum artes et auctoritas. ubi crudescere seditio
and-of-soothing the-crowd arts and authority when grew-fierce the-mutiny
et a conviciis ac probris ad tela et manus transibant,
and from abuse and insults to weapons and hands they-were-passing
inici catenas Flaviano iubet. sensit ludibrium miles,
to-be-thrown-on chains to-Flavianus he-orders perceived the-mockery the-soldiery

disiectisque qui tribunal tuebantur extrema vis parabatur.
and-with-scattered those-who the-tribunal guarded extreme violence was-prepared
opposuit sinum Antonius stricto ferro, aut militum se
opposed his-bosom Antonius with-drawn sword either of-the-soldiers himself
manibus aut suis moriturum obtestans, ut quemque notum
by-the-hands or by-his-own going-to-die protesting as each known
et aliquo militari decore insignem aspexerat, ad ferendam opem
and by-some military decoration distinguished he-had-seen to bringing help
nomine ciens. mox conversus ad signa et bellorum deos,
by-name calling soon turned to the-standards and of-wars the-gods
hostium potius exercitibus illum furorem, illam discordiam
of-the-enemy rather on-the-armies that frenzy that discord
inicerent orabat, donec fatisceret seditio et extremo iam die
they-should-cast he-prayed until should-flag the-mutiny and at-end now of-day
sua quisque in tentoria dilaberentur. profectus eadem nocte
his-own each into tents should-slip-away having-set-out on-the-same night
Flavianus obviis Vespasiani litteris discrimini exemptus est.
Flavianus with-met of-Vespasian letters from-danger rescued was
Legiones velut tabe infectae Aponium Saturninum 11
the-legions as-if by-a-plague infected Aponius Saturninus
Moesici exercitus legatum eo atrocius adgrediuntur,
of-the-Moesian army the-legate so-much more-fiercely attack
quod non, ut prius, labore et opere fessae, sed medio
because not as before by-toil and work worn but at-the-middle
diei exarserant, vulgatis epistulis, quas Saturninus ad
of-the-day they-had-blazed-up with-spread-abroad letters which Saturninus to
Vitellium scripsisse credebatur. ut olim virtutis modestiaeque,
Vitellius to-have-written was-believed as once of-valor and-of-restraint
tunc procacitatis et petulantiae certamen erat, ne minus
then of-insolence and of-petulance a-contest it-was that-not less
violenter Aponium quam Flavianum ad supplicium deposcerent.
violently Aponius than Flavianus for punishment they-should-demand

quippe Moesicae legiones adiutam a se Pannonicorum
for the-Moesian legions helped by themselves of-the-Pannonians
ultionem referentes, et Pannonici, velut absolverentur aliorum
the-vengeance recalling and the-Pannonians as-if they-were-acquitted of-others
seditione, iterare culpam gaudebant. in hortos, in quibus
by-the-mutiny to-repeat the-fault rejoiced into the-gardens in which
devertebatur Saturninus, pergunt. nec tam Primus et
was-lodging Saturninus they-go nor so-much Primus and
Aponianus et Messala, quamquam omni modo nisi,
Aponianus and Messalla although in-every way having-striven
eripuere Saturninum quam obscuritas latebrarum, quibus
rescued Saturninus as the-obscurity of-the-hiding-places in-which
occulebatur, vacantium forte balnearum fornacibus abditus.
he-was-hidden of-unused by-chance baths in-the-furnaces concealed
mox omissis lictoribus Patavium concessit. digressu
soon with-dismissed lictors to-Patavium withdrew at-the-departure
consularium uni Antonio vis ac potestas in utrumque
of-the-consulars to-the-one Antonius force and power over each
exercitum fuit, cedentibus collegis et obversis
army was with-yielding colleagues and with-turned-toward-him
militum studiis. nec deerant qui crederent utramque
of-the-soldiers the-zeal nor were-lacking those-who believed each
seditionem fraude Antonii coeptam, ut solus bello frueretur.
mutiny by-the-guile of-Antonius begun that alone the-war he-might-enjoy

The Ravenna fleet defects at night, and Lucilius Bassus is taken to Atria under honorable guard. Caecina praises Vespasian to his chief officers and swears them to him, but when the rank and file see Vitellius's images torn down they cry that the German army's glory is betrayed, put Caecina in chains, and march for Cremona. Antonius resolves to strike before Valens arrives and advances to Bedriacum.

Ne in Vitellii quidem partibus quietae mentes: exitiosiore 12
not in of-Vitellius even the-party quiet were-the-minds by-more-ruinous
discordia non suspicionibus vulgi, sed perfidia ducum
discord not by-the-suspicions of-the-crowd but by-the-treachery of-the-generals
turbabantur. Lucilius Bassus classis Ravennatis praefectus
they-were-disturbed Lucilius Bassus of-the-fleet Ravenna the-prefect
ambiguos militum animos, quod magna pars Dalmatae
the-wavering of-the-soldiers minds because a-great part Dalmatians
Pannoniique erant, quae provinciae Vespasiano tenebantur,
and-Pannonians were which provinces by-Vespasian were-held
partibus eius adgregaverat. nox proditioni electa, ut ceteris
to-the-party his had-gathered night for-the-treachery was-chosen that with-the-rest
ignaris soli in principia defectores coirent. Bassus
unaware alone into the-headquarters the-defectors should-come-together Bassus
pudore seu metu, quisnam exitus foret, intra domum
from-shame or fear what the-outcome would-be within his-house
opperiebatur. trierarchi magno tumultu Vitellii imagines
waited the-trierarchs with-great uproar of-Vitellius the-images
invadunt; et paucis resistentium obtruncatis ceterum vulgus
attack and with-few of-the-resisters cut-down the-rest the-crowd
rerum novarum studio in Vespasianum inclinabat. tum
of-things new from-eagerness toward Vespasian inclined then
progressus Lucilius auctorem se palam praebet. classis
having-come-forward Lucilius the-author himself openly offers the-fleet

Cornelium Fuscum praefectum sibi destinat, qui propere
Cornelius Fuscus as-prefect for-itself marks-out who quickly
adcucurrit. Bassus honorata custodia Liburnicis navibus Atriam
ran-up Bassus in-honorable custody in-Liburnian ships to-Atria
pervectus a praefecto alae Vibennio Rufino, praesidium
carried by the-prefect of-a-squadron Vibennius Rufinus garrison
illic agitante, vincitur, sed exoluta statim vincula interventu
there keeping is-bound but undone at-once the-bonds by-the-intervention
Hormi Caesaris liberti: is quoque inter duces habebatur.
of-Hormus of-Caesar the-freedman he also among the-generals was-held
13 At Caecina, defectione classis vulgata, primores
but Caecina with-the-defection of-the-fleet spread-abroad the-chief
centurionum et paucos militum, ceteris per militiae
of-the-centurions and a-few of-the-soldiers with-the-rest through of-service
munera dispersis, secretum castrorum adfectans in principia
the-duties scattered the-privacy of-the-camp seeking into the-headquarters
vocat. ibi Vespasiani virtutem virisque partium extollit:
calls there of-Vespasian the-valor and-the-strength of-the-party he-extols
transfugisse classem, in arto commeatum, adversas Gallias
to-have-deserted the-fleet in straits the-supplies hostile the-Gauls
Hispaniasque, nihil in urbe fidum; atque omnia de
and-the-Spains nothing in the-city loyal and all-things about
Vitellio in deterius. mox incipientibus qui conscii aderant,
Vitellius for the-worse soon with-beginning those-who privy were-present
ceteros re nova attonitos in verba Vespasiani adigit;
the-others by-the-thing new stunned into the-words of-Vespasian binds
simul Vitellii imagines dereptae et missi qui
at-the-same-time of-Vitellius the-images torn-down and were-sent men-who
Antonio nuntiarent. sed ubi totis castris in fama proditio,
to-Antonius should-announce but when in-the-whole camp in report the-treachery
recurrens in principia miles praescriptum Vespasiani
running-back into the-headquarters the-soldiery written-at-the-head of-Vespasian

nomen, proiectas Vitellii effigies aspexit, vastum primo
the-name thrown-down of-Vitellius the-effigies saw a-vast at-first
silentium, mox cuncta simul erumpunt. huc cecidisse
silence soon all-things at-the-same-time burst-out to-this to-have-fallen
Germanici exercitus gloriam ut sine proelio, sine vulnere
of-the-German army the-glory that without battle without wound
vinctas manus et capta traderent arma? quas enim
bound hands and captured they-should-hand-over arms which for
ex diverso legiones? nempe victas; et abesse unicum
from the-opposite-side legions surely beaten and to-be-absent the-single
Othoniani exercitus robur, primanos quartadecimanosque, quos
of-the-Othonian army strength the-first-men and-fourteenth-men whom
tamen isdem illis campis fuderint straverintque. ut tot
yet on-the-same those plains they-routed and-laid-low that so-many
armatorum milia, velut grex venalium, exuli Antonio
of-armed-men thousands like a-herd of-slaves-for-sale to-the-exile Antonius
donum darentur? octo nimirum legiones unius classis
as-a-gift should-be-given eight forsooth legions of-one fleet
accessionem fore. id Basso, id Caecinae visum, postquam
an-appendage going-to-be that to-Bassus that to-Caecina seemed after
domos hortos opes principi abstulerint, etiam militem
houses gardens wealth from-the-emperor they-had-taken even the-soldiery
auferre. integros incruentosque, Flavianis quoque partibus
to-take-away intact and-bloodless to-the-Flavian also party
vilis, quid dicturos reposcentibus aut prospera aut adversa?
cheap what going-to-say to-those-demanding-back either successes or reverses
Haec singuli, haec universi, ut quemque dolor impulerat, 14
these-things singly these-things all-together as each grief had-driven
vociferantes, initio a quinta legione orto, repositis
shouting with-the-beginning from the-fifth legion arisen with-replaced
Vitellii imaginibus vincla Caecinae iniciunt; Fabium Fabullum
of-Vitellius the-images chains on-Caecina they-throw Fabius Fabullus

quintae legionis legatum et Cassium Longum praefectum
of-the-fifth legion the-legate and Cassius Longus prefect
castrorum duces deligunt; forte oblatos trium Liburnicarum
of-the-camp as-leaders they-choose by-chance met of-three Liburnians
milites, ignaros et insontis, trucidant; relictis castris,
the-soldiers unaware and innocent they-slaughter with-left the-camp
abrupto ponte Hostiliam rursus, inde Cremonam pergunt,
with-broken-down bridge to-Hostilia again thence to-Cremona they-proceed
ut legionibus primae Italicae et unietvicensimae Rapaci
that with-the-legions first Italic and twenty-first Rapax
iungerentur, quas Caecina ad obtinendam Cremonam cum
they-might-be-joined which Caecina for holding Cremona with
parte equitum praemiserat.
part of-the-cavalry had-sent-ahead
15 Ubi haec comperta Antonio, discordis animis, discretos
when these-things learned by-Antonius in-discordant minds separated
viribus hostium exercitus adgredi statuit, antequam ducibus
in-strength of-the-enemy the-armies to-attack he-resolved before to-the-generals
auctoritas, militi obsequium et iunctis legionibus fiducia
authority to-the-soldiery obedience and with-joined legions confidence
rediret. namque Fabium Valentem profectum ab urbe
should-return for Fabius Valens set-out from the-city
adceleraturumque cognita Caecinae proditione coniectabat; et
and-going-to-hurry with-learned of-Caecina the-treachery he-conjectured and
fidus Vitellio Fabius nec militiae ignarus. simul ingens
loyal to-Vitellius Fabius nor of-soldiering ignorant at-the-same-time a-huge
Germanorum vis per Raetiam timebatur. et Britannia
of-Germans force through Raetia was-feared and from-Britain
Galliaque et Hispania auxilia Vitellius acciverat, immensam
and-Gaul and Spain auxiliaries Vitellius had-summoned an-immense
belli luem, ni Antonius id ipsum metuens festinato
of-war plague had-not Antonius that very-thing fearing by-a-hastened

proelio victoriam praecepisset. universo cum exercitu secundis
battle the-victory seized-beforehand whole with army in-the-second
a Verona castris Bedriacum venit. postero die legionibus
from Verona camp to-Bedriacum he-came on-the-next day with-the-legions
ad muniendum retentis, auxiliares cohortes in Cremonensem
for fortifying kept-back the-auxiliary cohorts into the-Cremonese
agrum missae ut specie parandarum copiarum civili
territory were-sent that under-the-appearance of-procuring supplies with-civil
praeda miles imbueretur: ipse cum quattuor milibus
plunder the-soldiery might-be-steeped himself with four thousand
equitum ad octavum a Bedriaco progressus quo licentius
of-horsemen to the-eighth-milestone from Bedriacum advanced that more-freely
popularentur. exploratores, ut mos est, longius curabant.
they-might-plunder the-scouts as the-custom is farther ranged

XXXVII · THE BATTLE BEFORE CREMONA

A cavalry fight near Cremona turns when Arrius Varus, after a rash first success, is driven back. Antonius rallies the fleeing, spearing one of his own standard-bearers in flight, and a narrow road and a broken bridge help a hundred horsemen hold; the Vitellian legions Rapax and Italica, leaderless, fail to take in their beaten cavalry and are routed toward the town. At dusk the whole Flavian army arrives and demands to storm Cremona that night for its plunder; Antonius argues for waiting until daylight.

Quinta ferme hora diei erat, cum citus eques adventare 16
the-fifth about hour of-the-day it-was when a-swift horseman to-be-approaching
hostis, praegredi paucos, motum fremitumque late audiri
the-enemy to-be-going-ahead a-few movement and-din widely to-be-heard
nuntiavit. dum Antonius quidnam agendum consultat, aviditate
announced while Antonius what to-be-done deliberates from-eagerness

navandae operae Arrius Varus cum promptissimis equitum
of-doing service Arrius Varus with the-readiest of-the-horsemen
prorupit impulitque Vitellianos modica caede; nam plurium
burst-forth and-drove the-Vitellians with-moderate slaughter for of-more
adcursu versa fortuna, et acerrimus quisque sequentium
by-the-onrush turned the-fortune and the-fiercest each of-the-pursuers
fugae ultimus erat. nec sponte Antonii properatum, et
in-the-flight last was nor by-the-wish of-Antonius was-it-hurried and
fore quae acciderant rebatur. hortatus suos ut magno
going-to-be what had-happened he-thought having-urged his-men that with-great
animo capesserent pugnam, diductis in latera turmis
spirit they-should-take-up the-fight with-drawn-apart to the-flanks squadrons
vacuum medio relinquit iter quo Varum equitesque
empty in-the-middle he-leaves a-route by-which Varus and-the-horsemen
eius reciperet; iussae armari legiones; datum per
his he-might-take-back were-ordered to-be-armed the-legions was-given through
agros signum ut, qua cuique proximum, omissa praeda
the-fields the-signal that where to-each nearest with-dropped plunder
proelio occurreret. pavidus interim Varus turbae suorum
to-the-battle he-should-hasten fearful meanwhile Varus with-the-throng of-his-own
miscetur intulitque formidinem. pulsi cum sauciis integri
is-mixed and-brought-in dread the-routed with the-wounded the-unhurt
suomet ipsi metu et angustiis viarum conflictabantur.
by-their-own themselves fear and by-the-narrowness of-the-roads were-struggling
17 Nullum in illa trepidatione Antonius constantis ducis aut
no in that panic Antonius of-a-steadfast general or
fortis militis officium omisit. occursare paventibus, retinere
of-a-brave soldier duty omitted he-ran-to the-frightened held-back
cedentis, ubi plurimus labor, unde aliqua spes, consilio manu
the-yielding where most toil whence some hope in-counsel in-hand
voce insignis hosti, conspicuus suis. eo postremo
in-voice marked-out to-the-enemy conspicuous to-his-own to-that at-last

ardoris provectus est ut vexillarium fugientem hasta
of-ardor advanced he-was that a-standard-bearer fleeing with-his-spear
transverberaret; mox raptum vexillum in hostem vertit.
he-transfixed soon the-seized standard against the-enemy he-turned
quo pudore haud plures quam centum equites restitere:
by-which shame not more than a-hundred horsemen stood-firm
iuvit locus, artiore illic via et fracto interfluentis
helped the-place with-narrower there the-road and with-broken of-the-flowing-through
rivi ponte, qui incerto alveo et praecipitibus ripis fugam
stream bridge which with-uncertain bed and steep banks flight
impediebat. ea necessitas seu fortuna lapsas iam partis
hindered that necessity or fortune slipped already the-party
restituit. firmati inter se densis ordinibus excipiunt
restored strengthened among themselves in-dense ranks they-receive
Vitellianos temere effusos, atque illi consternantur. Antonius
the-Vitellians rashly poured-out and they are-thrown-into-panic Antonius
instare perculsis, sternere obvios, simul ceteri, ut
pressed the-routed laid-low those-meeting-him at-the-same-time the-rest as
cuique ingenium, spoliare, capere, arma equosque abripere.
for-each the-nature despoiled took arms and-horses carried-off
et exciti prospero clamore, qui modo per agros
and roused by-the-successful shout those-who just-now through the-fields
fuga palabantur, victoriae se miscebant.
in-flight were-straggling in-the-victory themselves mingled
Ad quartum a Cremona lapidem fulsere legionum signa 18
at the-fourth from Cremona milestone gleamed of-the-legions the-standards
Rapacis atque Italicae, laeto inter initia equitum
of-Rapax and of-the-Italic with-glad in the-beginnings of-the-horsemen
suorum proelio illuc usque provecta. sed ubi fortuna contra
their-own battle thither right advanced but when fortune against
fuit, non laxare ordines, non recipere turbatos, non obviam
was not they-opened the-ranks not take-in the-confused not to-meet

ire ultroque adgredi hostem tantum per spatium
go and-of-their-own-accord attack the-enemy so-great over distance
cursu et pugnando fessum. haud perinde rebus prosperis
by-running and fighting worn not so-much in-affairs prosperous
ducem desideraverant atque in adversis deesse intellegebant.
a-general had-they-missed as in adversity to-be-lacking they-perceived
nutantem aciem victor equitatus incursat; et Vipstanus
the-wavering line the-victorious cavalry charges and Vipstanus
Messala tribunus cum Moesicis auxiliaribus adsequitur, quos
Messalla the-tribune with the-Moesian auxiliaries comes-up whom
multi e legionariis quamquam raptim ductos aequabant: ita
many of the-legionaries although hurriedly led matched so
mixtus pedes equesque rupere legionum agmen. et propinqua
mixed infantry and-cavalry broke of-the-legions the-column and the-nearby
Cremonensium moenia quanto plus spei ad effugium
of-the-Cremonese walls by-how-much more of-hope for escape
minorem ad resistendum animum dabant. nec Antonius ultra
smaller for resisting courage gave nor Antonius further
institit, memor laboris ac vulnerum, quibus tam anceps proelii
pressed mindful of-the-toil and of-the-wounds by-which so doubtful of-the-battle
fortuna, quamvis prospero fine, equites equosque adflictaverat.
the-fortune although with-successful end horsemen and-horses had-afflicted
19 Inumbrante vespera universum Flaviani exercitus robur
with-shadowing evening the-whole of-the-Flavian army strength
advenit. utque cumulos super et recentia caede vestigia
arrives and-as the-heaps over and the-fresh with-slaughter traces
incessere, quasi debellatum foret, pergere Cremonam et
they-advanced as-if fought-out it-were to-proceed to-Cremona and
victos in deditionem accipere aut expugnare deposcunt.
the-beaten into surrender to-receive or to-storm they-demand
haec in medio, pulchra dictu: illa sibi quisque,
these-things in public fine to-say those-things to-himself each

posse coloniam plano sitam impetu capi. idem
to-be-able a-colony on-the-plain situated by-assault to-be-taken the-same
audaciae per tenebras inrumpentibus et maiorem rapiendi
of-daring through the-darkness for-the-bursting-in and greater of-plundering
licentiam. quod si lucem opperiantur, iam pacem, iam
license but if the-light they-wait-for already peace already
preces, et pro labore ac vulneribus clementiam et gloriam,
prayers and for toil and wounds mercy and glory
inania, laturos, sed opes Cremonensium in sinu
empty-things going-to-carry but the-wealth of-the-Cremonese in the-pocket
praefectorum legatorumque fore. expugnatae urbis praedam
of-the-prefects and-legates going-to-be of-a-stormed city the-plunder
ad militem, deditae ad duces pertinere. spernuntur
to the-soldiery of-a-surrendered to the-generals to-belong are-spurned
centuriones tribunique, ac ne vox cuiusquam audiatur,
the-centurions and-tribunes and lest the-voice of-anyone be-heard
quatiunt arma, rupturi imperium ni ducantur.
they-clash arms going-to-break the-command unless they-be-led
Tum Antonius inserens se manipulis, ubi aspectu et 20
then Antonius inserting himself among-the-maniples when by-his-look and
auctoritate silentium fecerat, non se decus neque pretium
authority silence he-had-made not himself the-honor nor the-reward
eripere tam bene meritis adfirmabat, sed divisa inter
to-snatch-from so well deserving asserted but divided among
exercitum ducesque munia: militibus cupidinem pugnandi
the-army and-the-generals the-duties for-the-soldiers the-desire of-fighting
convenire, duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione saepius
to-befit the-generals by-foreseeing by-consulting by-delay more-often
quam temeritate prodesse. ut pro virili portione armis
than by-rashness to-be-of-use as for his-manly share with-arms
ac manu victoriam iuverit, ratione et consilio, propriis
and hand the-victory he-had-helped by-reason and counsel by-the-proper

ducis artibus, profuturum; neque enim ambigua esse
of-a-general arts going-to-profit nor for doubtful to-be
quae occurrant, noctem et ignotae situm urbis, intus
what-things confront night and of-an-unknown the-site city inside
hostis et cuncta insidiis opportuna. non si pateant portae,
the-enemy and all-things for-ambushes favorable not if they-lie-open the-gates
nisi explorato, nisi die intrandum. an obpugnationem
unless with-reconnoitered unless by-day must-one-enter or an-assault
inchoaturos adempto omni prospectu, quis aequus locus,
going-to-begin with-taken-away all view what level place
quanta altitudo moenium, tormentisne et telis an operibus
how-great the-height of-the-walls with-engines-whether and missiles or with-works
et vineis adgredienda urbs foret? mox conversus ad singulos,
and sheds to-be-attacked the-city would-be soon turned to the-individuals
num securis dolabrasque et cetera expugnandis urbibus secum
whether axes and-mattocks and the-rest for-storming cities with-them
attulissent, rogitabat. et cum abnuerent, 'gladiisne' inquit 'et
they-had-brought he-asked and when they-denied with-swords-then he-said and
pilis perfringere ac subruere muros ullae manus possunt? si
javelins to-break-through and to-undermine walls any hands can if
aggerem struere, si pluteis cratibusve protegi necesse fuerit,
a-mound to-build if by-screens or-hurdles to-be-protected necessary it-shall-be
ut vulgus improvidum inriti stabimus, altitudinem turrium et
like a-crowd improvident baffled shall-we-stand the-height of-the-towers and
aliena munimenta mirantes? quin potius mora noctis unius,
another's fortifications admiring why-not rather by-the-delay of-night one
advectis tormentis machinisque, vim victoriamque nobiscum
with-brought engines and-machines force and-victory with-us
ferimus?' simul lixas calonesque cum recentissimis
do-we-carry at-the-same-time the-sutlers and-servants with the-freshest
equitum Bedriacum mittit, copias ceteraque usui adlaturos.
of-the-horsemen to-Bedriacum he-sends supplies and-the-rest for-use going-to-bring

Captured Cremonese reveal that six Vitellian legions and the whole army from Hostilia have marched thirty miles and are coming on. Antonius draws up his line in the dark. The battle swings all night; the seventh Galbiana loses six chief centurions, and Atilius Verus saves its eagle at the cost of his life. Two soldiers cut the ropes of a huge ballista. The rising moon lights the Vitellians and hides the Flavians, and at sunrise the third legion salutes the sun in the Syrian way.

Id vero aegre tolerante milite prope seditionem 21
with-that indeed with-difficulty bearing the-soldiery almost to-mutiny
ventum, cum progressi equites sub ipsa moenia vagos
it-was-come when having-advanced the-horsemen under the-very walls stragglers
e Cremonensibus corripiunt, quorum indicio noscitur
from the-Cremonese seize whose by-information is-learned
sex Vitellianas legiones omnemque exercitum, qui Hostiliae
six Vitellian legions and-all the-army which at-Hostilia
egerat, eo ipso die triginta milia passuum emensum,
had-been on-that very day thirty thousands of-paces having-covered
comperta suorum clade in proelium accingi ac
with-learned of-their-own-men the-disaster for battle to-gird-themselves and
iam adfore. is terror obstructas mentis consiliis
soon to-be-about-to-arrive this terror the-blocked minds to-the-counsels
ducis aperuit. sistere tertiam decimam legionem in
of-the-general opened to-halt the-third tenth legion on
ipso viae Postumiae aggere iubet, cui iuncta a
the-very of-the-road Postumian embankment he-orders to-which joined on
laevo septima Galbiana patenti campo stetit, dein septima
the-left the-seventh Galbian in-the-open plain stood then the-seventh
Claudiana, agresti fossa (ita locus erat) praemunita; dextro
Claudian by-a-rustic ditch so the-place was fortified-in-front on-the-right
octava per apertum limitem, mox tertia densis arbustis
the-eighth along an-open boundary-path then the-third by-dense groves

intersepta. hic aquilarum signorumque ordo: milites mixti
cut-off this of-the-eagles and-standards the-order the-soldiers mixed
per tenebras, ut fors tulerat; praetorianum vexillum
through the-darkness as chance had-brought the-praetorian detachment
proximum tertianis, cohortes auxiliorum in cornibus,
next to-the-third-men the-cohorts of-the-auxiliaries on the-wings
latera ac terga equite circumdata; Sido atque Italicus
the-flanks and rear with-cavalry surrounded Sido and Italicus
Suebi cum delectis popularium primori in acie versabantur.
Suebi with picked of-their-countrymen the-foremost in line were-engaged
22 At Vitellianus exercitus, cui adquiescere Cremonae et
but the-Vitellian army for-which to-rest at-Cremona and
reciperatis cibo somnoque viribus confectum algore atque
with-recovered by-food and-sleep strength the-exhausted by-cold and
inedia hostem postera die profligare ac proruere ratio fuit,
starvation enemy on-the-next day to-rout and to-overthrow the-plan was
indigus rectoris, inops consilii, tertia ferme noctis hora
lacking a-director destitute of-counsel at-the-third about of-the-night hour
paratis iam dispositisque Flavianis impingitur. ordinem
against-the-prepared already and-drawn-up Flavians is-hurled the-order
agminis disiecti per iram ac tenebras adseverare non
of-the-column scattered through anger and darkness to-assert not
ausim, quamquam alii tradiderint quartam Macedonicam
I-should-dare although others have-handed-down the-fourth Macedonian
dextrum suorum cornu, quintam et quintam decimam cum
the-right of-its-own wing the-fifth and the-fifth tenth with
vexillis nonae secundaeque et vicensimae Britannicarum
the-detachments of-the-ninth and-second and twentieth British
legionum mediam aciem, sextadecimanos duoetvicensimanosque
legions the-middle line the-sixteenth-men and-twenty-second-men
et primanos laevum cornu complesse. Rapaces atque Italici
and the-first-men the-left wing to-have-filled the-Rapaces and the-Italici

omnibus se manipulis miscuerant; eques auxiliaque
with-all themselves the-maniples had-mixed the-cavalry and-auxiliaries
sibi ipsi locum legere. proelium tota nocte varium,
for-themselves themselves a-place chose the-battle the-whole night varied
anceps, atrox, his, rursus illis exitiabile. nihil animus aut
doubtful fierce for-these again for-those ruinous nothing courage or
manus, ne oculi quidem provisu iuvabant. eadem utraque
hand not the-eyes even by-foresight helped the-same in-each
acie arma, crebris interrogationibus notum pugnae signum,
line arms by-frequent questionings known of-the-battle the-watchword
permixta vexilla, ut quisque globus capta ex hostibus huc
mixed the-banners as each band captured from the-enemy hither
vel illuc raptabat. urgebatur maxime septima legio, nuper a
or thither was-snatching was-pressed most the-seventh legion lately by
Galba conscripta. occisi sex primorum ordinum centuriones,
Galba enrolled were-killed six of-the-first ranks centurions
abrepta quaedam signa: ipsam aquilam Atilius Verus primi
were-seized certain standards itself the-eagle Atilius Verus of-the-first
pili centurio multa cum hostium strage et ad extremum
spear centurion great with of-the-enemy slaughter and at the-last
moriens servaverat.
dying had-saved
Sustinuit labentem aciem Antonius accitis praetorianis. 23
sustained the-slipping line Antonius with-summoned praetorians
qui ubi excepere pugnam, pellunt hostem, dein pelluntur.
who when they-took-up the-fight they-drive-back the-enemy then are-driven-back
namque Vitelliani tormenta in aggerem viae contulerant
for the-Vitellians engines onto the-embankment of-the-road had-brought
ut tela vacuo atque aperto excuterentur, dispersa primo
that the-missiles in-empty and open-ground might-be-discharged scattered at-first
et arbustis sine hostium noxa inlisa. magnitudine
and against-the-groves without of-the-enemy harm dashed of-greatness

eximia quintae decimae legionis ballista ingentibus saxis
exceptional of-the-fifth tenth legion a-ballista with-huge stones
hostilem aciem proruebat. lateque cladem intulisset
the-hostile line was-overthrowing and-widely destruction would-have-brought
ni duo milites praeclarum facinus ausi, arreptis e
had-not two soldiers a-splendid deed having-dared with-snatched-up from
strage scutis ignorati, vincla ac libramenta tormentorum
the-slaughter shields unrecognized the-ropes and balances of-the-engines
abscidissent. statim confossi sunt eoque intercidere
cut-through at-once stabbed-to-death were and-therefore have-perished
nomina: de facto haud ambigitur. neutro inclinaverat fortuna
the-names about the-deed not is-it-doubted to-neither had-inclined fortune
donec adulta nocte luna surgens ostenderet acies
until with-well-advanced night the-moon rising showed the-lines
falleretque. sed Flavianis aequior a tergo; hinc maiores
and-deceived but for-the-Flavians more-favorable from behind hence greater
equorum virorumque umbrae, et falso, ut in corpora, ictu
of-horses and-men the-shadows and with-false as-if at bodies aim
tela hostium citra cadebant: Vitelliani adverso lumine
the-missiles of-the-enemy short fell the-Vitellians with-facing light
conlucentes velut ex occulto iaculantibus incauti offerebantur.
shining-out as-if from hiding to-those-throwing unwary were-exposed
24 Igitur Antonius, ubi noscere suos noscique poterat, alios
therefore Antonius when to-recognize his-men and-be-recognized he-could some
pudore et probris, multos laude et hortatu, omnis spe
by-shame and reproaches many by-praise and exhortation all by-hope
promissisque accendens, cur resumpsissent arma, Pannonicas
and-promises inflaming why they-had-resumed arms the-Pannonian
legiones interrogabat: illos esse campos, in quibus abolere
legions he-asked those to-be the-plains in which to-wipe-out
labem prioris ignominiae, ubi reciperare gloriam possent. tum
the-stain of-former disgrace where to-recover glory they-could then

ad Moesicos conversus principes auctoresque belli ciebat:
to the-Moesians turned as-leaders and-authors of-the-war he-roused
frustra minis et verbis provocatos Vitellianos, si manus eorum
in-vain by-threats and words challenged the-Vitellians if the-hands their
oculosque non tolerent. haec, ut quosque accesserat;
and-eyes not they-should-bear these-things as each he-had-approached
plura ad tertianos, veterum recentiumque admonens, ut
more to the-third-men of-old and-recent-things reminding how
sub M. Antonio Parthos, sub Corbulone Armenios, nuper
under Mark Antony the-Parthians under Corbulo the-Armenians lately
Sarmatas pepulissent. mox infensus praetorianis 'vos'
the-Sarmatians they-had-driven-back soon hostile to-the-praetorians you
inquit, 'nisi vincitis, pagani, quis alius imperator, quae castra
he-said unless you-conquer civilians what other emperor what camp
alia excipient? illic signa armaque vestra sunt, et mors
other will-receive-you there the-standards and-arms your are and death
victis; nam ignominiam consumpsistis.' undique clamor, et
for-the-beaten for disgrace you-have-used-up on-all-sides shouting and
orientem solem (ita in Syria mos est) tertiani salutavere.
the-rising sun so in Syria the-custom is the-third-men saluted

A rumor that Mucianus has come lifts the Flavians, and the Vitellian line breaks. A soldier strips a dying man and finds he has killed his father; the army mourns and curses the war, then goes on killing kinsmen. At Cremona the legions attack the walled camp under a tortoise of shields, and when it falters the generals point the weary men to Cremona itself; the assault presses on over the dying.

25 Vagus inde an consilio ducis subditus rumor, advenisse
wandering thence or by-the-design of-the-general planted a-rumor to-have-arrived
Mucianum, exercitus in vicem salutasse. gradum inferunt
Mucianus the-armies in turn to-have-saluted their-step they-advance
quasi recentibus auxiliis aucti, rariore iam Vitellianorum
as-if by-fresh auxiliaries increased with-thinner already of-the-Vitellians
acie, ut quos nullo rectore suus quemque impetus vel
line as-of-men whom with-no director his-own each impulse or
pavor contraheret diduceretve. postquam impulsos sensit
fear drew-together or-drew-apart after driven he-perceived-them
Antonius, denso agmine obturbabat. laxati ordines
Antonius in-dense column pressed-them the-loosened ranks
abrumpuntur, nec restitui quivere impedientibus vehiculis
are-broken nor to-be-restored could with-hindering wagons
tormentisque. per limitem viae sparguntur festinatione
and-engines along the-boundary of-the-road are-scattered by-the-haste
consectandi victores. eo notabilior caedes fuit, quia
of-pursuing the-victors so-much more-remarkable the-slaughter was because
filius patrem interfecit. rem nominaque auctore Vipstano
a-son his-father killed the-thing and-the-names with-authority Vipstanus
Messala tradam. Iulius Mansuetus ex Hispania, Rapaci
Messalla I-shall-hand-down Julius Mansuetus from Spain to-the-Rapax
legioni additus, impubem filium domi liquerat. is mox
legion added a-boy son at-home had-left he soon

adultus, inter septimanos a Galba conscriptus, oblatum forte
grown among the-seventh-men by Galba enrolled met by-chance
patrem et vulnere stratum dum semianimem scrutatur,
his-father and by-a-wound laid-low while the-half-dead-man he-searches
agnitus agnoscensque et exanguem amplexus, voce flebili
recognized and-recognizing and the-bloodless embracing in-a-voice tearful
precabatur placatos patris manis, neve se ut parricidam
prayed the-appeased of-his-father the-shades and-not him as a-parricide
aversarentur: publicum id facinus; et unum militem
that-they-should-turn-from the-common that crime and one soldier
quotam civilium armorum partem? simul attollere
what-fraction of-civil arms a-part at-the-same-time he-raised
corpus, aperire humum, supremo erga parentem officio
the-body he-opened the-ground the-last toward his-parent duty
fungi. advertere proximi, deinde plures: hinc per omnem
he-performed noticed the-nearest then more hence through the-whole
aciem miraculum et questus et saevissimi belli execratio.
line wonder and complaints and of-the-most-savage war cursing
nec eo segnius propinquos adfinis fratres trucidant
nor for-that more-sluggishly kinsmen relatives brothers they-slaughter
spoliant: factum esse scelus loquuntur faciuntque.
they-despoil done to-be a-crime they-say and-do
Ut Cremonam venere, novum immensumque opus occurrit. 26
when to-Cremona they-came a-new and-immense work met-them
Othoniano bello Germanicus miles moenibus Cremonensium
in-the-Othonian war the-German soldiery to-the-walls of-the-Cremonese
castra sua, castris vallum circumiecerat eaque munimenta
camp their-own to-the-camp a-rampart had-thrown-around and-these fortifications
rursus auxerat. quorum aspectu haesere victores, incertis
again had-increased whose at-sight stuck the-victors with-uncertain
ducibus quid iuberent. incipere obpugnationem fesso
generals what they-should-order to-begin an-assault with-worn

per diem noctemque exercitu arduum et nullo iuxta
through day and-night army hard and with-no near
subsidio anceps: sin Bedriacum redirent, intolerandus
reserve hazardous but-if to-Bedriacum they-should-return unbearable
tam longi itineris labor, et victoria ad inritum revolvebatur:
of-so long a-march the-toil and the-victory to nothing was-rolled-back
munire castra, id quoque propinquis hostibus formidolosum,
to-fortify a-camp that also with-near enemy fearful
ne dispersos et opus molientis subita eruptione
lest the-scattered and the-work toiling-on by-a-sudden sally
turbarent. quae super cuncta terrebat ipsorum
they-should-throw-into-confusion which above all-things terrified of-themselves
miles periculi quam morae patientior: quippe ingrata
the-soldiery of-danger than of-delay more-tolerant for unwelcome-things
quae tuta, ex temeritate spes; omnisque caedes et
what-things safe from rashness hope and-all slaughter and
vulnera et sanguis aviditate praedae pensabantur.
wounds and blood by-the-greed of-plunder were-outweighed

27 Huc inclinavit Antonius cingique vallum corona iussit.
to-this inclined Antonius and-to-be-surrounded the-rampart with-a-ring ordered
primo sagittis saxisque eminus certabant, maiore Flavianorum
at-first with-arrows and-stones from-afar they-contended with-greater of-the-Flavians
pernicie, in quos tela desuper librabantur; mox vallum
destruction upon whom the-missiles from-above were-poised soon the-rampart
portasque legionibus attribuit, ut discretus labor fortis
and-gates to-the-legions he-assigned that separated toil the-brave
ignavosque distingueret atque ipsa contentione decoris
and-cowards might-distinguish and by-the-very rivalry for-honor
accenderentur. proxima Bedriacensi viae tertiani septimanique
they-might-be-inflamed nearest to-the-Bedriacum road the-third-men and-seventh-men
sumpsere, dexteriora valli octava ac septima
took the-more-rightward-parts of-the-rampart the-eighth and seventh

Claudiana; tertiadecimanos ad Brixianam portam impetus tulit.
Claudian the-thirteenth-men to the-Brixian gate their-charge carried
paulum inde morae, dum ex proximis agris ligones dolabras
a-little thence of-delay while from the-nearest fields hoes mattocks
et alii falcis scalasque convectant: tum elatis super capita
and others hooks and-ladders bring-together then with-raised above their-heads
scutis densa testudine succedunt. Romanae utrimque artes:
shields in-a-dense tortoise they-approach Roman on-both-sides arts
pondera saxorum Vitelliani provolvunt, disiectam fluitantemque
weights of-stones the-Vitellians roll-forward the-broken-apart and-wavering
testudinem lanceis contisque scrutantur, donec soluta
tortoise with-lances and-poles they-probe until with-loosened
compage scutorum exanguis aut laceros prosternerent multa cum
the-joining of-the-shields bloodless or mangled they-laid-low much with
strage. incesserat cunctatio, ni duces fesso militi
slaughter had-come-upon-them hesitation had-not the-generals to-the-worn soldiery
et velut inritas exhortationes abnuenti Cremonam monstrassent.
and as-if useless exhortations refusing Cremona pointed-out
Hormine id ingenium, ut Messala tradit, an potior 28
of-Hormus-whether that the-idea as Messalla relates or more-trustworthy
auctor sit C. Plinius, qui Antonium incusat, haud facile
an-authority be Gaius Pliny who Antonius blames not easily
discreverim, nisi quod neque Antonius neque Hormus a
I-could-decide except that neither Antonius nor Hormus from
fama vitaque sua quamvis pessimo flagitio degeneravere. non
repute and-life their-own however by-the-worst crime fell-away not
iam sanguis neque vulnera morabantur quin subruerent
now blood nor wounds delayed-them but-that they-should-undermine
vallum quaterentque portas, innixi umeris et super iteratam
the-rampart and-should-shake the-gates leaning on-shoulders and over a-repeated
testudinem scandentes prensarent hostium tela brachiaque.
tortoise climbing they-should-seize of-the-enemy weapons and-arms

integri cum sauciis, semineces cum expirantibus volvuntur,
the-unhurt with the-wounded the-half-dead with the-expiring are-rolled
varia pereuntium forma et omni imagine mortium.
in-varied of-the-perishing form and in-every image of-deaths

XL · THE SACK OF CREMONA

The third and seventh legions break into the camp, the first man in Gaius Volusius, a soldier of the third. Cremona's walls and towers still stand, and the crowded fair has filled the town; Antonius fires the houses outside. The Vitellians surrender, and Caecina, freed, appears in his consul's insignia; Antonius shields him from the angry victors and sends him to Vespasian. Forty thousand soldiers sack Cremona for four days, and only the temple of Mefitis survives. Antonius forbids the holding of Cremonese captives, the city is later rebuilt, and the beaten legions are dispersed through Illyricum.

29 Acerrimum tertiae septimaeque legionum certamen; et
the-fiercest of-the-third and-seventh legions the-contest and
dux Antonius cum delectis auxiliaribus eodem
the-general Antonius with picked auxiliaries on-the-same-spot
incubuerat. obstinatos inter se cum sustinere Vitelliani
had-pressed the-obstinate among themselves since to-withstand the-Vitellians
nequirent et superiacta tela testudine laberentur, ipsam
could-not and the-thrown-over missiles from-the-tortoise slid itself
postremo ballistam in subeuntis propulere, quae ut ad
at-last the-ballista onto the-approaching they-pushed which as for
praesens disiecit obruitque quos inciderat, ita pinnas
the-present it-scattered and-crushed those-on-whom it-had-fallen so the-battlements
ac summa valli ruina sua traxit; simul iuncta
and the-top of-the-rampart by-ruin its-own dragged at-the-same-time the-joined
turris ictibus saxorum cessit, qua septimani dum nituntur
tower to-the-blows of-stones yielded where the-seventh-men while they-strive

cuneis, tertianus securibus gladiisque portam perfregit.
in-wedges the-third-man with-axes and-swords the-gate broke-through
primum inrupisse C. Volusium tertiae legionis militem
first to-have-burst-in Gaius Volusius of-the-third legion a-soldier
inter omnis auctores constat. is in vallum egressus,
among all the-authorities it-is-agreed he onto the-rampart having-climbed
deturbatis qui restiterant, conspicuus manu ac voce
with-thrown-down those-who had-resisted conspicuous by-hand and voice
capta castra conclamavit; ceteri trepidis iam Vitellianis
captured the-camp shouted the-rest with-panicking already the-Vitellians
seque e vallo praecipitantibus perrupere. completur
and-themselves from the-rampart hurling broke-through is-filled
caede quantum inter castra murosque vacui fuit.
with-slaughter what between the-camp and-the-walls of-empty-space there-was
Ac rursus nova laborum facies: ardua urbis moenia, saxeae 30
and again a-new of-toils face the-steep of-the-city walls stone
turres, ferrati portarum obices, vibrans tela miles, frequens
towers iron of-the-gates bars brandishing weapons a-soldiery numerous
obstrictusque Vitellianis partibus Cremonensis populus, magna
and-bound to-the-Vitellian party the-Cremonese people a-great
pars Italiae stato in eosdem dies mercatu congregata, quod
part of-Italy at-a-fixed on the-same days market gathered which
defensoribus auxilium ob multitudinem, obpugnantibus
for-the-defenders a-help on-account-of the-numbers for-the-attackers
incitamentum ob praedam erat. rapi ignis
an-incentive on-account-of plunder was to-be-snatched fire
Antonius inferrique amoenissimis extra urbem aedificiis
Antonius and-to-be-brought to-the-most-pleasant outside the-city buildings
iubet, si damno rerum suarum Cremonenses ad mutandam
orders if by-the-loss of-property their-own the-Cremonese to changing
fidem traherentur. propinqua muris tecta et altitudinem
loyalty might-be-drawn near to-the-walls the-roofs and the-height

moenium egressa fortissimo quoque militum complet;
of-the-walls having-surpassed with-the-bravest each of-the-soldiers he-fills
illi trabibus tegulisque et facibus propugnatores deturbant.
they with-beams and-tiles and torches the-defenders dislodge
31 Iam legiones in testudinem glomerabantur, et alii tela
already the-legions into a-tortoise were-massing and others missiles
saxaque incutiebant, cum languescere paulatim Vitellianorum
and-stones were-hurling when flagged gradually of-the-Vitellians
animi. ut quis ordine anteibat, cedere fortunae, ne Cremona
the-spirits as each in-rank preceded they-yielded to-fortune lest with-Cremona
quoque excisa nulla ultra venia omnisque ira victoris
also destroyed no further pardon and-all the-wrath of-the-victor
non in vulgus inops, sed in tribunos centurionesque, ubi
not upon the-crowd needy but upon the-tribunes and-centurions where
pretium caedis erat, reverteretur. gregarius miles futuri
a-price for-killing was should-turn-back the-common soldiery of-the-future
socors et ignobilitate tutior perstabat: vagi per vias,
careless and by-obscurity safer held-out wandering along the-streets
in domibus abditi pacem ne tum quidem orabant, cum
in houses hidden peace not then even they-begged although
bellum posuissent. primores castrorum nomen atque
war they-had-laid-down the-chief-men of-the-camp the-name and
imagines Vitellii amoliuntur; catenas Caecinae (nam etiam
images of-Vitellius remove the-chains of-Caecina for even
tunc vinctus erat) exolvunt orantque ut causae suae
then bound he-was they-undo and-beg that of-cause their-own
deprecator adsistat. aspernantem tumentemque lacrimis
as-intercessor he-should-stand-by the-scorning and-swelling with-tears
fatigant, extremum malorum, tot fortissimi viri proditoris
they-weary the-extremity of-evils so-many most-brave men of-a-traitor
opem invocantes; mox velamenta et infulas pro muris
the-help invoking soon the-suppliant-wreaths and fillets on the-walls

ostentant. cum Antonius inhiberi tela iussisset, signa
they-display when Antonius to-be-stopped the-missiles had-ordered the-standards
aquilasque extulere; maestum inermium agmen deiectis
and-eagles they-carried-out a-sad of-unarmed-men column with-cast-down
in terram oculis sequebatur. circumstiterant victores et
to the-ground eyes followed had-stood-around the-victors and
primo ingerebant probra, intentabant ictus: mox, ut praeberi
at-first heaped insults aimed blows soon when to-be-offered
ora contumeliis et posita omni ferocia cuncta
their-faces to-insults and with-laid-aside all ferocity all-things
victi patiebantur, subit recordatio illos esse qui
the-beaten endured came-over-them the-recollection those to-be who
nuper Bedriaci victoriae temperassent. sed ubi Caecina
lately at-Bedriacum the-victory had-used-with-moderation but when Caecina
praetexta lictoribusque insignis, dimota turba, consul
in-the-bordered-toga and-lictors distinguished with-pushed-aside crowd consul
incessit, exarsere victores: superbiam saevitiamque (adeo invisa
advanced blazed-up the-victors arrogance and-savagery so hated
scelera sunt), etiam perfidiam obiectabant. obstitit Antonius
crimes are even treachery they-threw-at-him opposed Antonius
datisque defensoribus ad Vespasianum dimisit.
and-with-given defenders to Vespasian sent-him-away
Plebs interim Cremonensium inter armatos conflictabatur; 32
the-plebs meanwhile of-the-Cremonese among the-armed-men were-buffeted
nec procul caede aberant, cum precibus ducum
nor far from-slaughter were-they when by-the-prayers of-the-generals
mitigatus est miles. et vocatos ad contionem Antonius
softened was the-soldiery and called to an-assembly Antonius
adloquitur, magnifice victores, victos clementer, de Cremona
addresses magnificently the-victors the-beaten mercifully about Cremona
in neutrum. exercitus praeter insitam praedandi cupidinem
to neither-side the-army besides implanted of-plundering desire

vetere odio ad excidium Cremonensium incubuit. iuvisse
from-old hatred to the-destruction of-the-Cremonese leaned to-have-helped
partis Vitellianas Othonis quoque bello credebantur; mox
the-party Vitellian of-Otho also in-the-war they-were-believed soon
tertiadecimanos ad extruendum amphitheatrum relictos, ut sunt
the-thirteenth-men for building an-amphitheater left as are
procacia urbanae plebis ingenia, petulantibus iurgiis inluserant.
impudent of-the-city plebs the-characters with-petulant jeers they-had-mocked
auxit invidiam editum illic a Caecina gladiatorum spectaculum
increased the-odium given there by Caecina of-gladiators the-show
eademque rursus belli sedes et praebiti in acie Vitellianis
and-the-same again of-the-war the-seat and supplied in battle to-the-Vitellians
cibi, caesae quaedam feminae studio partium ad proelium
food slain certain women from-zeal of-party to battle
progressae; tempus quoque mercatus ditem alioqui coloniam
having-gone-forth the-time also of-the-market the-rich otherwise colony
maiore opum specie complebat. ceteri duces in obscuro:
with-greater of-wealth appearance filled the-other generals in obscurity
Antonium fortuna famaque omnium oculis exposuerat. is
Antonius fortune and-fame of-all to-the-eyes had-exposed he
balineas abluendo cruori propere petit. excepta vox est,
the-baths for-washing-off the-gore hurriedly seeks caught a-remark was
cum teporem incusaret, statim futurum ut incalescerent:
when of-the-tepidness he-complained at-once going-to-be that they-should-grow-hot
vernile dictum omnem invidiam in eum vertit, tamquam
the-slavish saying all the-odium upon him turned as-if
signum incendendae Cremonae dedisset, quae iam flagrabat.
the-signal of-burning Cremona he-had-given which already was-ablaze
33 Quadraginta armatorum milia inrupere, calonum lixarumque
forty of-armed-men thousands burst-in of-servants and-sutlers
amplior numerus et in libidinem ac saevitiam corruptior. non
a-larger number and for lust and savagery more-corrupt not

dignitas, non aetas protegebat quo minus stupra caedibus,
rank not age protected by-which less rapes with-slaughter
caedes stupris miscerentur. grandaevos senes, exacta aetate
slaughter with-rapes should-be-mixed aged old-men of-spent age
feminas, vilis ad praedam, in ludibrium trahebant: ubi
women worthless for plunder for mockery they-dragged when
adulta virgo aut quis forma conspicuus incidisset, vi
a-grown maiden or someone in-beauty conspicuous had-fallen-in by-the-violence
manibusque rapientium divulsus ipsos postremo direptores in
and-hands of-the-snatchers torn-apart the-very at-last plunderers into
mutuam perniciem agebat. dum pecuniam vel gravia auro
mutual destruction drove while money or heavy with-gold
templorum dona sibi quisque trahunt, maiore aliorum
of-the-temples gifts for-himself each drag by-the-greater of-others
vi truncabantur. quidam obvia aspernati verberibus
force they-were-cut-down some what-met-them spurning with-blows
tormentisque dominorum abdita scrutari, defossa eruere:
and-tortures of-the-owners the-hidden-things searched the-buried dug-up
faces in manibus, quas, ubi praedam egesserant, in vacuas
torches in their-hands which when the-plunder they-had-carried-out into the-empty
domos et inania templa per lasciviam iaculabantur; utque
houses and empty temples through wantonness they-hurled and-as
exercitu vario linguis moribus, cui cives socii externi
in-an-army varied in-tongues in-manners in-which citizens allies foreigners
interessent, diversae cupidines et aliud cuique fas nec
were-present diverse desires and another for-each right nor
quicquam inlicitum. per quadriduum Cremona suffecit. cum
anything unlawful for four-days Cremona sufficed when
omnia sacra profanaque in igne considerent, solum Mefitis
all-things sacred and-profane in fire sank alone of-Mefitis
templum stetit ante moenia, loco seu numine defensum.
the-temple stood before the-walls by-its-place or divinity defended

34 Hic exitus Cremonae anno ducentesimo octogesimo sexto
this the-end of-Cremona in-the-year two-hundredth eightieth sixth
a primordio sui. condita erat Ti. Sempronio
from the-beginning its founded it-had-been with-Tiberius Sempronius
P. Cornelio consulibus, ingruente in Italiam Annibale,
Publius Cornelius as-consuls with-advancing upon Italy Hannibal
propugnaculum adversus Gallos trans Padum agentis
as-a-bulwark against the-Gauls across the-Po dwelling
et si qua alia vis per Alpis rueret. igitur numero
and if any other force through the-Alps should-rush therefore by-the-number
colonorum, opportunitate fluminum, ubere agri, adnexu
of-colonists by-the-convenience of-the-rivers by-the-fertility of-the-land by-connection
conubiisque gentium adolevit floruitque, bellis externis intacta,
and-intermarriages of-peoples it-grew and-flourished by-wars foreign untouched
civilibus infelix. Antonius pudore flagitii, crebrescente invidia,
by-civil unfortunate Antonius from-shame of-the-crime with-growing odium
edixit ne quis Cremonensem captivum detineret. inritamque
proclaimed that-not anyone a-Cremonese captive should-detain and-useless
praedam militibus effecerat consensus Italiae, emptionem
the-plunder for-the-soldiers had-made the-agreement of-Italy the-purchase
talium mancipiorum aspernantis: occidi coepere; quod ubi
of-such slaves spurning to-be-killed they-began which when
enotuit, a propinquis adfinibusque occulte redemptabantur.
became-known by kinsmen and-relatives secretly they-were-ransomed
mox rediit Cremonam reliquus populus: reposita fora
soon returned to-Cremona the-remaining people were-restored the-forums
templaque magnificentia municipum; et Vespasianus hortabatur.
and-temples by-the-munificence of-the-townsmen and Vespasian encouraged
35 Ceterum adsidere sepultae urbis ruinis noxia tabo
but to-sit-by of-the-buried city the-ruins noxious with-gore
humus haud diu permisit. ad tertium lapidem progressi
the-ground not long allowed to the-third milestone having-advanced

vagos paventisque Vitellianos, sua quemque apud
the-straggling and-frightened Vitellians his-own each by
signa, componunt; et victae legiones, ne manente adhuc
standards they-settle and the-beaten legions lest with-remaining still
civili bello ambigue agerent, per Illyricum dispersae.
civil war doubtfully they-should-act through Illyricum dispersed
in Britanniam inde et Hispanias nuntios famamque,
into Britain thence and the-Spains messengers and-the-news
in Galliam Iulium Calenum tribunum, in Germaniam
into Gaul Julius Calenus a-tribune into Germany
Alpinium Montanum praefectum cohortis, quod hic Trevir,
Alpinius Montanus prefect of-a-cohort because this-one a-Treviran
Calenus Aeduus, uterque Vitelliani fuerant, ostentui misere.
Calenus an-Aeduan each Vitellians had-been for-a-display they-sent
simul transitus Alpium praesidiis occupati, suspecta
at-the-same-time the-passes of-the-Alps with-garrisons occupied suspected
Germania, tamquam in auxilium Vitellii accingeretur.
Germany as-if for the-help of-Vitellius it-were-girding

Vitellius idles in his gardens at Aricia until news of Bassus's and Caecina's treachery reaches him; he replaces his praetorian prefect. In the senate his brother Lucius attacks Caecina, and Rosius Regulus is consul for a single day. Vitellius poisons the loyal Junius Blaesus, whose noble birth his brother had painted as a rival's claim. Valens, moving slowly with his concubines and eunuchs, hears of Ravenna's loss and hesitates.

36 At Vitellius profecto Caecina, cum Fabium Valentem paucis
but Vitellius with-departed Caecina when Fabius Valens a-few
post diebus ad bellum impulisset, curis luxum obtendebat: non
after days to war he-had-driven by-cares his-luxury screened not
parare arma, non adloquio exercitioque militem firmare, non
he-prepared arms not by-address and-exercise the-soldiery strengthened not
in ore vulgi agere, sed umbraculis hortorum abditus, ut
in the-mouth of-the-crowd was-active but in-the-shades of-his-gardens hidden like
ignava animalia, quibus si cibum suggeras, iacent torpentque,
sluggish animals to-which if food you-supply lie and-are-torpid
praeterita instantia futura pari oblivione dimiserat. atque
the-past the-pressing the-future with-equal forgetfulness he-had-dismissed and
illum in nemore Aricino desidem et marcentem proditio Lucilii
him in the-grove of-Aricia idle and languid the-treachery of-Lucilius
Bassi ac defectio classis Ravennatis perculit; nec multo post
Bassus and the-defection of-the-fleet of-Ravenna struck nor much later
de Caecina adfertur mixtus gaudio dolor et descivisse et ab
about Caecina is-reported mixed with-joy grief both to-have-revolted and by
exercitu vinctum. plus apud socordem animum laetitia quam
the-army bound more with the-sluggish mind joy than
cura valuit. multa cum exultatione in urbem revectus frequenti
care prevailed much with exultation into the-city ridden-back in-a-crowded
contione pietatem militum laudibus cumulat; Publilium
assembly the-devotion of-the-soldiers with-praises he-heaps Publilius

Sabinum praetorii praefectum ob amicitiam
Sabinus of-the-praetorian-guard the-prefect on-account-of his-friendship
Caecinae vinciri iubet, substituto in locum eius Alfeno Varo.
with-Caecina to-be-bound orders with-substituted into the-place his Alfenus Varus
Mox senatum composita in magnificentiam oratione 37
soon the-senate with-a-composed into magnificence speech
adlocutus, exquisitis patrum adulationibus attollitur.
having-addressed by-exquisite of-the-fathers flatteries he-is-exalted
initium atrocis in Caecinam sententiae a L. Vitellio
the-beginning of-a-savage against Caecina motion by Lucius Vitellius
factum; dein ceteri composita indignatione, quod consul
made then the-rest with-composed indignation that a-consul
rem publicam, dux imperatorem, tantis opibus tot
the-thing public a-general the-emperor with-such resources with-so-many
honoribus cumulatus amicum prodidisset, velut pro Vitellio
honors heaped a-friend had-betrayed as-if for Vitellius
conquerentes, suum dolorem proferebant. nulla in oratione
complaining their-own grief they-put-forward no in the-speech
cuiusquam erga Flavianos duces obtrectatio: errorem
of-anyone toward the-Flavian generals disparagement the-error
imprudentiamque exercituum culpantes, Vespasiani nomen
and-imprudence of-the-armies blaming of-Vespasian the-name
suspensi et vitabundi circumibant, nec defuit qui unum
hesitant and avoiding they-went-round nor was-lacking one-who one
consulatus diem (is enim in locum Caecinae supererat) magno
of-consulship day this for into the-place of-Caecina remained great
cum inrisu tribuentis accipientisque eblandiretur. pridie
with mockery of-the-giver and-the-receiver wheedled on-the-day-before
kalendas Novembris Rosius Regulus iniit eiuravitque.
the-kalends of-November Rosius Regulus entered-on and-resigned
adnotabant periti numquam antea non abrogato
noted the-experienced never before with-not abrogated

magistratu neque lege lata alium suffectum; nam consul
the-magistracy nor with-a-law carried another substituted for consul
uno die et ante fuerat Caninius Rebilus C. Caesare
for-one day also before had-been Caninius Rebilus with-Gaius Caesar
dictatore, cum belli civilis praemia festinarentur.
as-dictator when of-war civil the-rewards were-hurried
38 Nota per eos dies Iunii Blaesi mors et famosa fuit, de
notorious in those days of-Junius Blaesus the-death and infamous was about
qua sic accepimus. gravi corporis morbo aeger Vitellius
which thus we-have-heard with-a-serious of-body disease sick Vitellius
Servilianis hortis turrim vicino sitam conlucere per noctem
from-the-Servilian gardens a-tower nearby situated to-shine-out through the-night
crebris luminibus animadvertit. sciscitanti causam apud
with-frequent lights noticed to-him-asking the-cause at-the-house-of
Caecinam Tuscum epulari multos, praecipuum honore
Caecina Tuscus to-be-feasting many foremost in-honor
Iunium Blaesum nuntiatur; cetera in maius, de apparatu
Junius Blaesus it-is-announced the-rest into the-greater about the-apparatus
et solutis in lasciviam animis. nec defuere qui ipsum
and relaxed into wantonness the-minds nor were-lacking those-who himself
Tuscum et alios, sed criminosius Blaesum incusarent, quod
Tuscus and others but more-criminally Blaesus accused that
aegro principe laetos dies ageret. ubi asperatum Vitellium et
with-sick the-emperor joyful days he-spent when exasperated Vitellius and
posse Blaesum perverti satis patuit iis qui principum
to-be-able Blaesus to-be-overthrown enough was-plain to-those who of-emperors
offensas acriter speculantur, datae L. Vitellio delationis
the-offenses keenly watch were-given to-Lucius Vitellius of-the-informing
partes. ille infensus Blaeso aemulatione prava, quod eum
the-part he hostile to-Blaesus from-rivalry crooked because him
omni dedecore maculosum egregia fama anteibat, cubiculum
with-every disgrace stained by-excellent repute he-surpassed the-bedchamber

imperatoris reserat, filium eius sinu complexus et genibus
of-the-emperor he-unlocks the-son his in-his-bosom embracing and at-his-knees
accidens. causam confusionis quaerenti, non se proprio metu
falling the-cause of-the-confusion to-the-asker not himself by-his-own fear
nec sui anxium, sed pro fratre, pro liberis fratris
nor for-himself anxious but for his-brother for the-children of-his-brother
preces lacrimasque attulisse. frustra Vespasianum timeri,
prayers and-tears to-have-brought in-vain Vespasian to-be-feared
quem tot Germanicae legiones, tot provinciae virtute
whom so-many German legions so-many provinces by-valor
ac fide, tantum denique terrarum ac maris immensis spatiis
and loyalty so-much finally of-lands and of-sea by-immense distances
arceat: in urbe ac sinu cavendum hostem, Iunios
should-keep-off in the-city and bosom to-be-guarded-against the-enemy the-Junii
Antoniosque avos iactantem, qui se stirpe imperatoria
and-Antonii as-ancestors boasting who himself of-stock imperial
comem ac magnificum militibus ostentet. versas illuc omnium
affable and magnificent to-the-soldiers displays turned thither of-all
mentis, dum Vitellius amicorum inimicorumque neglegens
the-minds while Vitellius of-friends and-enemies heedless
fovet aemulum principis labores e convivio prospectantem.
cherishes a-rival of-the-emperor the-labors from a-banquet looking-out
reddendam pro intempestiva laetitia maestam et funebrem
to-be-repaid for untimely joy a-sad and funereal
noctem, qua sciat et sentiat vivere Vitellium et
night in-which he-may-know and may-feel to-be-living Vitellius and
imperare et, si quid fato accidat, filium habere.
to-be-ruling and if something by-fate should-befall a-son to-have
Trepidanti inter scelus metumque, ne dilata Blaesi mors 39
to-the-wavering between crime and-fear lest the-delayed of-Blaesus death
maturam perniciem, palam iussa atrocem invidiam ferret,
a-ripe ruin openly ordered a-fierce odium should-bring

placuit veneno grassari; addidit facinori fidem notabili
it-was-decided by-poison to-proceed he-added to-the-crime credit by-a-remarkable
gaudio, Blaesum visendo. quin et audita est saevissima Vitellii
joy Blaesus in-visiting indeed even heard was a-most-savage of-Vitellius
vox qua se (ipsa enim verba referam) pavisse
utterance in-which himself the-very for words I-shall-report to-have-feasted
oculos spectata inimici morte iactavit. Blaeso super
his-eyes with-watched of-an-enemy death he-boasted in-Blaesus besides
claritatem natalium et elegantiam morum fidei obstinatio
the-renown of-birth and the-elegance of-manners of-loyalty steadfastness
fuit. integris quoque rebus a Caecina et primoribus partium
was with-sound also fortunes by Caecina and the-chief-men of-the-party
iam Vitellium aspernantibus ambitus abnuere perseveravit.
already Vitellius spurning the-canvassing to-refuse he-persisted
sanctus, inturbidus, nullius repentini honoris, adeo non
upright untroubled of-no sudden honor so-far not
principatus adpetens, parum effugerat ne dignus crederetur.
of-the-principate desirous too-little he-had-escaped lest worthy he-be-believed
40 Fabius interim Valens multo ac molli concubinarum
Fabius meanwhile Valens with-a-great and soft of-concubines
spadonumque agmine segnius quam ad bellum incedens,
and-of-eunuchs column more-sluggishly than for war advancing
proditam a Lucilio Basso Ravennatem classem pernicibus
betrayed by Lucilius Bassus the-Ravenna fleet by-swift
nuntiis accepit. et si coeptum iter properasset, nutantem
messengers learned and if the-begun march he-had-hurried the-wavering
Caecinam praevenire aut ante discrimen pugnae adsequi
Caecina to-forestall or before the-decision of-battle to-overtake
legiones potuisset; nec deerant qui monerent ut cum
the-legions he-could-have nor were-lacking those-who advised that with
fidissimis per occultos tramites vitata Ravenna Hostiliam
the-most-loyal through secret paths with-avoided Ravenna to-Hostilia

Cremonamve pergeret. aliis placebat accitis ex urbe
or-Cremona he-should-proceed to-others it-pleased with-summoned from the-city
praetoriis cohortibus valida manu perrumpere: ipse inutili
praetorian cohorts with-a-strong band to-break-through himself by-useless
cunctatione agendi tempora consultando consumpsit; mox
delay of-acting the-times in-deliberating used-up soon
utrumque consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum
each plan having-spurned which among dangers the-worst
est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis nec providit.
is while the-middle he-follows nor dared has enough nor foresaw

XLII · THE CAPTURE OF VALENS

Valens asks for help, receives a few cohorts, and with a handful of companions turns toward Etruria, planning to raise the Gauls and Germans by sea. The Flavians take Ariminum and Umbria. Valens is driven by the weather to Monoecus, where the procurator Marius Maturus warns him off, since Valerius Paulinus holds Forum Julii for Vespasian; storms drive him to the Stoechades, where Liburnians take him. Spain, Gaul, and Britain then go over.

Missis ad Vitellium litteris auxilium postulat. venere tres 41
with-sent to Vitellius letters help he-demands came three
cohortes cum ala Britannica, neque ad fallendum aptus
cohorts with a-squadron British neither for deceiving fit
numerus neque ad penetrandum. sed Valens ne in tanto
a-number nor for breaking-through but Valens not in so-great
quidem discrimine infamia caruit, quo minus rapere inlicitas
even danger of-infamy was-free by-which less to-snatch unlawful
voluptates adulteriisque ac stupris polluere hospitum domus
pleasures and-with-adulteries and debaucheries to-pollute of-his-hosts the-houses
crederetur: aderant vis et pecunia et ruentis fortunae
he-was-believed there-were-at-hand power and money and of-falling fortune

novissima libido. adventu demum peditum equitumque
the-last lust at-the-arrival at-last of-the-infantry and-cavalry
pravitas consilii patuit, quia nec vadere per hostis
the-crookedness of-the-plan lay-open because neither to-go through the-enemy
tam parva manu poterat, etiam si fidissima foret, nec
with-so small a-band could-he even if most-loyal it-should-be nor
integram fidem attulerant; pudor tamen et praesentis ducis
intact loyalty had-they-brought shame yet and of-the-present general
reverentia morabatur, haud diuturna vincla apud pavidos
reverence detained-them not lasting bonds with the-fearful
periculorum et dedecoris securos. eo metu cohortis
of-dangers and of-disgrace careless from-that fear the-cohorts
Ariminum praemittit, alam tueri terga iubet: ipse
to-Ariminum he-sends-ahead the-squadron to-guard the-rear he-orders himself
paucis, quos adversa non mutaverant, comitantibus flexit
with-few whom adversity not had-changed accompanying turned
in Umbriam atque inde Etruriam, ubi cognito pugnae
into Umbria and thence Etruria where with-learned of-the-battle
Cremonensis eventu non ignavum et, si provenisset, atrox
of-Cremona the-outcome a-not cowardly and if it-had-succeeded fierce
consilium iniit, ut arreptis navibus in quamcumque
plan he-entered-on that with-seized ships on any-whatever
partem Narbonensis provinciae egressus Gallias et exercitus
part of-the-Narbonese province landed the-Gauls and the-armies
et Germaniae gentis novumque bellum cieret.
and of-Germany the-peoples and-a-new war he-should-rouse

42 Digresso Valente trepidos, qui Ariminum tenebant, Cornelius
with-departed Valens the-alarmed who Ariminum held Cornelius
Fuscus, admoto exercitu et missis per proxima litorum
Fuscus with-moved-up army and with-sent along the-nearest of-the-shores
Liburnicis, terra marique circumvenit: occupantur plana
Liburnians by-land and-sea surrounds are-occupied the-plains

Umbriae et qua Picenus ager Hadria adluitur, omnisque
of-Umbria and where the-Picene territory by-the-Adriatic is-washed and-all
Italia inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium Appennini iugis
Italy between Vespasian and Vitellius by-the-Apennine ridges
dividebatur. Fabius Valens e sinu Pisano segnitia
was-divided Fabius Valens from the-gulf of-Pisa by-the-sluggishness
maris aut adversante vento portum Herculis Monoeci
of-the-sea or with-opposing wind to-the-harbor of-Hercules Monoecus
depellitur. haud procul inde agebat Marius Maturus Alpium
is-driven not far thence was-stationed Marius Maturus of-the-Alps
maritimarum procurator, fidus Vitellio, cuius sacramentum
Maritime the-procurator loyal to-Vitellius whose oath
cunctis circa hostilibus nondum exuerat. is Valentem comiter
with-all around hostile not-yet he-had-put-off he Valens courteously
exceptum, ne Galliam Narbonensem temere ingrederetur,
received lest Gaul Narbonese rashly he-should-enter
monendo terruit; simul ceterorum fides metu infracta.
by-warning frightened at-the-same-time of-the-others the-loyalty by-fear was-broken
Namque circumiectas civitates procurator Valerius Paulinus, 43
for the-surrounding states the-procurator Valerius Paulinus
strenuus militiae et Vespasiano ante fortunam amicus, in
vigorous in-soldiering and to-Vespasian before his-fortune a-friend into
verba eius adegerat; concitisque omnibus, qui exauctorati
the-words his had-bound and-with-roused all who discharged
a Vitellio bellum sponte sumebant, Foroiuliensem
by Vitellius war of-their-own-accord took-up the-Forum-Julian
coloniam, claustra maris, praesidio tuebatur, eo gravior
colony the-barrier of-the-sea with-a-garrison he-guarded so-much weightier
auctor, quod Paulino patria Forum Iulii et honos apud
an-authority because to-Paulinus his-fatherland Forum Julii and honor among
praetorianos, quorum quondam tribunus fuerat, ipsique
the-praetorians of-whom once tribune he-had-been and-themselves

pagani favore municipali et futurae potentiae spe iuvare
the-civilians with-favor municipal and of-future power by-hope to-help
partis adnitebantur. quae ut paratu firma et aucta
the-party strove which-things as in-preparation firm and increased
rumore apud varios Vitellianorum animos increbruere, Fabius
by-rumor among the-wavering of-the-Vitellians minds spread Fabius
Valens cum quattuor speculatoribus et tribus amicis, totidem
Valens with four scouts and three friends as-many
centurionibus, ad navis regreditur; Maturo ceterisque remanere
centurions to the-ships returns to-Maturus and-the-rest to-remain
et in verba Vespasiani adigi volentibus fuit. ceterum
and into the-words of-Vespasian to-be-bound wishing it-was but
ut mare tutius Valenti quam litora aut urbes, ita futuri
as the-sea safer for-Valens than the-shores or cities so of-the-future
ambiguus et magis quid vitaret quam cui fideret
doubtful and more what he-should-avoid than whom he-should-trust
certus, adversa tempestate Stoechadas Massiliensium insulas
certain by-adverse storm to-the-Stoechades of-the-Massilians islands
adfertur. ibi eum missae a Paulino Liburnicae oppressere.
is-carried there him sent by Paulinus Liburnians overpowered
44 Capto Valente cuncta ad victoris opes conversa,
with-captured Valens all-things to of-the-victor the-resources turned
initio per Hispaniam a prima Adiutrice legione
with-the-beginning through Spain from the-first Adiutrix legion
orto, quae memoria Othonis infensa Vitellio decimam quoque
arisen which from-memory of-Otho hostile to-Vitellius the-tenth also
ac sextam traxit. nec Galliae cunctabantur. et Britanniam
and sixth drew nor the-Gauls hesitated and Britain
inditus erga Vespasianum favor, quod illic secundae legioni a
an-implanted toward Vespasian favor because there to-the-second legion by
Claudio praepositus et bello clarus egerat, non sine motu
Claudius appointed and in-war famous he-had-acted not without commotion

adiunxit ceterarum, in quibus plerique centuriones ac milites
joined of-the-others in which most centurions and soldiers
a Vitellio provecti expertum iam principem anxii mutabant.
by Vitellius promoted a-tried already emperor anxious they-changed

XLIII · UNREST ON THE FRONTIERS

In Britain Venutius, whose wife Queen Cartimandua has taken his armor-bearer, makes war, and Roman troops rescue only the queen. Germany is shaken by the generals' sloth and the allies' treachery, and the Dacians attack until Mucianus sends the sixth legion. In Pontus a royal freedman, Anicetus, raises the coast for Vitellius and burns the fleet at Trapezus; Virdius Geminus hunts him down, and the news of Cremona reaches Vespasian in Egypt, who plans to starve Rome.

Ea discordia et crebris belli civilis rumoribus Britanni 45
by-that discord and by-frequent of-war civil rumors the-Britons
sustulere animos auctore Venutio, qui super insitam ferociam
raised their-spirits with-leader Venutius who besides implanted ferocity
et Romani nominis odium propriis in Cartimanduam
and of-the-Roman name hatred by-his-own against Cartimandua
reginam stimulis accendebatur. Cartimandua Brigantibus
the-queen goads was-inflamed Cartimandua over-the-Brigantes
imperitabat, pollens nobilitate; et auxerat potentiam,
ruled powerful in-nobility and she-had-increased her-power
postquam capto per dolum rege Carataco instruxisse
after with-captured through guile the-king Caratacus to-have-furnished
triumphum Claudii Caesaris videbatur. inde opes et rerum
the-triumph of-Claudius Caesar she-seemed thence wealth and of-things
secundarum luxus: spreto Venutio (is fuit maritus)
prosperous the-luxury with-spurned Venutius he was her-husband
armigerum eius Vellocatum in matrimonium regnumque
the-armor-bearer his Vellocatus into marriage and-the-kingdom

accepit. concussa statim flagitio domus: pro marito studia
she-took was-shaken at-once by-the-scandal the-house for the-husband the-zeal
civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia. igitur
of-the-state for the-adulterer the-lust of-the-queen and savagery therefore
Venutius accitis auxiliis, simul ipsorum Brigantum
Venutius with-summoned auxiliaries at-the-same-time of-themselves of-the-Brigantes
defectione in extremum discrimen Cartimanduam adduxit.
by-the-defection into the-utmost danger Cartimandua brought
tum petita a Romanis praesidia. et cohortes alaeque
then were-sought from the-Romans garrisons and cohorts and-squadrons
nostrae variis proeliis, exemere tamen periculo reginam;
our in-various battles rescued yet from-danger the-queen
regnum Venutio, bellum nobis relictum.
the-kingdom to-Venutius the-war to-us was-left

46 Turbata per eosdem dies Germania, et socordia ducum,
was-disturbed through the-same days Germany and by-the-sloth of-the-generals
seditione legionum, externa vi, perfidia sociali prope adflicta
by-the-mutiny of-the-legions by-foreign force by-treachery of-allies almost ruined
Romana res. id bellum cum causis et eventibus (etenim
the-Roman state that war with causes and outcomes for
longius provectum est) mox memorabimus. mota et
farther carried-on was soon we-shall-recount was-moved also
Dacorum gens numquam fida, tunc sine metu, abducto
of-the-Dacians the-race never loyal then without fear with-led-away
e Moesia exercitu. sed prima rerum quieti speculabantur:
from Moesia the-army but the-first of-things quiet they-watched
ubi flagrare Italiam bello, cuncta in vicem hostilia accepere,
when to-be-ablaze Italy with-war all-things in turn hostile they-learned
expugnatis cohortium alarumque hibernis utraque Danuvii
with-stormed of-the-cohorts and-squadrons winter-quarters of-each of-the-Danube
ripa potiebantur. iamque castra legionum excindere parabant,
bank they-were-masters and-now the-camps of-the-legions to-destroy they-prepared

ni Mucianus sextam legionem opposuisset, Cremonensis
had-not Mucianus the-sixth legion opposed of-the-Cremona
victoriae gnarus, ac ne externa moles utrimque ingrueret, si
victory aware and lest a-foreign mass from-both-sides should-assail if
Dacus Germanusque diversi inrupissent. adfuit, ut saepe
the-Dacian and-the-German from-different-sides had-burst-in was-present as often
alias, fortuna populi Romani, quae Mucianum virisque
elsewhere the-fortune of-the-people Roman which Mucianus and-the-forces
Orientis illuc tulit, et quod Cremonae interim transegimus.
of-the-East thither carried and that at-Cremona meanwhile we-settled
Fonteius Agrippa ex Asia (pro consule eam provinciam
Fonteius Agrippa from Asia as-pro consul that province
annuo imperio tenuerat) Moesiae praepositus est, additis
with-yearly command he-had-held over-Moesia set was with-added
copiis e Vitelliano exercitu, quem spargi per provincias
forces from the-Vitellian army which to-be-scattered through the-provinces
et externo bello inligari pars consilii pacisque erat.
and in-foreign war to-be-entangled part of-policy and-of-peace was
Nec ceterae nationes silebant. subita per Pontum arma 47
nor the-other nations were-silent sudden through Pontus arms
barbarum mancipium, regiae quondam classis praefectus,
a-barbarian chattel of-the-royal once fleet the-prefect
moverat. is fuit Anicetus Polemonis libertus, praepotens olim,
had-moved he was Anicetus of-Polemo the-freedman very-powerful once
et postquam regnum in formam provinciae verterat, mutationis
and after the-kingdom into the-form of-a-province had-turned of-the-change
impatiens. igitur Vitellii nomine adscitis gentibus, quae
impatient therefore of-Vitellius in-the-name with-summoned the-peoples who
Pontum accolunt, corrupto in spem rapinarum egentissimo
Pontus dwell-by with-corrupted into hope of-plunder the-neediest
quoque, haud temnendae manus ductor, Trapezuntem vetusta
each of-a-not to-be-despised band the-leader Trapezus of-ancient

fama civitatem, a Graecis in extremo Ponticae orae conditam,
fame a-city by the-Greeks on the-farthest of-the-Pontic coast founded
subitus inrupit. caesa ibi cohors, regium auxilium olim;
suddenly burst-into was-slain there a-cohort a-royal auxiliary once
mox donati civitate Romana signa armaque in nostrum
soon presented with-citizenship Roman standards and-arms in our
modum, desidiam licentiamque Graecorum retinebant. classi
fashion the-sloth and-license of-the-Greeks retained to-the-fleet
quoque faces intulit, vacuo mari eludens, quia lectissimas
also torches he-put on-the-empty sea mocking-us because the-choicest
Liburnicarum omnemque militem Mucianus Byzantium
of-the-Liburnians and-all the-soldiery Mucianus to-Byzantium
adegerat: quin et barbari contemptim vagabantur, fabricatis
had-brought indeed even the-barbarians contemptuously roamed with-built
repente navibus. camaras vocant, artis lateribus latam
suddenly boats camarae they-call-them with-narrow sides a-broad
alvum sine vinculo aeris aut ferri conexam; et tumido
hull without fastening of-bronze or iron joined and on-a-swollen
mari, prout fluctus attollitur, summa navium tabulis
sea according-as the-wave is-raised the-tops of-the-boats with-planks
augent, donec in modum tecti claudantur. sic inter undas
they-increase until in the-manner of-a-roof they-are-closed so amid the-waves
volvuntur, pari utrimque prora et mutabili remigio, quando
they-roll with-equal on-both-ends prow and with-shiftable oarage since
hinc vel illinc adpellere indiscretum et innoxium est.
on-this-side or on-that to-land indifferent and harmless is
48 Advertit ea res Vespasiani animum ut vexillarios e
turned that thing of-Vespasian the-mind so-that detachment-men from
legionibus ducemque Virdium Geminum spectatae militiae
the-legions and-a-leader Virdius Geminus of-proven soldiering
deligeret. ille incompositum et praedae cupidine vagum
he-chose he the-disordered and of-plunder from-desire straggling

hostem adortus coegit in navis; effectisque raptim
enemy having-attacked drove into the-ships and-with-built hurriedly
Liburnicis adsequitur Anicetum in ostio fluminis Chobi,
Liburnians he-overtakes Anicetus at the-mouth of-the-river Chobus
tutum sub Sedochezorum regis auxilio, quem pecunia
safe under of-the-Sedochezi of-the-king the-protection whom with-money
donisque ad societatem perpulerat. ac primo rex minis
and-gifts to alliance he-had-induced and at-first the-king by-threats
armisque supplicem tueri: postquam merces proditionis
and-arms the-suppliant protected after the-reward of-treachery
aut bellum ostendebatur, fluxa, ut est barbaris, fide
or war was-shown slippery as is with-barbarians loyalty
pactus Aniceti exitium perfugas tradidit, belloque
having-bargained-for of-Anicetus the-death the-fugitives he-handed-over and-to-the-war
servili finis impositus. Laetum ea victoria Vespasianum,
servile an-end was-put glad at-that victory Vespasian
cunctis super vota fluentibus, Cremonensis proelii nuntius
with-all-things beyond his-wishes flowing of-the-Cremona battle the-news
in Aegypto adsequitur. eo properantius Alexandriam
in Egypt overtakes so-much more-hastily to-Alexandria
pergit, ut fractos Vitellii exercitus urbemque externae opis
he-proceeds that the-broken of-Vitellius armies and-the-city of-foreign aid
indigam fame urgeret. namque et Africam, eodem latere
in-need by-famine he-might-press for also Africa on-the-same side
sitam, terra marique invadere parabat, clausis annonae
situated by-land and-sea to-invade he-was-preparing with-closed of-the-grain-supply
subsidiis inopiam ac discordiam hosti facturus.
the-resources want and discord for-the-enemy going-to-make

After Cremona Antonius grows proud, courts the legions, and lets his soldiers choose their centurions. The army halts at Fanum Fortunae, unsure of the Apennines, short of supplies, and the soldiers demand nail money. Tacitus recalls a cavalryman who asked a reward for killing his brother. Mucianus writes ambiguously to restrain the victors, and Antonius sends Vespasian a boastful letter against him. Vitellius hides the disaster; the centurion Julius Agrestis, sent to see the truth, reports it and dies by his own hand to prove it.

49 Dum hac totius orbis nutatione fortuna imperii
while in-this of-the-whole world wavering the-fortune of-the-empire
transit, Primus Antonius nequaquam pari innocentia
passes Primus Antonius by-no-means with-equal innocence
post Cremonam agebat, satis factum bello ratus et
after Cremona acted enough done for-the-war thinking and
cetera ex facili, seu felicitas in tali ingenio avaritiam
the-rest from easy or prosperity in such a-character greed
superbiam ceteraque occulta mala patefecit. ut captam Italiam
arrogance and-the-other hidden evils laid-open as a-captured Italy
persultare, ut suas legiones colere; omnibus dictis factisque
he-overran as his-own legions he-courted by-all words and-deeds
viam sibi ad potentiam struere. utque licentia militem
a-road for-himself to power he-built and-that with-license the-soldiery
imbueret interfectorum centurionum ordines legionibus
he-might-steep of-the-killed centurions the-ranks to-the-legions
offerebat. eo suffragio turbidissimus quisque delecti; nec
he-offered by-that vote the-most-turbulent each were-chosen nor
miles in arbitrio ducum, sed duces militari violentia
the-soldiery in the-control of-the-generals but the-generals by-military violence
trahebantur. quae seditiosa et corrumpendae disciplinae
were-dragged which-things seditious and of-corrupting discipline

mox in praedam vertebat, nihil adventantem Mucianum
soon into plunder he-turned not-at-all the-approaching Mucianus
veritus, quod exitiosius erat quam Vespasianum sprevisse.
fearing which more-ruinous was than Vespasian to-have-spurned
Ceterum propinqua hieme et umentibus Pado campis 50
but with-near winter and with-wet by-the-Po plains
expeditum agmen incedere. signa aquilaeque victricium
unencumbered the-column advanced the-standards and-eagles of-the-victorious
legionum, milites vulneribus aut aetate graves, plerique etiam
legions the-soldiers by-wounds or age heavy most even
integri Veronae relicti: sufficere cohortes alaeque et e
unhurt at-Verona left to-suffice the-cohorts and-squadrons and from
legionibus lecti profligato iam bello videbantur. undecima
the-legions picked-men with-routed already the-war seemed the-eleventh
legio sese adiunxerat, initio cunctata, sed prosperis
legion itself had-joined at-the-beginning having-hesitated but in-prosperous
rebus anxia quod defuisset; sex milia Dalmatarum,
affairs anxious that it-had-been-absent six thousands of-Dalmatians
recens dilectus, comitabantur; ducebat Pompeius Silvanus
a-recent levy accompanied led Pompeius Silvanus
consularis: vis consiliorum penes Annium Bassum legionis
a-consular the-force of-the-plans with Annius Bassus of-the-legion
legatum. is Silvanum socordem bello et dies rerum verbis
the-legate he Silvanus sluggish in-war and the-days of-action with-words
terentem specie obsequii regebat ad omniaque quae
wasting under-the-appearance of-deference ruled to and-all-things which
agenda forent quieta cum industria aderat. ad has copias
to-be-done were quiet with diligence was-at-hand to these forces
e classicis Ravennatibus, legionariam militiam poscentibus,
from the-marines of-Ravenna legionary service demanding
optimus quisque adsciti: classem Dalmatae supplevere.
the-best each were-taken-on the-fleet Dalmatians filled-up

exercitus ducesque ad Fanum Fortunae iter sistunt, de
the-army and-generals at Fanum Fortunae the-march halt about
summa rerum cunctantes, quod motas ex urbe praetorias
the-sum of-affairs hesitating because moved from the-city the-praetorian
cohortis audierant et teneri praesidiis Appenninum
cohorts they-had-heard and to-be-held with-garrisons the-Apennines
rebantur; et ipsos in regione bello attrita inopia et
they-thought and themselves in a-region by-war worn-down want and
seditiosae militum voces terrebant, clavarium (donativi
the-seditious of-the-soldiers voices terrified the-nail-money of-the-donative
nomen est) flagitantium. nec pecuniam aut frumentum
the-name it-is demanding nor money or grain
providerant, et festinatio atque aviditas praepediebant, dum
had-they-provided and haste and greed hampered while
quae accipi poterant rapiuntur.
what-things to-be-received could are-snatched

51 Celeberrimos auctores habeo tantam victoribus adversus fas
most-celebrated authorities I-have so-great in-the-victors toward right
nefasque inreverentiam fuisse ut gregarius eques occisum
and-wrong disregard to-have-been that a-common horseman killed
a se proxima acie fratrem professus praemium a ducibus
by himself in-the-last battle his-brother having-declared a-reward from the-generals
petierit. nec illis aut honorare eam caedem ius hominum
sought nor to-them either to-honor that killing the-law of-men
aut ulcisci ratio belli permittebat. distulerant tamquam
or to-avenge the-reason of-war allowed they-had-put-off as-if
maiora meritum quam quae statim exolverentur; nec
greater-things having-deserved than what at-once could-be-paid nor
quidquam ultra traditur. ceterum et prioribus civium bellis
anything further is-handed-down but also in-former of-citizens wars
par scelus inciderat. nam proelio, quo apud Ianiculum
an-equal crime had-occurred for in-the-battle in-which at the-Janiculum

adversus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem
against Cinna fought was a-Pompeian soldier brother
suum, dein cognito facinore se ipsum interfecit, ut
his-own then with-recognized the-deed himself himself killed as
Sisenna memorat: tanto acrior apud maiores, sicut virtutibus
Sisenna records so-much keener among the-ancestors as for-virtues
gloria, ita flagitiis paenitentia fuit. sed haec aliaque ex
glory so for-crimes repentance was but these-things and-others from
vetere memoria petita, quotiens res locusque exempla
old memory sought whenever the-matter and-place examples
recti aut solacia mali poscet, haud absurde memorabimus.
of-right or consolations of-evil shall-demand not absurdly we-shall-recount
Antonio ducibusque partium praemitti equites omnemque 52
to-Antonius and-the-generals of-the-party to-be-sent-ahead the-cavalry and-all
Umbriam explorari placuit, si qua Appennini iuga clementius
Umbria to-be-explored it-seemed if any of-the-Apennine ridges more-gently
adirentur: acciri aquilas signaque et quidquid
might-be-approached to-be-summoned the-eagles and-standards and whatever
Veronae militum foret, Padumque et mare commeatibus
at-Verona of-soldiers there-were and-the-Po and the-sea with-supplies
compleri. erant inter duces qui necterent moras: quippe
to-be-filled there-were among the-generals those-who tied delays for
nimius iam Antonius, et certiora ex Muciano sperabantur.
too-great already Antonius and surer-things from Mucianus were-hoped
namque Mucianus tam celeri victoria anxius et, ni praesens
for Mucianus by-so swift a-victory anxious and unless present
urbe potiretur, expertem se belli gloriaeque ratus, ad
the-city he-should-seize without-share himself of-war and-glory thinking to
Primum et Varum media scriptitabat, instandum
Primus and Varus ambiguous-things kept-writing must-be-pressed
coeptis aut rursus cunctandi utilitates disserens
on-the-undertakings or on-the-other-hand of-delaying the-advantages arguing

atque ita compositus ut ex eventu rerum adversa abnueret
and so composed that from the-outcome of-things adversity he-might-disown
vel prospera agnosceret. Plotium Grypum, nuper a Vespasiano
or successes acknowledge Plotius Grypus lately by Vespasian
in senatorium ordinem adscitum ac legioni praepositum,
into the-senatorial order enrolled and over-a-legion set
ceterosque sibi fidos apertius monuit, hique omnes de
and-the-rest to-himself loyal more-openly he-advised and-these all about
festinatione Primi ac Vari sinistre et Muciano volentia
the-haste of-Primus and of-Varus unfavorably and to-Mucianus wished-for-things
rescripsere. quibus epistulis Vespasiano missis effecerat ut
wrote-back with-which letters to-Vespasian sent he-had-brought-about that
non pro spe Antonii consilia factaque eius aestimarentur.
not according-to the-hope of-Antonius the-plans and-deeds his were-valued
53 Aegre id pati Antonius et culpam in Mucianum conferre,
with-difficulty that bore Antonius and the-blame upon Mucianus put
cuius criminationibus eviluissent pericula sua; nec sermonibus
whose by-accusations had-cheapened the-dangers his nor in-talk
temperabat, immodicus lingua et obsequii insolens. litteras
did-he-restrain-himself immoderate in-tongue and to-deference unaccustomed a-letter
ad Vespasianum composuit iactantius quam ad principem, nec
to Vespasian he-composed more-boastfully than to an-emperor nor
sine occulta in Mucianum insectatione: se Pannonicas
without secret against Mucianus attack himself the-Pannonian
legiones in arma egisse; suis stimulis excitos Moesiae
legions into arms to-have-driven by-his-own goads roused of-Moesia
duces, sua constantia perruptas Alpis, occupatam Italiam,
the-generals by-his-own constancy broken-through the-Alps occupied Italy
intersepta Germanorum Raetorumque auxilia. quod discordis
cut-off of-the-Germans and-Raetians the-auxiliaries because the-discordant
dispersasque Vitellii legiones equestri procella, mox peditum
and-dispersed of-Vitellius legions by-a-cavalry storm then of-infantry

vi per diem noctemque fudisset, id pulcherrimum
by-force through day and-night he-had-routed that most-glorious
et sui operis. casum Cremonae bello imputandum:
and of-his-own work the-fall of-Cremona to-the-war to-be-charged
maiore damno, plurium urbium excidiis veteres civium
with-greater loss of-more cities by-the-destructions the-old of-citizens
discordias rei publicae stetisse. non se nuntiis neque
discords to-the-thing public to-have-cost not himself by-messages nor
epistulis, sed manu et armis imperatori suo militare; neque
letters but by-hand and arms for-emperor his-own to-serve nor
officere gloriae eorum qui Daciam interim composuerint:
to-hinder the-glory of-those who Dacia meanwhile have-settled
illis Moesiae pacem, sibi salutem securitatemque Italiae
to-them of-Moesia the-peace to-himself the-safety and-security of-Italy
cordi fuisse; suis exhortationibus Gallias Hispaniasque,
at-heart to-have-been by-his-own exhortations the-Gauls and-the-Spains
validissimam terrarum partem, ad Vespasianum conversas.
the-strongest of-the-world part toward Vespasian turned
sed cecidisse in inritum labores si praemia periculorum
but to-have-fallen into nothing his-labors if the-rewards of-dangers
soli adsequantur qui periculis non adfuerint. nec fefellere
alone should-attain those-who at-the-dangers not were-present nor escaped
ea Mucianum; inde graves simultates, quas Antonius
those-things Mucianus thence heavy feuds which Antonius
simplicius, Mucianus callide eoque implacabilius nutriebat.
more-frankly Mucianus craftily and-so more-implacably nourished
At Vitellius fractis apud Cremonam rebus nuntios cladis 54
but Vitellius with-broken at Cremona affairs the-news of-the-disaster
occultans stulta dissimulatione remedia potius malorum
hiding by-foolish dissimulation the-remedies rather of-the-evils
quam mala differebat. quippe confitenti consultantique
than the-evils postponed for to-one-confessing and-consulting

supererant spes viresque: cum e contrario laeta omnia
remained hope and-strength when on the-contrary joyful all-things
fingeret, falsis ingravescebat. mirum apud ipsum de
he-pretended by-falsehoods he-grew-worse wonderful with himself about
bello silentium; prohibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque
the-war silence were-forbidden through the-city the-talks and-therefore
plures ac, si liceret, vere narraturi, quia vetabantur,
more and if it-were-allowed truly going-to-tell because they-were-forbidden
atrociora vulgaverant. nec duces hostium augendae
more-terrible-things had-spread nor the-generals of-the-enemy for-the-increasing
famae deerant, captos Vitellii exploratores circumductosque,
of-the-report were-lacking captured of-Vitellius the-scouts and-led-around
ut robora victoris exercitus noscerent, remittendo; quos
that the-strength of-the-victorious army they-might-learn by-sending-back whom
omnis Vitellius secreto percontatus interfici iussit. notabili
all Vitellius secretly having-questioned to-be-killed ordered with-remarkable
constantia centurio Iulius Agrestis post multos sermones,
constancy the-centurion Julius Agrestis after many talks
quibus Vitellium ad virtutem frustra accendebat, perpulit ut
in-which Vitellius to valor in-vain he-was-inflaming drove-him that
ad viris hostium spectandas quaeque apud Cremonam
to the-forces of-the-enemy for-viewing and-what-things at Cremona
acta forent ipse mitteretur. nec exploratione occulta fallere
done were himself he-should-be-sent nor by-reconnaissance secret to-deceive
Antonium temptavit, sed mandata imperatoris suumque animum
Antonius did-he-try but the-orders of-the-emperor and-his-own mind
professus, ut cuncta viseret postulat. missi qui locum
having-declared that all-things he-might-view he-demands were-sent men-who the-place
proelii, Cremonae vestigia, captas legiones ostenderent.
of-the-battle of-Cremona the-traces the-captured legions should-show
Agrestis ad Vitellium remeavit abnuentique vera esse quae
Agrestis to Vitellius returned and-to-him-denying true to-be what

adferret, atque ultro corruptum arguenti ‘quando quidem’ inquit
he-reported and moreover bribed charging since indeed he-said
‘magno documento opus est, nec alius iam tibi aut vitae aut
a-great proof need is nor other now to-you either of-life or
mortis meae usus, dabo cui credas.’ atque ita digressus
of-death my use I-shall-give one-whom you-may-believe and so departing
voluntaria morte dicta firmavit. quidam iussu Vitellii
by-voluntary death his-words confirmed some by-the-order of-Vitellius
interfectum, de fide constantiaque eadem tradidere.
killed about the-loyalty and-constancy the-same have-handed-down

XLV · VITELLIUS WAKES

Vitellius sends troops to hold the Apennines and makes consuls for years ahead. At Mevania, among ill omens, he hears that the Misenum fleet has revolted and returns to Rome. Tarracina is seized for Vespasian; in Rome a levy is raised in vain. The Flavians cross the snowy Apennines, Valens is executed at Urbinum, and the Vitellian army at Narnia surrenders. Vitellius is offered safety and a retreat in Campania.

Vitellius ut e somno excitus Iulium Priscum et Alfenum 55
Vitellius as-if from sleep roused Julius Priscus and Alfenus
Varum cum quattuordecim praetoriis cohortibus et omnibus
Varus with fourteen praetorian cohorts and all
equitum alis obsidere Appenninum iubet; secuta e
of-the-cavalry the-squadrons to-occupy the-Apennines orders followed from
classicis legio. tot milia armatorum, lecta equis virisque, si
the-marines a-legion so-many thousands of-armed-men chosen in-horses and-men if
dux alius foret, inferendo quoque bello satis pollebant.
general another there-had-been for-bringing even war enough they-were-strong
ceterae cohortes ad tuendam urbem L. Vitellio fratri
the-other cohorts for guarding the-city to-Lucius Vitellius his-brother

datae: ipse nihil e solito luxu remittens et diffidentia
were-given himself nothing from his-usual luxury abating and from-distrust
properus festinare comitia, quibus consules in multos annos
hasty hurried-on the-elections in-which consuls for many years
destinabat; foedera sociis, Latium externis dilargiri; his
he-was-designating treaties to-the-allies Latin-rights to-foreigners lavished to-these
tributa dimittere, alios immunitatibus iuvare; denique nulla in
tributes he-remitted others with-exemptions helped in-short with-no for
posterum cura lacerare imperium. sed vulgus ad magnitudinem
the-future care he-mangled the-empire but the-crowd at the-greatness
beneficiorum hiabat, stultissimus quisque pecuniis mercabatur,
of-the-favors gaped the-most-foolish each with-money bought
apud sapientis cassa habebantur quae neque dari neque
among the-wise void were-held what-things neither to-be-given nor
accipi salva re publica poterant. tandem flagitante
to-be-received with-safe the-thing public could at-last with-demanding
exercitu, qui Mevaniam insederat, magno senatorum agmine,
the-army which Mevania had-occupied with-a-great of-senators column
quorum multos ambitione, pluris formidine trahebat, in
of-whom many by-ambition more by-dread he-drew into
castra venit, incertus animi et infidis consiliis obnoxius.
the-camp he-came uncertain of-mind and to-untrustworthy counsels liable
56 Contionanti — prodigiosum dictu — tantum foedarum
to-him-addressing-the-assembly portentous to-tell so-many of-foul
volucrum supervolitavit ut nube atra diem obtenderent.
birds flew-over that with-a-cloud black the-day they-darkened
accessit dirum omen, profugus altaribus taurus disiecto
was-added a-dire omen a-fugitive from-the-altars bull with-scattered
sacrificii apparatu, longe, nec ut feriri hostias mos
of-the-sacrifice apparatus far nor as to-be-struck victims the-custom
est, confossus. sed praecipuum ipse Vitellius ostentum erat,
is stabbed but the-chief himself Vitellius portent was

ignarus militiae, improvidus consilii, quis ordo agminis, quae
ignorant of-soldiering improvident of-counsel what order of-the-column what
cura explorandi, quantus urgendo trahendove bello modus,
care of-reconnoitering how-much in-pressing or-drawing-out the-war measure
alios rogitans et ad omnis nuntios vultu quoque et incessu
others asking and at all news in-face also and gait
trepidus, dein temulentus. postremo taedio castrorum
trembling then drunken at-last from-weariness of-the-camp
et audita defectione Misenensis classis Romam revertit,
and with-heard the-defection of-the-Misenum fleet to-Rome returned
recentissimum quodque vulnus pavens, summi discriminis
the-freshest each wound fearing of-the-supreme danger
incuriosus. nam cum transgredi Appenninum integro exercitus
heedless for though to-cross the-Apennines with-intact of-army
sui robore et fessos hieme atque inopia hostis adgredi
his-own strength and the-tired by-winter and want enemy to-attack
in aperto foret, dum dispergit viris, acerrimum militem
in the-open it-was-possible while he-disperses his-forces the-fiercest soldiery
et usque in extrema obstinatum trucidandum capiendumque
and right to the-end obstinate to-be-slaughtered and-to-be-captured
tradidit, peritissimis centurionum dissentientibus et, si
he-handed-over with-the-most-experienced of-the-centurions dissenting and if
consulerentur, vera dicturis. arcuere eos intimi amicorum
they-were-consulted the-truth going-to-tell kept-away them the-intimate of-the-friends
Vitellii, ita formatis principis auribus ut aspera quae
of-Vitellius so with-formed of-the-emperor the-ears that harsh-things which
utilia, nec quidquam nisi iucundum et laesurum acciperet.
useful nor anything except the-pleasant and going-to-harm he-would-receive
Sed classem Misenensem (tantum civilibus discordiis etiam 57
but the-fleet of-Misenum so-much in-civil discords even
singulorum audacia valet) Claudius Faventinus centurio per
of-individuals the-daring prevails Claudius Faventinus a-centurion with

ignominiam a Galba dimissus ad defectionem traxit, fictis
disgrace by Galba discharged to defection drew with-forged
Vespasiani epistulis pretium proditionis ostentans. praeerat
of-Vespasian letters the-price of-treachery displaying commanded
classi Claudius Apollinaris, neque fidei constans neque
the-fleet Claudius Apollinaris neither in-loyalty constant nor
strenuus in perfidia; et Apinius Tiro praetura functus
vigorous in treachery and Apinius Tiro the-praetorship having-held
ac tum forte Minturnis agens ducem se defectoribus
and then by-chance at-Minturnae staying as-leader himself to-the-defectors
obtulit. a quibus municipia coloniaeque impulsae, praecipuo
offered by whom the-townships and-colonies driven with-especial
Puteolanorum in Vespasianum studio, contra Capua
of-the-Puteolans for Vespasian zeal on-the-other-hand Capua
Vitellio fida, municipalem aemulationem bellis civilibus
to-Vitellius loyal municipal rivalry with-wars civil
miscebant. Vitellius Claudium Iulianum (is nuper classem
mixed Vitellius Claudius Julianus he lately the-fleet
Misenensem molli imperio rexerat) permulcendis militum
of-Misenum with-mild command had-ruled for-soothing of-the-soldiers
animis delegit; data in auxilium urbana cohors et
the-minds chose were-given for help a-city cohort and
gladiatores, quibus Iulianus praeerat. ut conlata utrimque
the-gladiators whom Julianus commanded when pitched on-both-sides
castra, haud magna cunctatione Iuliano in partis Vespasiani
camps not with-great hesitation with-Julianus to the-party of-Vespasian
transgresso, Tarracinam occupavere, moenibus situque magis
having-crossed Tarracina they-occupied by-walls and-site more
quam ipsorum ingenio tutam.
than of-themselves by-character safe

Quae ubi Vitellio cognita, parte copiarum Narniae cum 58
which-things when to-Vitellius known with-part of-the-forces at-Narnia with
praefectis praetorii relicta L. Vitellium fratrem cum
the-prefects of-the-praetorian-guard left Lucius Vitellius his-brother with
sex cohortibus et quingentis equitibus ingruenti per
six cohorts and five-hundred horsemen to-the-assailing through
Campaniam bello opposuit. ipse aeger animi studiis militum
Campania war he-opposed himself sick at-heart by-the-zeal of-the-soldiers
et clamoribus populi arma poscentis refovebatur, dum
and the-shouts of-the-people arms demanding was-revived while
vulgus ignavum et nihil ultra verba ausurum falsa specie
the-crowd cowardly and nothing beyond words going-to-dare by-false appearance
exercitum et legiones appellat. hortantibus libertis (nam
an-army and legions he-calls with-urging freedmen for
amicorum eius quanto quis clarior, minus fidus) vocari
of-friends his by-how-much anyone more-famous the-less loyal to-be-called
tribus iubet, dantis nomina sacramento adigit. superfluente
the-tribes he-orders those-giving their-names to-the-oath he-binds with-overflowing
multitudine curam dilectus in consules partitur; servorum
multitude the-care of-the-levy among the-consuls he-divides of-slaves
numerum et pondus argenti senatoribus indicit. equites
a-number and a-weight of-silver on-the-senators he-imposes the-knights
Romani obtulere operam pecuniasque, etiam libertinis idem
Roman offered service and-money even with-freedmen the-same
munus ultro flagitantibus. ea simulatio officii a metu
duty of-their-own-accord demanding that pretense of-duty from fear
profecta verterat in favorem; ac plerique haud proinde
having-proceeded had-turned into favor and most not so-much
Vitellium quam casum locumque principatus miserabantur. nec
Vitellius as the-fall and-position of-the-principate pitied nor
deerat ipse vultu voce lacrimis misericordiam elicere, largus
was-he-lacking himself by-face voice tears pity to-draw-out lavish

promissis, et quae natura trepidantium est, immodicus. quin
in-promises and as the-nature of-the-panicking is immoderate indeed
et Caesarem se dici voluit, aspernatus antea, sed tunc
also Caesar himself to-be-called he-wished having-spurned-it before but then
superstitione nominis, et quia in metu consilia prudentium et
from-superstition of-the-name and because in fear the-counsels of-the-wise and
vulgi rumor iuxta audiuntur. ceterum ut omnia inconsulti
of-the-crowd the-rumor alike are-heard but as all-things of-thoughtless
impetus coepta initiis valida spatio languescunt, dilabi
impulse begun in-the-beginnings strong with-time grow-faint slipped-away
paulatim senatores equitesque, primo cunctanter et ubi ipse
gradually senators and-knights at-first hesitantly and when he
non aderat, mox contemptim et sine discrimine donec
not was-present soon contemptuously and without distinction until
Vitellius pudore inriti conatus quae non dabantur remisit.
Vitellius from-shame of-his-vain attempt what not was-being-given remitted
59 Ut terrorem Italiae possessa Mevania ac velut renatum ex
as terror to-Italy occupied Mevania and as-if reborn from
integro bellum intulerat, ita haud dubium erga Flavianas
the-start the-war had-brought so not doubtful toward the-Flavian
partis studium tam pavidus Vitellii discessus addidit. erectus
party zeal so fearful of-Vitellius the-departure added roused
Samnis Paelignusque et Marsi aemulatione quod Campania
the-Samnite and-Paelignian and the-Marsi from-rivalry because Campania
praevenisset, ut in novo obsequio, ad cuncta belli munia acres
had-forestalled-them as in new obedience for all of-war the-duties keen
erant. sed foeda hieme per transitum Appennini conflictatus
they-were but by-foul winter through the-crossing of-the-Apennines buffeted
exercitus, et vix quieto agmine nives eluctantibus
the-army and scarcely with-a-quiet column the-snows to-those-struggling-through
patuit quantum discriminis adeundum foret, ni
it-lay-open how-much of-danger to-be-faced would-have-been had-not

Vitellium retro fortuna vertisset, quae Flavianis ducibus non
Vitellius back fortune turned which to-the-Flavian generals not
minus saepe quam ratio adfuit. obvium illic Petilium Cerialem
less often than reason was-present meeting-them there Petilius Cerialis
habuere, agresti cultu et notitia locorum custodias Vitellii
they-had in-rustic dress and by-knowledge of-the-places the-guards of-Vitellius
elapsum. propinqua adfinitas Ceriali cum Vespasiano, nec
having-slipped-past near kinship to-Cerialis with Vespasian nor
ipse inglorius militiae, eoque inter duces adsumptus
himself inglorious in-soldiering and-therefore among the-generals taken-on
est. Flavio quoque Sabino ac Domitiano patuisse
he-was to-Flavius also Sabinus and to-Domitian to-have-lain-open
effugium multi tradidere; et missi ab Antonio nuntii
escape many have-handed-down and sent by Antonius messengers
per varias fallendi artis penetrabant, locum ac praesidium
through various of-deceiving arts penetrated the-place and protection
monstrantes. Sabinus inhabilem labori et audaciae valetudinem
pointing-out Sabinus unfit for-toil and daring his-health
causabatur: Domitiano aderat animus, sed custodes a
pleaded to-Domitian was-present the-spirit but the-guards by
Vitellio additi, quamquam se socios fugae promitterent,
Vitellius added although themselves companions of-flight they-promised
tamquam insidiantes timebantur. atque ipse Vitellius respectu
as-if setting-a-trap were-feared and himself Vitellius from-regard
suarum necessitudinum nihil in Domitianum atrox parabat.
to-his-own ties nothing against Domitian harsh prepared
Duces partium ut Carsulas venere, paucos ad requiem 60
the-generals of-the-party when to-Carsulae they-came a-few for rest
dies sumunt, donec aquilae signaque legionum adsequerentur.
days they-take until the-eagles and-standards of-the-legions should-overtake
et locus ipse castrorum placebat, late prospectans, tuto
and the-place itself of-the-camp pleased widely looking-out with-safe

copiarum adgestu, florentissimis pone tergum municipiis;
of-supplies bringing-in with-most-flourishing behind the-back townships
simul conloquia cum Vitellianis decem milium spatio
at-the-same-time parleys with the-Vitellians ten of-thousands at-a-distance
distantibus et proditio sperabatur. aegre id pati miles
standing and treachery were-hoped with-difficulty that bore the-soldiery
et victoriam malle quam pacem; ne suas quidem legiones
and victory preferred to peace not their-own even legions
opperiebantur, ut praedae quam periculorum socias. vocatos
they-waited-for as of-plunder than of-dangers sharers called
ad contionem Antonius docuit esse adhuc Vitellio viris,
to an-assembly Antonius instructed to-be still for-Vitellius forces
ambiguas, si deliberarent, acris, si desperassent. initia
doubtful if they-should-deliberate fierce if they-should-despair the-beginnings
bellorum civilium fortunae permittenda: victoriam consiliis et
of-wars civil to-fortune must-be-entrusted victory by-counsel and
ratione perfici. iam Misenensem classem et pulcherrimam
reason to-be-perfected already the-Misenum fleet and the-most-beautiful
Campaniae oram descivisse, nec plus e toto terrarum orbe
of-Campania coast to-have-revolted nor more of the-whole of-lands the-world
reliquum Vitellio quam quod inter Tarracinam Narniamque
left to-Vitellius than what between Tarracina and-Narnia
iaceat. satis gloriae proelio Cremonensi partum et exitio
lies enough of-glory by-the-battle of-Cremona won and by-the-destruction
Cremonae nimium invidiae: ne concupiscerent Romam capere
of-Cremona too-much of-odium lest they-should-covet Rome to-capture
potius quam servare. maiora illis praemia et multo maximum
rather than to-save greater for-them rewards and by-much the-greatest
decus, si incolumitatem senatui populoque Romano sine
honor if safety for-the-senate and-people Roman without
sanguine quaesissent. his ac talibus mitigati animi.
blood they-should-have-sought by-these and such were-softened their-minds

Nec multo post legiones venere. et terrore famaque 61
nor much later the-legions came and by-the-terror and-report
aucti exercitus Vitellianae cohortes nutabant, nullo
of-the-increased army the-Vitellian cohorts wavered with-no
in bellum adhortante, multis ad transitionem, qui suas
to war urging many to going-over who their-own
centurias turmasque tradere, donum victori et sibi
centuries and-squadrons to-hand-over as-a-gift to-the-victor and for-themselves
in posterum gratiam, certabant. per eos cognitum est
in the-future favor vied through them learned it-was
Interamnam proximis campis praesidio quadringentorum
Interamna in-the-nearest plains by-a-garrison of-four-hundred
equitum teneri. missus extemplo Varus cum expedita
horsemen to-be-held was-sent forthwith Varus with an-unencumbered
manu paucos repugnantium interfecit; plures abiectis
band a-few of-the-resisters he-killed more with-thrown-away
armis veniam petivere. quidam in castra refugi cuncta
arms pardon sought some into the-camp having-fled-back all-things
formidine implebant, augendo rumoribus virtutem copiasque
with-dread filled by-increasing with-rumors the-valor and-forces
hostium, quo amissi praesidii dedecus lenirent. nec ulla
of-the-enemy so-that of-the-lost garrison the-disgrace they-might-soften nor any
apud Vitellianos flagitii poena, et praemiis defectorum versa
among the-Vitellians of-disgrace punishment and by-the-rewards of-the-defectors turned
fides ac reliquum perfidiae certamen. crebra transfugia
loyalty and the-remaining-thing of-treachery a-contest frequent desertions
tribunorum centurionumque; nam gregarius miles induruerat
of-tribunes and-centurions for the-common soldiery had-hardened
pro Vitellio, donec Priscus et Alfenus desertis castris ad
for Vitellius until Priscus and Alfenus with-deserted camp to
Vitellium regressi pudore proditionis cunctos exolverent.
Vitellius having-returned from-the-shame of-treachery all released

62 Isdem diebus Fabius Valens Urbini in custodia interficitur.
in-the-same days Fabius Valens at-Urbinum in custody is-killed
caput eius Vitellianis cohortibus ostentatum ne quam ultra
the-head his to-the-Vitellian cohorts was-shown lest any further
spem foverent; nam pervasisse in Germanias Valentem
hope they-should-cherish for to-have-made-his-way into the-Germanies Valens
et veteres illic novosque exercitus ciere credebant: visa
and old there and-new armies to-be-rousing they-believed with-seen
caede in desperationem versi. et Flavianus exercitus
killing into despair they-were-turned and the-Flavian army
immane quantum aucto animo exitium Valentis ut finem
immensely how-much with-increased spirit the-death of-Valens as the-end
belli accepit. natus erat Valens Anagniae equestri familia.
of-the-war took born was Valens at-Anagnia of-a-knightly family
procax moribus neque absurdus ingenio famam urbanitatis
impudent in-manners nor contemptible in-wit a-reputation for-urbanity
per lasciviam petere. ludicro Iuvenalium sub Nerone velut
through wantonness he-sought in-the-show of-the-Juvenalia under Nero as-if
ex necessitate, mox sponte mimos actitavit, scite
from necessity soon of-his-own-accord mimes he-acted skillfully
magis quam probe. legatus legionis et fovit Verginium
more than decently legate of-a-legion both he-cherished Verginius
et infamavit; Fonteium Capitonem corruptum, seu quia
and defamed Fonteius Capito corrupted or because
corrumpere nequiverat, interfecit: Galbae proditor, Vitellio
to-corrupt he-had-been-unable he-killed of-Galba the-betrayer to-Vitellius
fidus et aliorum perfidia inlustratus.
loyal and of-others by-the-treachery made-illustrious

63 Abrupta undique spe Vitellianus miles transiturus in partis,
with-broken-off on-all-sides hope the-Vitellian soldiery going-to-cross to the-party
id quoque non sine decore, sed sub signis vexillisque
that also not without dignity but under the-standards and-banners

in subiectos Narniae campos descendere. Flavianus exercitus,
into the-lying-below of-Narnia plains descended the-Flavian army
ut ad proelium intentus armatusque, densis circa viam
as for battle intent and-armed in-dense around the-road
ordinibus adstiterat. accepti in medium Vitelliani, et
ranks had-stood-by were-received into the-middle the-Vitellians and
circumdatos Primus Antonius clementer adloquitur: pars
the-surrounded Primus Antonius mercifully addresses part
Narniae, pars Interamnae subsistere iussi. relictae simul
at-Narnia part at-Interamna to-halt ordered were-left at-the-same-time
e victricibus legiones, neque quiescentibus graves et
of the-victorious legions neither to-the-quiet burdensome and
adversus contumaciam validae. non omisere per eos dies
against defiance strong not they-omitted during those days
Primus ac Varus crebris nuntiis salutem et pecuniam et
Primus and Varus by-frequent messages safety and money and
secreta Campaniae offerre Vitellio, si positis armis seque
the-retreats of-Campania to-offer to-Vitellius if with-laid-down arms himself
ac liberos suos Vespasiano permisisset. in eundem
and children his-own to-Vespasian he-should-have-entrusted into the-same
modum et Mucianus composuit epistulas; quibus plerumque
manner also Mucianus composed letters which mostly
fidere Vitellius ac de numero servorum, electione litorum
trusted Vitellius and about the-number of-slaves the-choice of-shores
loqui. tanta torpedo invaserat animum ut, si principem eum
talked so-great a-torpor had-invaded his-mind that if emperor him
fuisse ceteri non meminissent, ipse oblivisceretur.
to-have-been the-rest not should-remember himself would-forget

Leading citizens urge Flavius Sabinus, the city prefect, to take the victory for his brother. Sabinus, mild and old, negotiates with Vitellius in the temple of Apollo, while Vitellius's friends warn him that no victor spares a rival. On the eighteenth of December Vitellius, in mourning, offers his dagger to the consul and tries to lay down the empire at the temple of Concord, but the crowd blocks his way and turns him back to the palace. Sabinus, attacked, takes refuge on the Capitol.

64 At primores civitatis Flavium Sabinum praefectum urbis
but the-chief-men of-the-state Flavius Sabinus prefect of-the-city
secretis sermonibus incitabant, victoriae famaeque partem
in-secret talks urged of-the-victory and-fame a-share
capesseret: esse illi proprium militem cohortium urbanarum,
he-should-take to-be to-him his-own soldiery of-the-cohorts city
nec defuturas vigilum cohortis, servitia ipsorum, fortunam
nor going-to-be-lacking of-the-watch the-cohorts the-slaves of-themselves the-fortune
partium, et omnia prona victoribus: ne Antonio Varoque de
of-the-party and all-things easy for-the-victors that-not to-Antonius and-Varus about
gloria concederet. paucas Vitellio cohortis et maestis undique
glory he-should-yield few for-Vitellius the-cohorts and by-sad from-all-sides
nuntiis trepidas; populi mobilem animum et, si ducem se
news alarmed of-the-people the-fickle mind and if as-leader himself
praebuisset, easdem illas adulationes pro Vespasiano fore;
he-should-show the-same those flatteries for Vespasian going-to-be
ipsum Vitellium ne prosperis quidem parem, adeo ruentibus
himself Vitellius not to-success even equal so-much by-collapse
debilitatum. gratiam patrati belli penes eum qui urbem
weakened the-credit of-the-finished war with him who the-city
occupasset: id Sabino convenire ut imperium fratri
should-have-seized that to-Sabinus to-befit that the-empire for-his-brother
reservaret, id Vespasiano ut ceteri post Sabinum haberentur.
he-should-reserve that to-Vespasian that the-rest after Sabinus should-be-held

Haudquaquam erecto animo eas voces accipiebat, invalidus 65
by-no-means with-roused spirit those words he-received weak
senecta; sed erant qui occultis suspicionibus incesserent,
from-old-age but there-were those-who with-secret suspicions assailed-him
tamquam invidia et aemulatione fortunam fratris
as-if from-jealousy and rivalry the-fortune of-his-brother
moraretur. namque Flavius Sabinus aetate prior privatis
he-were-delaying for Flavius Sabinus in-age the-elder in-the-private
utriusque rebus auctoritate pecuniaque Vespasianum
of-each circumstances in-authority and-money Vespasian
anteibat, et credebatur adfectam eius fidem parce iuvisse
surpassed and he-was-believed the-impaired his credit sparingly to-have-helped
domo agrisque pignori acceptis; unde, quamquam manente
with-house and-lands in-pledge received whence although with-remaining
in speciem concordia, offensarum operta metuebantur. melior
in appearance concord of-offenses hidden-things were-feared a-better
interpretatio, mitem virum abhorrere a sanguine et caedibus,
interpretation the-mild man to-shrink from blood and slaughter
eoque crebris cum Vitellio sermonibus de pace ponendisque
and-therefore in-frequent with Vitellius talks about peace and-laying-down
per condicionem armis agitare. saepe domi congressi, postremo
on terms arms to-negotiate often at-home having-met at-last
in aede Apollinis, ut fama fuit, pepigere. verba vocesque
in the-temple of-Apollo as the-report was they-agreed the-words and-utterances
duos testis habebant, Cluvium Rufum et Silium Italicum:
two witnesses had Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus
vultus procul visentibus notabantur, Vitellii proiectus et
the-faces far-off by-those-watching were-noted of-Vitellius abject and
degener, Sabinus non insultans et miseranti propior.
degenerate Sabinus not insulting and to-one-pitying nearer

66 Quod si tam facile suorum mentis flexisset Vitellius,
but if so easily of-his-own-men the-minds had-bent Vitellius
quam ipse cesserat, incruentam urbem Vespasiani exercitus
as himself he-had-yielded bloodless the-city of-Vespasian the-army
intrasset. ceterum ut quisque Vitellio fidus, ita pacem et
would-have-entered but as each to-Vitellius loyal so peace and
condiciones abnuebant, discrimen ac dedecus ostentantes et
terms they-refused the-danger and disgrace displaying and
fidem in libidine victoris. nec tantam Vespasiano superbiam
the-good-faith in the-whim of-the-victor nor so-great in-Vespasian arrogance
ut privatum Vitellium pateretur, ne victos quidem laturos:
that a-private Vitellius he-would-endure not the-beaten even going-to-bear
ita periculum ex misericordia. ipsum sane senem et
so danger from pity himself certainly old and
prosperis adversisque satiatum, sed quod nomen, quem statum
with-successes and-adversities sated but what name what standing
filio eius Germanico fore? nunc pecuniam et familiam
for-the-son his Germanicus going-to-be now money and household
et beatos Campaniae sinus promitti: set ubi imperium
and the-blessed of-Campania bays to-be-promised but when the-empire
Vespasianus invaserit, non ipsi, non amicis eius,
Vespasian should-have-seized not for-himself not for-the-friends his
non denique exercitibus securitatem nisi extincto aemulo
not finally for-the-armies security unless with-extinguished rival
redituram. Fabium illis Valentem, captivum et casibus dubiis
going-to-return Fabius to-them Valens captive and for-chances doubtful
reservatum, praegravem fuisse, nedum Primus ac Fuscus
reserved too-burdensome to-have-been much-less Primus and Fuscus
et specimen partium Mucianus ullam in Vitellium nisi
and the-model of-the-party Mucianus any toward Vitellius except
occidendi licentiam habeant. non a Caesare Pompeium, non ab
of-killing license would-have not by Caesar Pompey not by

Augusto Antonium incolumis relictos, nisi forte Vespasianus
Augustus Antony unharmed left unless perhaps Vespasian
altiores spiritus gerat, Vitellii cliens, cum Vitellius collega
loftier pride should-bear of-Vitellius a-client when Vitellius colleague
Claudio foret. quin, ut censuram patris, ut tris consulatus,
to-Claudius was indeed as the-censorship of-his-father as three consulships
ut tot egregiae domus honores deceret, desperatione
as so-many of-an-excellent house honors befitted from-despair
saltem in audaciam accingeretur. perstare militem, superesse
at-least to daring he-should-gird-himself to-hold-firm the-soldiery to-remain
studia populi; denique nihil atrocius eventurum quam in
the-zeal of-the-people finally nothing more-terrible going-to-happen than into
quod sponte ruant. moriendum victis, moriendum
what of-their-own-accord they-rush must-die the-beaten must-die
deditis: id solum referre, novissimum spiritum per
the-surrendered that alone to-matter the-last breath through
ludibrium et contumelias effundant an per virtutem.
mockery and insults they-should-pour-out or through valor
Surdae ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures: obruebatur 67
deaf to brave counsels for-Vitellius the-ears was-overwhelmed
animus miseratione curaque, ne pertinacibus armis minus
his-mind by-pity and-concern lest by-obstinate arms a-less
placabilem victorem relinqueret coniugi ac liberis. erat
placable victor he-should-leave to-wife and children there-was
illi et fessa aetate parens; quae tamen paucis ante
to-him also a-worn in-age parent who yet a-few before
diebus opportuna morte excidium domus praevenit, nihil
days by-a-timely death the-destruction of-the-house forestalled nothing
principatu filii adsecuta nisi luctum et bonam famam.
from-the-principate of-her-son having-gained except grief and good repute
XV kalendas Ianuarias audita defectione legionis
on-the-fifteenth before-the-kalends of-January with-heard the-defection of-the-legion

cohortiumque, quae se Narniae dediderant, pullo amictu
and-cohorts which themselves at-Narnia had-surrendered in-dark clothing
Palatio degreditur, maesta circum familia; ferebatur
from-the-Palatium he-goes-down with-sad around the-household was-carried
lecticula parvulus filius velut in funebrem pompam: voces
in-a-litter his-little son as-if in a-funeral procession the-voices
populi blandae et intempestivae, miles minaci silentio.
of-the-people coaxing and untimely the-soldiery in-threatening silence
68 Nec quisquam adeo rerum humanarum immemor quem non
nor anyone so of-affairs human forgetful whom not
commoveret illa facies, Romanum principem et generis humani
should-move that sight the-Roman emperor and of-the-race human
paulo ante dominum relicta fortunae suae sede per populum,
a-little before the-master with-left of-fortune his-own the-seat through the-people
per urbem exire de imperio. nihil tale viderant, nihil
through the-city to-go-out from the-empire nothing such they-had-seen nothing
audierant. repentina vis dictatorem Caesarem oppresserat,
they-had-heard sudden violence the-dictator Caesar had-overwhelmed
occultae Gaium insidiae, nox et ignotum rus fugam Neronis
secret Gaius a-plot night and an-unknown countryside the-flight of-Nero
absconderant, Piso et Galba tamquam in acie cecidere: in sua
had-hidden Piso and Galba as-if in battle fell in his-own
contione Vitellius, inter suos milites, prospectantibus etiam
assembly Vitellius among his-own soldiers with-looking-on even
feminis, pauca et praesenti maestitiae congruentia locutus —
women a-few and to-the-present sadness fitting-things having-spoken
cedere se pacis et rei publicae causa, retinerent tantum
to-yield himself of-peace and of-the-thing public for-the-sake let-them-keep only
memoriam sui fratremque et coniugem et innoxiam liberorum
the-memory of-him and-his-brother and wife and the-innocent of-his-children
aetatem miserarentur—, simul filium protendens, modo
age let-them-pity at-the-same-time his-son holding-out now

singulis modo universis commendans, postremo fletu
to-individuals now to-all commending at-last with-weeping
praepediente adsistenti consuli (Caecilius Simplex erat)
hindering to-the-standing-by consul Caecilius Simplex he-was
exolutum a latere pugionem, velut ius necis vitaeque
the-loosened from his-side dagger as-if the-right of-death and-life
civium, reddebat. aspernante consule, reclamantibus qui
of-the-citizens he-was-returning with-spurning the-consul with-protesting those-who
in contione adstiterant, ut in aede Concordiae positurus
in the-assembly had-stood-by as in the-temple of-Concord going-to-lay-down
insignia imperii domumque fratris petiturus discessit. maior
the-insignia of-the-empire and-the-house of-his-brother going-to-seek he-departed greater
hic clamor obsistentium penatibus privatis, in Palatium
here the-shouting of-the-obstructers to-the-household-gods private into the-Palatium
vocantium. interclusum aliud iter, idque solum quo in sacram
calling was-shut-off other way and-that alone by-which into the-Sacred
viam pergeret patebat: tum consilii inops in Palatium redit.
Way he-might-go lay-open then of-counsel destitute into the-Palatium he-returns
Praevenerat rumor eiurari ab eo imperium, scripseratque 69
had-gone-before the-rumor to-be-renounced by him the-empire and-had-written
Flavius Sabinus cohortium tribunis ut militem cohiberent.
Flavius Sabinus of-the-cohorts to-the-tribunes that the-soldiery they-should-restrain
igitur tamquam omnis res publica in Vespasiani sinum
therefore as-if all the-thing public into of-Vespasian the-lap
cecidisset, primores senatus et plerique equestris ordinis
had-fallen the-chief-men of-the-senate and most of-the-knightly order
omnisque miles urbanus et vigiles domum Flavii Sabini
and-all the-soldiery city and the-watch the-house of-Flavius Sabinus
complevere. illuc de studiis vulgi et minis Germanicarum
filled thither about the-zeal of-the-crowd and the-threats of-the-German
cohortium adfertur. longius iam progressus erat quam ut
cohorts it-is-reported farther already advanced he-had than that

regredi posset; et suo quisque metu, ne disiectos eoque
to-go-back he-could and by-his-own each fear lest the-scattered and-therefore
minus validos Vitelliani consectarentur, cunctantem in arma
less strong the-Vitellians should-pursue the-hesitating-man to arms
impellebant: sed quod in eius modi rebus accidit, consilium
they-drove but what in of-this kind affairs happens counsel
ab omnibus datum est, periculum pauci sumpsere. circa lacum
by all given was the-danger few took-on near the-lake
Fundani descendentibus qui Sabinum comitabantur armatis
of-Fundanus to-those-going-down who Sabinus accompanied armed
occurrunt promptissimi Vitellianorum. modicum ibi proelium
meet-them the-readiest of-the-Vitellians moderate there the-battle
improviso tumultu, sed prosperum Vitellianis fuit. Sabinus
with-unforeseen uproar but successful for-the-Vitellians it-was Sabinus
re trepida, quod tutissimum e praesentibus, arcem
with-the-situation alarming what the-safest of the-present-courses the-citadel
Capitolii insedit mixto milite et quibusdam senatorum
of-the-Capitol occupied with-mixed soldiery and certain of-senators
equitumque, quorum nomina tradere haud promptum
and-knights whose names to-hand-down not easy
est, quoniam victore Vespasiano multi id meritum erga
is since with-victorious Vespasian many that service toward
partis simulavere. subierunt obsidium etiam feminae, inter
the-party pretended underwent the-siege even women among
quas maxime insignis Verulana Gratilla, neque liberos neque
whom most distinguished Verulana Gratilla neither children nor
propinquos sed bellum secuta. Vitellianus miles socordi
kinsmen but the-war having-followed the-Vitellian soldiery with-careless
custodia clausos circumdedit; eoque concubia nocte
watch the-shut-in surrounded and-therefore in-the-dead-of night
suos liberos Sabinus et Domitianum fratris filium in
his-own children Sabinus and Domitian of-his-brother the-son into

Capitolium accivit, misso per neglecta ad Flavianos
the-Capitol summoned with-sent through the-neglected-places to the-Flavian
duces nuntio qui circumsideri ipsos et, ni subveniretur,
generals a-messenger who to-be-besieged themselves and unless help-came
artas res nuntiaret. noctem adeo quietam egit ut
straitened affairs should-announce the-night so quiet he-spent that
digredi sine noxa potuerit: quippe miles Vitellii adversus
to-depart without harm he-could-have for the-soldiery of-Vitellius against
pericula ferox, laboribus et vigiliis parum intentus erat, et
dangers fierce to-toils and watches too-little attentive was and
hibernus imber repente fusus oculos aurisque impediebat.
a-winter rain suddenly poured-down the-eyes and-ears hindered

XLVII · THE BURNING OF THE CAPITOL

Sabinus sends Martialis to reproach Vitellius, who answers that he cannot control his soldiers. The Vitellians storm the Capitol, and the temple of Jupiter burns, the worst crime since the founding of the city; Tacitus traces its history. Domitian escapes in the linen dress of the temple's worshipers. Sabinus is brought in chains to Vitellius and killed by the crowd before the palace steps; Atticus, who claims to have set the fire, is spared.

Luce prima Sabinus, antequam in vicem hostilia coeptarent, 70
at-light first Sabinus before in turn hostilities they-should-begin
Cornelium Martialem e primipilaribus ad Vitellium misit
Cornelius Martialis from the-chief-centurions to Vitellius sent
cum mandatis et questu quod pacta turbarentur:
with instructions and complaint that the-agreements were-being-disturbed
simulationem prorsus et imaginem deponendi imperii fuisse
a-pretense utterly and an-image of-laying-down the-empire to-have-been
ad decipiendos tot inlustris viros. cur enim e rostris
for deceiving so-many illustrious men why for from the-rostra

fratris domum, imminentem foro et inritandis hominum
of-his-brother the-house overlooking the-forum and for-provoking of-men
oculis, quam Aventinum et penatis uxoris petisset?
the-eyes rather-than the-Aventine and the-household-gods of-his-wife had-he-sought
ita privato et omnem principatus speciem vitanti
thus for-a-private-man and every of-the-principate appearance avoiding
convenisse. contra Vitellium in Palatium, in ipsam
to-have-been-fitting on-the-contrary Vitellius into the-Palatium into the-very
imperii arcem regressum; inde armatum agmen emissum,
of-the-empire citadel returned thence an-armed column sent-out
stratam innocentium caedibus celeberrimam urbis partem,
strewn of-innocents with-the-slaughter the-most-crowded of-the-city part
ne Capitolio quidem abstineri. togatum nempe se et
not from-the-Capitol even to-be-refrained a-toga-wearer surely himself and
unum e senatoribus: dum inter Vespasianum ac Vitellium
one of the-senators while between Vespasian and Vitellius
proeliis legionum, captivitatibus urbium, deditionibus
by-the-battles of-legions by-the-captures of-cities by-the-surrenders
cohortium iudicatur, iam Hispaniis Germaniisque et
of-cohorts it-is-judged already with-the-Spains and-the-Germanies and
Britannia desciscentibus, fratrem Vespasiani mansisse in
Britain revolting the-brother of-Vespasian to-have-remained in
fide, donec ultro ad condiciones vocaretur. pacem et
loyalty until of-their-own-accord to terms he-was-called peace and
concordiam victis utilia, victoribus tantum pulchra esse.
concord for-the-beaten useful for-the-victors only fine to-be
si conventionis paeniteat, non se, quem perfidia deceperit,
if of-the-agreement he-repents not himself whom treachery has-deceived
ferro peteret, non filium Vespasiani vix puberem —
with-the-sword should-he-seek not the-son of-Vespasian scarcely of-age
quantum occisis uno sene et uno iuvene profici?—: iret
how-much with-killed one old-man and one young-man to-be-gained let-him-go

obviam legionibus et de summa rerum illic certaret: cetera
to-meet the-legions and about the-sum of-affairs there contend the-rest
secundum eventum proelii cessura. trepidus ad haec
according-to the-outcome of-the-battle going-to-yield alarmed at these-things
Vitellius pauca purgandi sui causa respondit, culpam
Vitellius a-few-things of-clearing himself for-the-sake answered the-blame
in militem conferens, cuius nimio ardori imparem esse
upon the-soldiery putting whose to-excessive ardor unequal to-be
modestiam suam; et monuit Martialem ut per secretam
restraint his-own and warned Martialis that through a-secret
aedium partem occulte abiret, ne a militibus internuntius
of-the-house part secretly he-should-go-away lest by the-soldiers as-the-go-between
invisae pacis interficeretur: ipse neque iubendi neque vetandi
of-a-hated peace he-should-be-killed himself neither of-ordering nor of-forbidding
potens non iam imperator sed tantum belli causa erat.
capable not now emperor but only of-the-war the-cause he-was
Vixdum regresso in Capitolium Martiale furens miles aderat, 71
scarcely with-returned into the-Capitol Martialis the-raging soldiery was-there
nullo duce, sibi quisque auctor. cito agmine forum
with-no leader to-himself each the-author in-swift column the-forum
et imminentia foro templa praetervecti erigunt aciem per
and the-overlooking the-forum temples having-passed they-raise their-line up
adversum collem usque ad primas Capitolinae arcis fores. erant
the-facing hill right to the-first of-the-Capitoline citadel gates there-were
antiquitus porticus in latere clivi dextrae subeuntibus,
from-antiquity porticoes on the-side of-the-slope on-the-right to-those-approaching
in quarum tectum egressi saxis tegulisque Vitellianos
onto whose roof having-climbed with-stones and-tiles the-Vitellians
obruebant. neque illis manus nisi gladiis armatae, et
they-overwhelmed nor to-them hands except with-swords armed and
arcessere tormenta aut missilia tela longum videbatur: faces
to-send-for engines or missile weapons long it-seemed torches

in prominentem porticum iecere et sequebantur ignem
onto the-projecting portico they-threw and followed the-fire
ambustasque Capitolii fores penetrassent, ni Sabinus
and-the-burned of-the-Capitol gates would-have-penetrated had-not Sabinus
revulsas undique statuas, decora maiorum, in ipso aditu
torn-down from-all-sides statues the-glories of-the-ancestors in the-very entrance
vice muri obiecisset. tum diversos Capitolii aditus
in-place-of a-wall had-thrown-in-the-way then the-different of-the-Capitol approaches
invadunt iuxta lucum asyli et qua Tarpeia rupes centum
they-attack beside the-grove of-the-asylum and where the-Tarpeian rock by-a-hundred
gradibus aditur. improvisa utraque vis; propior atque acrior
steps is-approached unforeseen each force nearer and fiercer
per asylum ingruebat. nec sisti poterant scandentes per
through the-asylum pressed nor to-be-stopped could those-climbing over
coniuncta aedificia, quae ut in multa pace in altum edita
the-joined buildings which as in much peace on high raised
solum Capitolii aequabant. hic ambigitur, ignem tectis
the-ground of-the-Capitol equaled here it-is-doubted fire on-the-roofs
obpugnatores iniecerint, an obsessi, quae crebrior fama,
the-attackers threw or the-besieged which the-more-frequent report
dum nitentis ac progressos depellunt. inde lapsus ignis in
while the-strivers and the-advanced they-dislodge thence having-slipped the-fire onto
porticus adpositas aedibus; mox sustinentes fastigium aquilae
the-porticoes adjoining the-temple soon supporting the-pediment the-eagles
vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque. sic Capitolium
of-old wood drew the-flame and-fed-it so the-Capitol
clausis foribus indefensum et indireptum conflagravit.
with-closed gates undefended and unplundered burned-down
72 Id facinus post conditam urbem luctuosissimum
that crime since the-founding of-the-city the-most-lamentable
foedissimumque rei publicae populi Romani accidit,
and-the-foulest to-the-thing public of-the-people Roman befell

nullo externo hoste, propitiis, si per mores nostros
with-no foreign enemy with-propitious if through manners our
liceret, deis, sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a
it-were-allowed gods the-seat of-Jupiter Best Greatest auspiciously by
maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna
the-ancestors as-the-pledge of-empire founded which not Porsenna
dedita urbe neque Galli capta temerare potuissent,
with-surrendered city nor the-Gauls with-captured to-violate had-been-able
furore principum excindi. arserat et ante Capitolium civili
by-the-frenzy of-the-emperors to-be-destroyed had-burned also before the-Capitol in-civil
bello, sed fraude privata: nunc palam obsessum, palam
war but by-the-crime of-private-men now openly besieged openly
incensum, quibus armorum causis? quo tantae cladis pretio
burned for-what of-arms causes at-what of-so-great a-disaster price
stetit? pro patria bellavimus? voverat Tarquinius Priscus
did-it-stand for our-country have-we-fought had-vowed Tarquinius Priscus
rex bello Sabino, ieceratque fundamenta spe magis
the-king in-the-war Sabine and-had-laid the-foundations by-hope more
futurae magnitudinis quam quo modicae adhuc populi
of-future greatness than that-which moderate still of-the-people
Romani res sufficerent. mox Servius Tullius sociorum
Roman the-resources could-meet soon Servius Tullius of-the-allies
studio, dein Tarquinius Superbus capta Suessa Pometia
by-the-zeal then Tarquinius Superbus with-captured Suessa Pometia
hostium spoliis extruxere. sed gloria operis libertati
with-the-enemy's spoils built but the-glory of-the-work for-liberty
reservata: pulsis regibus Horatius Pulvillus iterum
was-reserved with-driven-out kings Horatius Pulvillus for-the-second-time
consul dedicavit ea magnificentia quam immensae postea
consul dedicated-it with-that magnificence which immense afterward
populi Romani opes ornarent potius quam augerent.
of-the-people Roman the-wealth might-adorn rather than increase

isdem rursus vestigiis situm est, postquam interiecto
on-the-same again footprints set it-was after with-intervening
quadringentorum quindecim annorum spatio L. Scipione
of-four-hundred fifteen years space with-Lucius Scipio
C. Norbano consulibus flagraverat. curam victor Sulla
Gaius Norbanus as-consuls it-had-burned the-care the-victor Sulla
suscepit, neque tamen dedicavit: hoc solum felicitati eius
took-on nor yet dedicated-it this alone to-good-fortune his
negatum. Lutatii Catuli nomen inter tanta Caesarum opera
denied of-Lutatius Catulus the-name among so-great of-the-Caesars works
usque ad Vitellium mansit. ea tunc aedes cremabatur.
right to Vitellius remained that then the-temple was-burned
73 Sed plus pavoris obsessis quam obsessoribus intulit. quippe
but more of-panic to-the-besieged than to-the-besiegers it-brought for
Vitellianus miles neque astu neque constantia inter
the-Vitellian soldiery neither of-cunning nor of-constancy amid
dubia indigebat: ex diverso trepidi milites, dux segnis
doubtful-things lacked on the-other-side alarmed soldiers a-general sluggish
et velut captus animi non lingua, non auribus competere,
and as-if captured in-mind not in-tongue not in-ears he-was-in-control
neque alienis consiliis regi neque sua expedire, huc
neither by-others' counsels he-was-ruled nor his-own he-carried-out hither
illuc clamoribus hostium circumagi, quae iusserat
thither by-the-shouts of-the-enemy he-was-turned-about what he-had-ordered
vetare, quae vetuerat iubere: mox, quod in perditis rebus
he-forbade what he-had-forbidden he-ordered soon what in desperate affairs
accidit, omnes praecipere, nemo exequi; postremo abiectis
happens all gave-orders no-one carried-out at-last with-thrown-away
armis fugam et fallendi artis circumspectabant. inrumpunt
arms flight and of-deceiving arts they-looked-around burst-in
Vitelliani et cuncta sanguine ferro flammisque miscent. pauci
the-Vitellians and all-things with-blood steel and-flames confound a-few

militarium virorum, inter quos maxime insignes Cornelius
of-military men among whom most distinguished Cornelius
Martialis, Aemilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, Didius Scaeva,
Martialis Aemilius Pacensis Casperius Niger Didius Scaeva
pugnam ausi obtruncantur. Flavium Sabinum inermem
the-fight having-dared are-cut-down Flavius Sabinus unarmed
neque fugam coeptantem circumsistunt, et Quintium Atticum
nor flight attempting they-surround and Quintius Atticus
consulem, umbra honoris et suamet vanitate monstratum,
consul by-the-shadow of-office and by-his-own vanity pointed-out
quod edicta in populum pro Vespasiano magnifica, probrosa
because edicts to the-people for Vespasian magnificent insulting
adversus Vitellium iecerat. ceteri per varios casus
toward Vitellius he-had-thrown-out the-rest through various chances
elapsi, quidam servili habitu, alii fide clientium contecti
slipped-away some in-slave's dress others by-the-loyalty of-clients covered
et inter sarcinas abditi. fuere qui excepto Vitellianorum
and among baggage hidden there-were those-who with-caught of-the-Vitellians
signo, quo inter se noscebantur, ultro
the-watchword by-which among themselves they-were-recognized of-their-own-accord
rogitantes respondentesve audaciam pro latebra haberent.
asking or-answering daring for a-biding-place had
Domitianus prima inruptione apud aedituum occultatus, 74
Domitian at-the-first irruption with the-temple-keeper hidden
sollertia liberti lineo amictu turbae sacricolarum
by-the-cleverness of-a-freedman in-linen garb with-the-throng of-worshipers
immixtus ignoratusque, apud Cornelium Primum paternum
mingled and-unrecognized with Cornelius Primus his-father's
clientem iuxta Velabrum delituit. ac potiente rerum
client near the-Velabrum lay-hid and with-holding-power of-affairs
patre, disiecto aeditui contubernio, modicum
his-father with-torn-down of-the-temple-keeper the-lodging a-moderate

sacellum Iovi Conservatori aramque posuit casus suos
chapel to-Jupiter Preserver and-an-altar he-set chances his-own
in marmore expressam; mox imperium adeptus Iovi
on the-marble expressed soon the-empire having-attained to-Jupiter
Custodi templum ingens seque in sinu dei sacravit.
Guardian a-temple huge and-himself in the-bosom of-the-god he-dedicated
Sabinus et Atticus onerati catenis et ad Vitellium ducti
Sabinus and Atticus loaded with-chains and to Vitellius led
nequaquam infesto sermone vultuque excipiuntur, frementibus
by-no-means with-hostile speech and-face are-received with-growling
qui ius caedis et praemia navatae operae petebant.
those-who the-right of-killing and the-rewards of-done service demanded
clamore a proximis orto sordida pars plebis supplicium
with-the-shout by the-nearest arisen the-dirty part of-the-plebs the-punishment
Sabini exposcit, minas adulationesque miscet. stantem pro
of-Sabinus demands threats and-flatteries mixes standing before
gradibus Palatii Vitellium et preces parantem pervicere
the-steps of-the-Palatium Vitellius and prayers preparing they-prevailed
ut absisteret: tum confossum laceratumque et absciso
so-that he-desisted then stabbed and-mangled and with-cut-off
capite truncum corpus Sabini in Gemonias trahunt.
head the-trunk body of-Sabinus onto the-Gemonian-steps they-drag
75 Hic exitus viri haud sane spernendi. quinque et triginta
this the-end of-a-man not certainly to-be-despised five and thirty
stipendia in re publica fecerat, domi militiaeque clarus.
campaigns in the-thing public he-had-made at-home and-in-war famous
innocentiam iustitiamque eius non argueres; sermonis nimius
the-innocence and-justice his not you-would-fault in-speech excessive
erat: id unum septem annis quibus Moesiam, duodecim
he-was that one-thing in-seven years in-which Moesia in-twelve
quibus praefecturam urbis obtinuit, calumniatus est rumor.
in-which the-prefecture of-the-city he-held slandered has rumor

in fine vitae alii segnem, multi moderatum et civium
at the-end of-life some sluggish many moderate and of-citizens'
sanguinis parcum credidere. quod inter omnis constiterit, ante
blood sparing believed-him what among all is-agreed before
principatum Vespasiani decus domus penes Sabinum erat.
the-principate of-Vespasian the-honor of-the-house with Sabinus was
caedem eius laetam fuisse Muciano accepimus. ferebant
the-killing his welcome to-have-been to-Mucianus we-have-heard asserted
plerique etiam paci consultum dirempta aemulatione
most even for-peace consulted with-broken-off rivalry
inter duos, quorum alter se fratrem imperatoris, alter
between two of-whom one himself the-brother of-the-emperor the-other
consortem imperii cogitaret. sed Vitellius consulis supplicium
the-sharer of-the-empire might-think but Vitellius of-the-consul the-punishment
poscenti populo restitit, placatus ac velut vicem reddens,
to-the-demanding people resisted appeased and as-if a-return giving
quod interrogantibus quis Capitolium incendisset, se
because to-those-asking who the-Capitol had-burned himself
reum Atticus obtulerat eaque confessione, sive aptum
as-the-accused Atticus had-offered and-by-that confession whether suited
tempori mendacium fuit, invidiam crimenque agnovisse
to-the-time a-lie it-was the-odium and-charge to-have-acknowledged
et a partibus Vitellii amolitus videbatur.
and from the-party of-Vitellius to-have-removed it-seemed

Lucius Vitellius takes Tarracina by treachery and kills Julianus. The Flavian army lingers at Ocriculum for the Saturnalia, and Antonius is suspected of delay. Cerialis's cavalry is beaten near the city. The senate sends envoys: those who reach Cerialis are attacked, and the praetor Arulenus Rusticus is wounded; Musonius Rufus lectures the soldiers on peace and is nearly trampled; the Vestal Virgins bring Vitellius's plea for a day's delay, refused for Sabinus's murder and the Capitol's burning.

76 Isdem diebus L. Vitellius positis apud Feroniam
in-the-same days Lucius Vitellius with-pitched at Feronia
castris excidio Tarracinae imminebat, clausis illic
camp over-the-destruction of-Tarracina hung with-shut-in there
gladiatoribus remigibusque, qui non egredi moenia
gladiators and-rowers who not to-go-out-beyond the-walls
neque periculum in aperto audebant. praeerat, ut supra
nor danger in the-open dared commanded as above
memoravimus, Iulianus gladiatoribus, Apollinaris remigibus,
we-recounted Julianus the-gladiators Apollinaris the-rowers
lascivia socordiaque gladiatorum magis quam ducum
in-wantonness and-sloth to-gladiators more than to-generals
similes. non vigilias agere, non intuta moenium firmare:
like not watches they-kept not the-unsafe-parts of-the-walls strengthened
noctu dieque fluxi et amoena litorum personantes, in
by-night and-day dissolute and the-pleasant-spots of-the-shores making-resound to
ministerium luxus dispersis militibus, de bello tantum
the-service of-luxury with-scattered soldiers about war only
inter convivia loquebantur. paucos ante dies discesserat
amid banquets they-spoke a-few before days had-departed

Apinius Tiro donisque ac pecuniis acerbe per municipia
Apinius Tiro and-by-gifts and money harshly through the-townships
conquirendis plus invidiae quam virium partibus addebat.
to-be-collected more of-odium than of-strength to-the-party he-added
Interim ad L. Vitellium servus Vergilii Capitonis perfugit 77
meanwhile to Lucius Vitellius a-slave of-Vergilius Capito deserts
pollicitusque, si praesidium acciperet, vacuam arcem
and-having-promised if a-force he-should-receive the-empty citadel
traditurum, multa nocte cohortis expeditas summis
going-to-hand-over late at-night cohorts unencumbered on-the-highest
montium iugis super caput hostium sistit: inde miles ad
of-the-mountains ridges above the-head of-the-enemy he-halts thence the-soldiery to
caedem magis quam ad pugnam decurrit. sternunt inermos aut
slaughter more than to battle runs-down they-lay-low the-unarmed or
arma capientis et quosdam somno excitos, cum tenebris, pavore,
arms seizing and some from-sleep roused since by-darkness fear
sonitu tubarum, clamore hostili turbarentur. pauci
the-sound of-trumpets the-shouting hostile they-were-thrown-into-confusion a-few
gladiatorum resistentes neque inulti cecidere: ceteri ad navis
of-the-gladiators resisting not unavenged fell the-rest to the-ships
ruebant, ubi cuncta pari formidine implicabantur, permixtis
rushed where all-things by-equal dread were-entangled with-mixed
paganis, quos nullo discrimine Vitelliani trucidabant. sex
civilians whom with-no distinction the-Vitellians slaughtered six
Liburnicae inter primum tumultum evasere, in quis praefectus
Liburnians in the-first uproar escaped among which the-prefect
classis Apollinaris; reliquae in litore captae, aut nimio
of-the-fleet Apollinaris the-rest on the-shore captured or by-the-excessive
ruentium onere pressas mare hausit. Iulianus ad L. Vitellium
of-the-rushing weight pressed the-sea swallowed Julianus to Lucius Vitellius
perductus et verberibus foedatus in ore eius iugulatur.
brought and with-scourges disfigured in the-face his has-his-throat-cut

fuere qui uxorem L. Vitellii Triariam incesserent,
there-were those-who the-wife of-Lucius Vitellius Triaria assailed
tamquam gladio militari cincta inter luctum cladisque
as-if with-a-sword military girded amid the-grief and-disasters
expugnatae Tarracinae superbe saeveque egisset. ipse lauream
of-stormed Tarracina arrogantly and-savagely she-had-acted himself a-laurel
gestae prospere rei ad fratrem misit, percontatus statim
of-a-done successfully exploit to his-brother sent having-inquired at-once
regredi se an perdomandae Campaniae insistere iuberet.
to-return himself or on-subduing Campania to-press-on he-would-order
quod salutare non modo partibus Vespasiani, sed rei
which salutary not only for-the-party of-Vespasian but for-the-thing
publicae fuit. nam si recens victoria miles et super insitam
public was for if fresh from-victory the-soldiery and besides implanted
pervicaciam secundis ferox Romam contendisset, haud parva
stubbornness by-success fierce to-Rome had-hastened not small
mole certatum nec sine exitio urbis foret. quippe
with-mass fought nor without the-ruin of-the-city would-it-have-been for
L. Vitellio quamvis infami inerat industria, nec virtutibus,
in-Lucius Vitellius although infamous there-was diligence nor by-virtues
ut boni, sed quo modo pessimus quisque, vitiis valebat.
like the-good but in-which way the-worst each by-vices he-was-strong
78 Dum haec in partibus Vitellii geruntur, digressus
while these-things on the-side of-Vitellius are-done having-departed
Narnia Vespasiani exercitus festos Saturni dies Ocriculi
from-Narnia of-Vespasian the-army the-festal of-Saturn days at-Ocriculum
per otium agitabat. causa tam pravae morae ut Mucianum
in leisure spent the-cause of-so crooked a-delay that Mucianus
opperirentur. nec defuere qui Antonium suspicionibus
they-might-wait-for nor were-lacking those-who Antonius with-suspicions
arguerent tamquam dolo cunctantem post secretas Vitellii
charged as-if by-guile delaying after secret of-Vitellius

epistulas, quibus consulatum et nubilem filiam et dotalis
letters in-which a-consulship and a-marriageable daughter and dowry
opes pretium proditionis offerebat. alii ficta haec
wealth as-the-price of-treachery he-offered others invented these-things
et in gratiam Muciani composita; quidam omnium id
and to favor of-Mucianus composed some of-all that
ducum consilium fuisse, ostentare potius urbi bellum
of-the-generals the-plan to-have-been to-display rather to-the-city war
quam inferre, quando validissimae cohortes a Vitellio
than to-bring-it since the-strongest cohorts from Vitellius
descivissent, et abscisis omnibus praesidiis cessurus imperio
had-revolted and with-cut-off all garrisons going-to-yield the-empire
videbatur: sed cuncta festinatione, deinde ignavia Sabini
he-seemed but all-things by-the-haste then by-the-cowardice of-Sabinus
corrupta, qui sumptis temere armis munitissimam Capitolii
were-spoiled who with-taken-up rashly arms the-most-fortified of-the-Capitol
arcem et ne magnis quidem exercitibus expugnabilem
citadel and not by-great even armies to-be-stormed
adversus tris cohortis tueri nequivisset. haud facile quis
against three cohorts to-defend had-been-unable not easily anyone
uni adsignaverit culpam quae omnium fuit. nam et
to-one-man could-assign the-blame which of-all was for both
Mucianus ambiguis epistulis victores morabatur, et Antonius
Mucianus by-ambiguous letters the-victors delayed and Antonius
praepostero obsequio, vel dum regerit invidiam, crimen
by-preposterous compliance or while he-throws-back the-odium the-charge
meruit; ceterique duces dum peractum bellum putant, finem
earned and-the-other generals while finished the-war they-think the-end
eius insignivere. ne Petilius quidem Cerialis, cum mille
its marked not Petilius even Cerialis with a-thousand
equitibus praemissus, ut transversis itineribus per agrum
horsemen sent-ahead that by-cross routes through the-territory

Sabinum Salaria via urbem introiret, satis maturaverat,
Sabine by-the-Salarian road the-city he-should-enter enough had-hurried
donec obsessi Capitolii fama cunctos simul exciret.
until of-the-besieged Capitol the-report all at-the-same-time roused
79 Antonius per Flaminiam ad Saxa rubra multo iam noctis
Antonius by the-Flaminian to Saxa Rubra late already of-the-night
serum auxilium venit. illic interfectum Sabinum, conflagrasse
a-belated help came there killed Sabinus to-have-burned
Capitolium, tremere urbem, maesta omnia accepit; plebem
the-Capitol to-be-trembling the-city sad all-things he-learned the-plebs
quoque et servitia pro Vitellio armari nuntiabatur. et
also and the-slaves for Vitellius to-be-arming was-announced and
Petilio Ceriali equestre proelium adversum fuerat; namque
to-Petilius Cerialis a-cavalry battle adverse had-been for
incautum et tamquam ad victos ruentem Vitelliani,
him-incautious and as-if upon the-beaten rushing the-Vitellians
interiectus equiti pedes, excepere. pugnatum haud
interposed among-the-cavalry infantry received it-was-fought not
procul urbe inter aedificia hortosque et anfractus viarum,
far from-the-city among buildings and-gardens and windings of-the-streets
quae gnara Vitellianis, incomperta hostibus metum fecerant.
which known to-the-Vitellians unknown to-the-enemy fear had-caused
neque omnis eques concors, adiunctis quibusdam, qui nuper
nor all the-cavalry in-harmony with-joined certain who lately
apud Narniam dediti fortunam partium speculabantur.
at Narnia surrendered the-fortune of-the-party watched
capitur praefectus alae Iulius Flavianus; ceteri foeda
is-captured the-prefect of-a-squadron Julius Flavianus the-rest in-foul
fuga consternantur, non ultra Fidenas secutis victoribus.
flight are-thrown-into-panic not beyond Fidenae with-following the-victors

Eo successu studia populi aucta; vulgus urbanum arma
by-that success the-zeal of-the-people was-increased the-crowd of-the-city arms
cepit. paucis scuta militaria, plures raptis quod cuique
took for-a-few shields military for-more with-snatched-up what to-each
obvium telis signum pugnae exposcunt. agit grates Vitellius
handy weapons the-signal of-battle they-demand gives thanks Vitellius
et ad tuendam urbem prorumpere iubet. mox vocato
and for defending the-city to-rush-forth orders soon with-summoned
senatu deliguntur legati ad exercitus ut praetexto rei
senate are-chosen envoys to the-armies that under-the-pretext of-the-thing
publicae concordiam pacemque suaderent. varia legatorum sors
public concord and-peace they-should-urge varied of-the-envoys the-lot
fuit. qui Petilio Ceriali occurrerant extremum discrimen
was those-who Petilius Cerialis had-met the-utmost danger
adiere, aspernante milite condiciones pacis. vulneratur
faced with-spurning the-soldiery the-terms of-peace is-wounded
praetor Arulenus Rusticus: auxit invidiam super violatum
the-praetor Arulenus Rusticus increased the-odium besides the-violated
legati praetorisque nomen propria dignatio viri. pulsantur
of-envoy and-praetor name the-personal standing of-the-man are-beaten
comites, occiditur proximus lictor, dimovere turbam ausus:
his-companions is-killed the-nearest lictor to-push-back the-crowd having-dared
et ni dato a duce praesidio defensi forent, sacrum
and unless with-given by the-general protection defended they-had-been sacred
etiam inter exteras gentis legatorum ius ante ipsa
even among foreign peoples of-envoys the-right before the-very
patriae moenia civilis rabies usque in exitium temerasset.
of-the-fatherland walls civil madness right into destruction would-have-violated
aequioribus animis accepti sunt qui ad Antonium venerant,
with-more-equable minds received were those-who to Antonius had-come
non quia modestior miles, sed duci plus auctoritatis.
not because more-restrained the-soldiery but to-the-general more of-authority

81 Miscuerat se legatis Musonius Rufus equestris ordinis,
had-mingled himself with-the-envoys Musonius Rufus of-the-knightly order
studium philosophiae et placita Stoicorum aemulatus;
the-study of-philosophy and the-tenets of-the-Stoics having-emulated
coeptabatque permixtus manipulis, bona pacis ac belli
and-he-began mingled-with the-maniples the-goods of-peace and of-war
discrimina disserens, armatos monere. id plerisque ludibrio,
the-perils discoursing the-armed-men to-admonish that to-most a-mockery
pluribus taedio: nec deerant qui propellerent
to-more a-bore nor were-lacking those-who would-have-pushed-him-off
proculcarentque, ni admonitu modestissimi cuiusque
and-trampled had-not at-the-warning of-the-most-restrained each
et aliis minitantibus omisisset intempestivam sapientiam.
and with-others threatening he-had-dropped (his)-untimely wisdom
obviae fuere et virgines Vestales cum epistulis Vitellii
meeting-them were also the-maidens Vestal with letters of-Vitellius
ad Antonium scriptis: eximi supremo certamini unum
to Antonius written to-be-exempted from-the-final contest one
diem postulabat: si moram interiecissent, facilius omnia
day he-demanded if delay they-interposed more-easily all-things
conventura. virgines cum honore dimissae; Vitellio
going-to-come-together the-maidens with honor dismissed to-Vitellius
rescriptum Sabini caede et incendio Capitolii dirempta
was-written-back of-Sabinus by-the-murder and the-burning of-the-Capitol broken-off
belli commercia.
of-war the-dealings

The Flavians break into Rome in three columns, fighting through the streets and gardens while the people watch as if at games, cheering one side, then the other, amid baths, cookshops, and harlots. The camp, the Vitellians' last hope, costs the most effort, its defenders dying with their wounds in front. Vitellius, carried to his wife's house and back, is found hiding in the empty palace, dragged through the city, and killed at the Gemonian steps. Tacitus sums up his life; Domitian is hailed as Caesar.

Temptavit tamen Antonius vocatas ad contionem legiones 82
tried yet Antonius called to an-assembly the-legions
mitigare, ut castris iuxta pontem Mulvium positis postera
to-soften that with-the-camp near the-bridge Mulvian pitched on-the-next
die urbem ingrederentur. ratio cunctandi, ne asperatus proelio
day the-city they-should-enter the-reason for-delaying lest exasperated by-battle
miles non populo, non senatui, ne templis quidem
the-soldiery not for-the-people not for-the-senate not for-the-temples even
ac delubris deorum consuleret. sed omnem prolationem
and shrines of-the-gods should-have-regard but every postponement
ut inimicam victoriae suspectabant; simul fulgentia
as hostile to-victory they-suspected at-the-same-time gleaming
per collis vexilla, quamquam imbellis populus sequeretur,
over the-hills banners although an-unwarlike people followed
speciem hostilis exercitus fecerant. tripertito agmine pars, ut
the-appearance of-a-hostile army had-made in-a-threefold column part as
adstiterat, Flaminia via, pars iuxta ripam Tiberis incessit;
it-had-stood on-the-Flaminian road part along the-bank of-the-Tiber advanced
tertium agmen per Salariam Collinae portae propinquabat.
the-third column by the-Salarian to-the-Colline gate drew-near
plebs invectis equitibus fusa; miles Vitellianus trinis
the-plebs with-charged-in horsemen was-routed the-soldiery Vitellian in-three

et ipse praesidiis occurrit. proelia ante urbem multa et
also itself garrisons met-them battles before the-city many and
varia, sed Flavianis consilio ducum praestantibus saepius
varied but for-the-Flavians by-the-counsel of-the-generals superior more-often
prospera. ii tantum conflictati sunt qui in partem sinistram
successful those only distressed were who into the-part left
urbis ad Sallustianos hortos per angusta et lubrica
of-the-city toward the-Sallustian gardens through the-narrow and slippery-parts
viarum flexerant. superstantes maceriis hortorum Vitelliani ad
of-the-streets had-turned standing-on the-walls of-the-gardens the-Vitellians to
serum usque diem saxis pilisque subeuntis arcebant, donec
late right the-day with-stones and-javelins the-approaching kept-off until
ab equitibus, qui porta Collina inruperant, circumvenirentur.
by the-horsemen who by-the-gate Colline had-burst-in they-were-surrounded
concurrere et in campo Martio infestae acies. pro Flavianis
clashed also in the-field of-Mars the-hostile lines on-the-side-of the-Flavians
fortuna et parta totiens victoria: Vitelliani desperatione sola
fortune and won so-often victory the-Vitellians from-despair alone
ruebant, et quamquam pulsi, rursus in urbe congregabantur.
rushed and although driven-back again in the-city they-gathered
83 Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro
was-present at-the-fighters as-spectator the-people and-as in a-sportive
certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat. quotiens
contest these now those with-shouting and applause it-favored whenever
pars altera inclinasset, abditos in tabernis aut si quam in
part one-or-the-other had-given-way the-hidden in shops or if any into
domum perfugerant, erui iugularique expostulantes
house they-had-fled to-be-dragged-out and-to-be-butchered demanding
parte maiore praedae potiebantur: nam milite ad
a-part the-greater of-the-plunder they-got for with-the-soldiery to
sanguinem et caedis obverso spolia in vulgus cedebant. saeva
blood and slaughter turned the-spoils to the-crowd fell a-savage

ac deformis urbe tota facies: alibi proelia et vulnera, alibi
and hideous in-the-city whole the-face here battles and wounds there
balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum,
baths and-cookshops at-the-same-time gore and heaps of-bodies
iuxta scorta et scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio
beside harlots and to-harlots like-ones as-much-as in luxurious leisure
libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus
of-lusts whatever in the-bitterest captivity of-crimes utterly
ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire.
so-that the-same city both to-rage you-would-believe and to-wanton
conflixerant et ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla,
had-clashed also before armed armies in the-city twice with-Lucius Sulla
semel Cinna victoribus, nec tunc minus crudelitatis: nunc
once with-Cinna as-victors nor then less of-cruelty now
inhumana securitas et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates
an-inhuman unconcern and not for-the-least even of-time pleasures
intermissae: velut festis diebus id quoque gaudium accederet,
were-interrupted as-if on-festal days that also joy should-be-added
exultabant, fruebantur, nulla partium cura, malis publicis laeti.
they-exulted they-enjoyed with-no of-party care in-evils public glad
Plurimum molis in obpugnatione castrorum fuit, quae acerrimus 84
the-most of-effort in the-assault of-the-camp was which the-fiercest
quisque ut novissimam spem retinebant. eo intentius victores,
each as the-last hope held so-much more-intently the-victors
praecipuo veterum cohortium studio, cuncta validissimarum
with-especial of-the-veteran cohorts zeal all-things of-the-strongest
urbium excidiis reperta simul admovent, testudinem
cities for-the-destruction devised at-the-same-time they-bring-up the-tortoise
tormenta aggeres facesque, quidquid tot proeliis laboris
engines mounds and-torches whatever in-so-many battles of-toil
ac periculi hausissent, opere illo consummari clamitantes.
and danger they-had-drunk by-the-work that to-be-completed shouting

urbem senatui ac populo Romano, templa dis reddita:
the-city to-the-senate and people Roman the-temples to-the-gods returned
proprium esse militis decus in castris: illam patriam, illos
(his)-own to-be of-the-soldier honor in the-camp that the-fatherland those
penatis. ni statim recipiantur, noctem in armis agendam.
the-household-gods unless at-once they-be-recovered the-night in arms to-be-spent
contra Vitelliani, quamquam numero fatoque dispares,
on-the-other-hand the-Vitellians although in-number and-fate unequal
inquietare victoriam, morari pacem, domos arasque cruore
to-disturb the-victory to-delay the-peace houses and-altars with-gore
foedare suprema victis solacia amplectebantur. multi
to-defile as-the-last for-the-beaten consolations embraced many
semianimes super turris et propugnacula moenium expiravere:
half-dead on the-towers and battlements of-the-walls expired
convulsis portis reliquus globus obtulit se victoribus, et
with-wrenched-off gates the-remaining band offered itself to-the-victors and
cecidere omnes contrariis vulneribus, versi in hostem: ea cura
fell all with-facing wounds turned toward the-enemy that care
etiam morientibus decori exitus fuit. Vitellius capta
even to-the-dying for-an-honorable end was Vitellius with-captured
urbe per aversam Palatii partem Aventinum in domum
the-city through the-back of-the-Palatium part to-the-Aventine into the-house
uxoris sellula defertur, ut si diem latebra vitavisset,
of-his-wife in-a-little-chair is-carried that if the-day by-hiding he-had-escaped
Tarracinam ad cohortis fratremque perfugeret. dein mobilitate
to-Tarracina to the-cohorts and-his-brother he-might-flee then by-the-fickleness
ingenii et, quae natura pavoris est, cum omnia metuenti
of-his-nature and as the-nature of-fear is since everything to-one-fearing
praesentia maxime displicerent, in Palatium regreditur
the-present-things most displeased into the-Palatium he-returns
vastum desertumque, dilapsis etiam infimis servitiorum aut
vast and-deserted with-slipped-away even the-lowest of-the-slaves or

occursum eius declinantibus. terret solitudo et tacentes
the-meeting with-him avoiding terrifies-him the-solitude and the-silent
loci; temptat clausa, inhorrescit vacuis; fessusque
places he-tries the-closed-doors he-shudders at-the-empty-rooms and-wearied
misero errore et pudenda latebra semet occultans ab
by-wretched wandering and in-a-shameful hiding-place himself concealing by
Iulio Placido tribuno cohortis protrahitur. vinctae pone
Julius Placidus a-tribune of-a-cohort he-is-dragged-out bound behind
tergum manus; laniata veste, foedum spectaculum, ducebatur,
his-back his-hands with-torn clothes a-foul spectacle he-was-led
multis increpantibus, nullo inlacrimante: deformitas exitus
with-many reviling with-no-one weeping the-ugliness of-his-end
misericordiam abstulerat. obvius e Germanicis militibus
pity had-taken-away meeting-him from the-German soldiers
Vitellium infesto ictu per iram, vel quo maturius ludibrio
at-Vitellius with-hostile blow from anger or that sooner from-mockery
eximeret, an tribunum adpetierit, in incerto fuit:
he-might-free-him or the-tribune whether-he-aimed-at in doubt it-was
aurem tribuni amputavit ac statim confossus est.
the-ear of-the-tribune cut-off and at-once stabbed was
Vitellium infestis mucronibus coactum modo erigere os et 85
Vitellius by-hostile sword-points compelled now to-raise his-face and
offerre contumeliis, nunc cadentis statuas suas, plerumque
to-offer to-insults now falling statues his-own mostly
rostra aut Galbae occisi locum contueri, postremo ad
the-rostra or of-Galba slain the-place to-behold at-last to
Gemonias, ubi corpus Flavii Sabini iacuerat, propulere.
the-Gemonian-steps where the-body of-Flavius Sabinus had-lain they-drove
una vox non degeneris animi excepta, cum tribuno
one utterance not of-a-degenerate mind was-caught when to-the-tribune
insultanti se tamen imperatorem eius fuisse respondit;
insulting himself yet the-emperor his to-have-been he-answered

ac deinde ingestis vulneribus concidit. et vulgus eadem
and then with-heaped-on wounds fell and the-crowd with-the-same
pravitate insectabatur interfectum qua foverat viventem.
perversity attacked the-slain-man with-which it-had-cherished the-living
86 Patrem illi *** Luceriam. septimum et quinquagensimum
a-father to-him (lacuna) Luceria the-seventh and fiftieth
aetatis annum explebat, consulatum, sacerdotia, nomen
of-age year he-was-completing a-consulship priesthoods a-name
locumque inter primores nulla sua industria, sed cuncta
and-place among the-chief-men by-no his-own industry but all-things
patris claritudine adeptus. principatum ei detulere
by-his-father's renown having-attained the-principate to-him offered
qui ipsum non noverant: studia exercitus raro cuiquam
those-who him not had-known the-zeal of-the-army rarely to-anyone
bonis artibus quaesita perinde adfuere quam huic per
by-good arts acquired so-much were-present as to-this-one through
ignaviam. inerat tamen simplicitas ac liberalitas, quae,
cowardice there-was-in-him yet simplicity and liberality which
ni adsit modus, in exitium vertuntur. amicitias dum
unless be-present a-measure into ruin turn friendships while
magnitudine munerum, non constantia morum contineri
by-the-greatness of-gifts not by-the-constancy of-character to-be-held
putat, meruit magis quam habuit. rei publicae haud
he-thinks he-earned rather than had to-the-thing public not
dubie intererat Vitellium vinci, sed imputare perfidiam
doubtfully it-mattered Vitellius to-be-beaten but to-claim-credit-for treachery
non possunt qui Vitellium Vespasiano prodidere, cum a
not can those-who Vitellius to-Vespasian betrayed when from
Galba descivissent. Praecipiti in occasum die ob pavorem
Galba they-had-revolted with-headlong to setting day on-account-of the-fear
magistratuum senatorumque, qui dilapsi ex urbe aut per
of-the-magistrates and-senators who slipped-away from the-city or through

domos clientium semet occultabant, vocari senatus non
the-houses of-clients themselves hid to-be-called the-senate not
potuit. Domitianum, postquam nihil hostile metuebatur, ad
could Domitian after nothing hostile was-feared to
duces partium progressum et Caesarem consalutatum miles
the-generals of-the-party having-come-forth and as-Caesar saluted the-soldiery
frequens utque erat in armis in paternos penatis deduxit.
numerous and-as they-were in arms into his-father's household-gods escorted

BOOK IV

L · AFTER THE VICTORY

With Vitellius dead, war has ended but peace has not begun: the victors hunt the beaten through the streets, and slaves betray rich masters. Domitian takes the name and palace of Caesar but gives himself to pleasure, and Antonius plunders the palace. Lucius Vitellius surrenders with his cohorts at Bovillae and is killed; Campania is settled. The senate decrees Vespasian all the customary powers, and Vespasian's letter, written as if the war were still on, is well received.

Interfecto Vitellio bellum magis desierat quam pax coeperat. 1
with-killed Vitellius the-war rather had-ceased than peace had-begun
armati per urbem victores implacabili odio victos
armed through the-city the-victors with-implacable hatred the-beaten
consectabantur: plenae caedibus viae, cruenta fora
pursued full of-slaughter the-streets bloody the-forums
templaque, passim trucidatis, ut quemque fors obtulerat.
and-temples everywhere with-slaughtered-men as each chance had-offered
ac mox augescente licentia scrutari ac protrahere abditos; si
and soon with-growing license they-searched and dragged-out the-hidden if
quem procerum habitu et iuventa conspexerant, obtruncare
anyone tall in-bearing and youth they-had-seen they-cut-him-down
nullo militum aut populi discrimine. quae saevitia recentibus
with-no of-soldiers or of-people distinction which savagery while-fresh
odiis sanguine explebatur, dein verterat in avaritiam. nihil
the-hatreds with-blood was-sated then had-turned into greed nothing
usquam secretum aut clausum sinebant, Vitellianos occultari
anywhere secret or shut they-allowed the-Vitellians to-be-hidden
simulantes. initium id perfringendarum domuum, vel si
pretending the-beginning that of-breaking-into houses or if
resisteretur, causa caedis; nec deerat egentissimus quisque
resistance-were-made the-cause of-killing nor was-lacking the-neediest each

e plebe et pessimi servitiorum prodere ultro
from the-plebs and the-worst of-the-slaves they-betrayed of-their-own-accord
ditis dominos, alii ab amicis monstrabantur. ubique lamenta,
rich masters others by friends were-pointed-out everywhere laments
conclamationes et fortuna captae urbis, adeo ut Othoniani
outcries and the-fortune of-a-captured city so that of-the-Othonian
Vitellianique militis invidiosa antea petulantia desideraretur.
and-Vitellian soldiery the-hated before insolence was-longed-for
duces partium accendendo civili bello acres, temperandae
the-generals of-the-party in-kindling civil war keen for-moderating
victoriae impares, quippe inter turbas et discordias pessimo
victory unequal for amid disorders and discords to-the-worst
cuique plurima vis, pax et quies bonis artibus indigent.
each the-most power peace and quiet good arts need

2 Nomen sedemque Caesaris Domitianus acceperat, nondum ad
the-name and-residence of-Caesar Domitian had-received not-yet to
curas intentus, sed stupris et adulteriis filium principis
cares intent but in-debaucheries and adulteries the-son of-the-emperor
agebat. praefectura praetorii penes Arrium Varum,
he-played the-prefecture of-the-praetorian-guard with Arrius Varus
summa potentiae in Primo Antonio. is pecuniam familiamque
the-sum of-power in Primus Antonius he money and-slaves
e principis domo quasi Cremonensem praedam rapere: ceteri
from the-emperor's house as-if Cremonese plunder seized the-rest
modestia vel ignobilitate ut in bello obscuri, ita praemiorum
from-modesty or obscurity as in war unnoticed so of-rewards
expertes. civitas pavida et servitio parata occupari redeuntem
without-share the-state fearful and for-servitude ready to-be-intercepted the-returning
Tarracina L. Vitellium cum cohortibus extinguique
from-Tarracina Lucius Vitellius with the-cohorts and-to-be-extinguished
reliqua belli postulabat: praemissi Ariciam equites,
the-remnants of-the-war demanded were-sent-ahead to-Aricia horsemen

agmen legionum intra Bovillas stetit. nec cunctatus est
the-column of-the-legions within Bovillae halted nor hesitated has
Vitellius seque et cohortis arbitrio victoris permittere,
Vitellius both-himself and the-cohorts to-the-discretion of-the-victor to-entrust
et miles infelicia arma haud minus ira quam metu
and the-soldiery (its)-unlucky arms not less from-anger than from-fear
abiecit. longus deditorum ordo saeptus armatis per
threw-away a-long of-the-surrendered line hedged by-armed-men through
urbem incessit, nemo supplici vultu, sed tristes et truces
the-city advanced no-one with-suppliant face but sad and fierce
et adversum plausus ac lasciviam insultantis vulgi immobiles.
and against the-applause and wantonness of-the-insulting crowd unmoved
paucos erumpere ausos circumiecti pressere; ceteri in
a-few to-break-out having-dared those-around crushed the-rest into
custodiam conditi, nihil quisquam locutus indignum, et
custody were-put nothing anyone spoke unworthy and
quamquam inter adversa, salva virtutis fama. dein L. Vitellius
although amid adversity safe of-courage the-fame then Lucius Vitellius
interficitur, par vitiis fratris, in principatu eius vigilantior,
is-killed equal to-the-vices of-his-brother in the-principate his more-vigilant
nec perinde prosperis socius quam adversis abstractus.
nor so-much of-the-successes a-partner as by-the-adversities dragged-down
Isdem diebus Lucilius Bassus cum expedito equite ad 3
in-the-same days Lucilius Bassus with unencumbered cavalry for
componendam Campaniam mittitur, discordibus municipiorum
settling Campania is-sent with-discordant of-the-townships
animis magis inter semet quam contumacia adversus principem.
minds more among themselves than from-defiance against the-emperor
viso milite quies et minoribus coloniis impunitas: Capuae
with-seen soldiery quiet and for-the-smaller colonies impunity at-Capua
legio tertia hiemandi causa locatur et domus inlustres
the-legion third of-wintering for-the-sake is-stationed and the-houses illustrious

adflictae, cum contra Tarracinenses nulla ope iuvarentur.
were-afflicted while on-the-other-hand the-Tarracinese by-no aid were-helped
tanto proclivius est iniuriae quam beneficio vicem exolvere,
so-much more-inclined it-is for-injury than for-a-benefit a-return to-pay
quia gratia oneri, ultio in quaestu habetur. solacio fuit
because gratitude as-a-burden vengeance as profit is-held to-consolation was
servus Vergilii Capitonis, quem proditorem Tarracinensium
the-slave of-Vergilius Capito whom as-the-betrayer of-the-Tarracinese
diximus, patibulo adfixus in isdem anulis quos acceptos
we-said on-a-gibbet fixed in the-same rings which received
a Vitellio gestabat. at Romae senatus cuncta principibus
from Vitellius he-wore but at-Rome the-senate all-things to-emperors
solita Vespasiano decernit, laetus et spei certus, quippe
customary for-Vespasian decrees glad and of-hope certain for
sumpta per Gallias Hispaniasque civilia arma, motis ad
begun through the-Gauls and-Spains civil arms with-moved to
bellum Germaniis, mox Illyrico, postquam Aegyptum Iudaeam
war the-Germanies soon Illyricum after Egypt Judaea
Syriamque et omnis provincias exercitusque lustraverant,
and-Syria and all provinces and-armies they-had-traversed
velut expiato terrarum orbe cepisse finem videbantur:
as-if with-expiated of-lands the-world to-have-taken an-end they-seemed
addidere alacritatem Vespasiani litterae tamquam manente
added eagerness of-Vespasian the-letters as-if with-remaining
bello scriptae. ea prima specie forma; ceterum ut princeps
war written that at-first appearance their-form but as an-emperor
loquebatur, civilia de se, et rei publicae egregia.
he-spoke like-a-citizen about himself and of-the-thing public excellently
nec senatus obsequium deerat: ipsi consulatus cum Tito
nor of-the-senate the-deference was-lacking to-himself a-consulship with Titus
filio, praetura Domitiano et consulare imperium decernuntur.
his-son a-praetorship to-Domitian and consular power are-decreed

Mucianus's letter to the senate gives offense, but honors are voted to him, to Antonius, and to others, and the Capitol's restoration is decreed. Helvidius Priscus speaks with a freedom that begins his glory and his danger; Tacitus sketches his philosophic life. He clashes with Eprius Marcellus over choosing envoys to Vespasian, the senate prefers the lot, and a tribune blocks his treasury motion. Musonius Rufus accuses Publius Celer. Mucianus enters Rome, takes all power, and has Calpurnius Galerianus killed.

Miserat et Mucianus epistulas ad senatum, quae materiam 4
had-sent also Mucianus a-letter to the-senate which material
sermonibus praebuere. si privatus esset, cur publice
for-talk offered if a-private-man he-were why publicly
loqueretur? potuisse eadem paucos post dies loco
did-he-speak to-have-been-able the-same-things a-few after days in-the-place
sententiae dici. ipsa quoque insectatio in Vitellium sera
of-a-motion to-be-said the-very also attack upon Vitellius late
et sine libertate: id vero erga rem publicam superbum,
and without freedom that indeed toward the-thing public arrogant
erga principem contumeliosum, quod in manu sua fuisse
toward the-emperor insulting that in hand his-own to-have-been
imperium donatumque Vespasiano iactabat. ceterum invidia in
the-empire and-given to-Vespasian he-boasted but resentment in
occulto, adulatio in aperto erant: multo cum honore verborum
secret flattery in the-open were much with honor of-words
Muciano triumphalia de bello civium data, sed in
to-Mucianus the-triumphal-insignia for the-war of-citizens were-given but against
Sarmatas expeditio fingebatur. adduntur Primo Antonio
the-Sarmatians the-expedition was-feigned are-added to-Primus Antonius
consularia, Cornelio Fusco et Arrio Varo praetoria insignia.
consular to-Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus praetorian insignia

mox deos respexere; restitui Capitolium placuit. eaque
soon the-gods they-regarded to-be-restored the-Capitol it-was-decided and-these
omnia Valerius Asiaticus consul designatus censuit: ceteri
all-things Valerius Asiaticus consul designate moved the-rest
vultu manuque, pauci, quibus conspicua dignitas aut ingenium
by-face and-hand a-few to-whom conspicuous rank or a-talent
adulatione exercitum, compositis orationibus adsentiebantur. ubi
by-flattery trained with-composed speeches assented when
ad Helvidium Priscum praetorem designatum ventum, prompsit
to Helvidius Priscus praetor designate it-was-come he-produced
sententiam ut honorificam in bonum principem, ∗∗∗ falsa
a-motion as honorable toward a-good emperor (lacuna) false-things
aberant, et studiis senatus attollebatur. isque praecipuus
were-absent and by-the-zeal of-the-senate he-was-exalted and-that the-chief
illi dies magnae offensae initium et magnae gloriae fuit.
for-him day of-great offense the-beginning and of-great glory was
5 Res poscere videtur, quoniam iterum in mentionem
the-matter to-demand seems since again into mention
incidimus viri saepius memorandi, ut vitam studiaque eius,
we-have-fallen of-a-man more-often to-be-recounted that the-life and-pursuits his
et quali fortuna sit usus, paucis repetam. Helvidius
and what fortune he-has used in-few-words I-should-review Helvidius
Priscus e municipio Cluviis, patre, qui ordinem primi
Priscus from the-township Cluviae of-a-father who the-rank of-the-first
pili duxisset, ingenium inlustre altioribus studiis iuvenis
spear had-held his-talent illustrious to-higher studies a-youth
admodum dedit, non, ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico
very gave not as most that by-a-name magnificent
segne otium velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita
sluggish leisure he-might-veil but that firmer against chances
rem publicam capesseret. doctores sapientiae secutus est,
the-thing public he-might-take-up the-teachers of-wisdom followed has

qui sola bona quae honesta, mala tantum quae turpia,
who only goods what-things honorable evils only what-things base
potentiam nobilitatem ceteraque extra animum neque bonis
power nobility and-the-rest outside the-mind neither among-goods
neque malis adnumerant. quaestorius adhuc a Paeto
nor among-evils count a-former-quaestor still by Paetus
Thrasea gener delectus e moribus soceri nihil
Thrasea as-son-in-law chosen from the-character of-his-father-in-law nothing
aeque ac libertatem hausit, civis, senator, maritus, gener,
so-much as liberty he-drank-in a-citizen senator husband son-in-law
amicus, cunctis vitae officiis aequabilis, opum contemptor,
friend in-all of-life the-duties even of-wealth a-despiser
recti pervicax, constans adversus metus.
of-the-right obstinate steadfast against fears
Erant quibus adpetentior famae videretur, quando 6
there-were those-to-whom more-eager for-fame he-seemed since
etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur. ruina
even by-the-wise the-desire for-glory last is-put-off by-the-fall
soceri in exilium pulsus, ut Galbae principatu
of-his-father-in-law into exile driven when of-Galba in-the-principate
rediit, Marcellum Eprium, delatorem Thraseae, accusare
he-returned Marcellus Eprius the-informer of-Thrasea to-accuse
adgreditur. ea ultio, incertum maior an iustior, senatum in
he-sets-about that vengeance uncertain greater or more-just the-senate into
studia diduxerat: nam si caderet Marcellus, agmen reorum
partisanships had-divided for if should-fall Marcellus the-column of-the-accused
sternebatur. primo minax certamen et egregiis utriusque
was-laid-low at-first a-threatening contest and in-excellent of-each
orationibus testatum; mox dubia voluntate Galbae, multis
speeches attested soon with-doubtful the-will of-Galba with-many
senatorum deprecantibus, omisit Priscus, variis, ut sunt
of-the-senators interceding dropped-it Priscus with-various as are

hominum ingenia, sermonibus moderationem laudantium
of-men the-characters talk the-moderation of-those-praising
aut constantiam requirentium. Ceterum eo senatus die
or the-constancy of-those-missing but on-that of-the-senate day
quo de imperio Vespasiani censebant, placuerat mitti
on-which about the-empire of-Vespasian they-voted it-had-been-decided to-be-sent
ad principem legatos. hinc inter Helvidium et Eprium
to the-emperor envoys hence between Helvidius and Eprius
acre iurgium: Priscus eligi nominatim a magistratibus
a-sharp quarrel Priscus to-be-chosen by-name by the-magistrates
iuratis, Marcellus urnam postulabat, quae consulis designati
sworn Marcellus the-urn demanded which of-the-consul designate
sententia fuerat.
the-motion had-been

7 Sed Marcelli studium proprius rubor excitabat ne aliis electis
but of-Marcellus the-eagerness his-own blush roused lest with-others chosen
posthabitus crederetur. paulatimque per altercationem
passed-over he-should-be-believed and-gradually through the-altercation
ad continuas et infestas orationes provecti sunt, quaerente
to continuous and hostile speeches advanced they-were with-asking
Helvidio quid ita Marcellus iudicium magistratuum pavesceret:
Helvidius why so Marcellus the-judgment of-the-magistrates should-dread
esse illi pecuniam et eloquentiam, quis multos anteiret,
to-be to-him money and eloquence in-which many he-would-surpass
ni memoria flagitiorum urgeretur. sorte et urna mores
unless by-the-memory of-his-crimes he-were-pressed by-lot and urn characters
non discerni: suffragia et existimationem senatus
not to-be-distinguished votes and the-estimate of-the-senate
reperta ut in cuiusque vitam famamque penetrarent.
to-have-been-devised that into each-man's life and-repute they-might-penetrate
pertinere ad utilitatem rei publicae, pertinere ad Vespasiani
to-concern to the-advantage of-the-thing public to-concern to of-Vespasian

honorem, occurrere illi quos innocentissimos senatus habeat,
the-honor to-meet him those-whom most-innocent the-senate holds
qui honestis sermonibus auris imperatoris imbuant. fuisse
who with-honorable talk the-ears of-the-emperor may-imbue to-have-been
Vespasiano amicitiam cum Thrasea, Sorano, Sentio; quorum
to-Vespasian friendship with Thrasea Soranus Sentius whose
accusatores etiam si puniri non oporteat, ostentari non
accusers even if to-be-punished not it-is-proper to-be-displayed not
debere. hoc senatus iudicio velut admoneri principem
ought by-this of-the-senate judgment as-if to-be-admonished the-emperor
quos probet, quos reformidet. nullum maius boni imperii
whom he-should-approve whom he-should-dread no greater of-good rule
instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse. satis Marcello quod
an-instrument than good friends to-be enough for-Marcellus that
Neronem in exitium tot innocentium impulerit: frueretur
Nero to the-destruction of-so-many innocents he-has-driven let-him-enjoy
praemiis et impunitate, Vespasianum melioribus relinqueret.
rewards and impunity Vespasian to-better-men let-him-leave
Marcellus non suam sententiam impugnari, sed consulem 8
Marcellus not his-own motion to-be-attacked but the-consul
designatum censuisse dicebat, secundum vetera exempla
designate to-have-moved said according-to old precedents
quae sortem legationibus posuissent, ne ambitioni aut
which lot for-embassies had-established lest for-canvassing or
inimicitiis locus foret. nihil evenisse cur antiquitus
enmities room there-should-be nothing to-have-happened why anciently
instituta exolescerent aut principis honor in cuiusquam
instituted-things should-fall-into-disuse or of-the-emperor the-honor into anyone's
contumeliam verteretur; sufficere omnis obsequio. id magis
insult should-be-turned to-suffice all for-deference that more
vitandum ne pervicacia quorundam inritaretur animus novo
to-be-avoided lest by-the-obstinacy of-some should-be-provoked a-mind in-a-new

principatu suspensus et vultus quoque ac sermones omnium
principate anxious and the-faces also and talk of-all
circumspectans. se meminisse temporum quibus natus sit,
watching himself to-remember the-times in-which born he-was
quam civitatis formam patres avique instituerint; ulteriora
what of-the-state form fathers and-grandfathers established farther-things
mirari, praesentia sequi; bonos imperatores voto expetere,
to-admire the-present-things to-follow good emperors by-prayer to-desire
qualiscumque tolerare. non magis sua oratione Thraseam
whatever-sort to-endure not more by-his-own speech Thrasea
quam iudicio senatus adflictum; saevitiam Neronis per
than by-the-judgment of-the-senate struck-down the-savagery of-Nero by
eius modi imagines inlusisse, nec minus sibi anxiam
of-this kind shows to-have-mocked nor less to-himself anxious
talem amicitiam quam aliis exilium. denique constantia
such a-friendship than to-others exile finally in-constancy
fortitudine Catonibus et Brutis aequaretur Helvidius: se
in-fortitude to-the-Catos and Brutuses let-him-be-equaled Helvidius himself
unum esse ex illo senatu, qui simul servierit. suadere etiam
one to-be of that senate which together has-been-a-slave to-advise also
Prisco ne supra principem scanderet, ne Vespasianum
Priscus that-not above the-emperor he-should-climb that-not Vespasian
senem triumphalem, iuvenum liberorum patrem, praeceptis
an-old-man triumphal of-young children the-father with-precepts
coerceret. quo modo pessimis imperatoribus sine fine
he-should-restrain in-which way to-the-worst emperors without end
dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis modum libertatis placere.
despotism so to-however excellent a-limit of-liberty to-be-pleasing
haec magnis utrimque contentionibus iactata diversis
these-things with-great on-both-sides contentions bandied with-different
studiis accipiebantur. vicit pars quae sortiri legatos
zeal were-received won the-part which to-draw-lots-for the-envoys

malebat, etiam mediis patrum adnitentibus retinere
preferred even with-the-middle of-the-fathers striving to-keep
morem; et splendidissimus quisque eodem inclinabat metu
the-custom and the-most-distinguished each to-the-same inclined from-fear
invidiae, si ipsi eligerentur.
of-odium if themselves they-should-be-chosen
Secutum aliud certamen. praetores aerarii (nam tum 9
followed another contest the-praetors of-the-treasury for then
a praetoribus tractabatur aerarium) publicam paupertatem
by praetors was-managed the-treasury public poverty
questi modum impensis postulaverant. eam curam consul
complaining-of a-limit on-expenses had-demanded that care the-consul
designatus ob magnitudinem oneris et remedii
designate on-account-of the-size of-the-burden and of-the-remedy
difficultatem principi reservabat: Helvidius arbitrio senatus
the-difficulty for-the-emperor reserved Helvidius by-the-decision of-the-senate
agendum censuit. cum perrogarent sententias consules,
to-be-acted moved when were-asking-in-turn the-opinions the-consuls
Vulcacius Tertullinus tribunus plebis intercessit ne quid
Vulcacius Tertullinus tribune of-the-plebs interposed-his-veto lest anything
super tanta re principe absente statueretur. censuerat
about so-great a-matter with-the-emperor absent should-be-decided had-moved
Helvidius ut Capitolium publice restitueretur, adiuvaret
Helvidius that the-Capitol publicly should-be-restored should-assist
Vespasianus. eam sententiam modestissimus quisque silentio,
Vespasian that motion the-most-restrained each in-silence
deinde oblivio transmisit: fuere qui et meminissent.
then forgetfulness passed-over there-were those-who also remembered
Tum invectus est Musonius Rufus in P. Celerem, a quo 10
then inveighed has Musonius Rufus against Publius Celer by whom
Baream Soranum falso testimonio circumventum arguebat.
Barea Soranus by-false testimony ensnared he-charged

ea cognitione renovari odia accusationum videbantur.
by-that hearing to-be-renewed the-hatreds of-the-prosecutions seemed
sed vilis et nocens reus protegi non poterat: quippe
but a-cheap and guilty defendant to-be-protected not could for
Sorani sancta memoria; Celer professus sapientiam, dein
of-Soranus sacred the-memory Celer professing wisdom then
testis in Baream, proditor corruptorque amicitiae cuius
witness against Barea a-betrayer and-corrupter of-the-friendship of-which
se magistrum ferebat. proximus dies causae destinatur;
himself the-teacher he-declared the-next day for-the-case is-appointed
nec tam Musonius aut Publius quam Priscus et Marcellus
nor so-much Musonius or Publius as Priscus and Marcellus
ceterique, motis ad ultionem animis, expectabantur.
and-the-rest with-moved to vengeance minds were-awaited
11 Tali rerum statu, cum discordia inter patres, ira apud victos,
in-such of-affairs state when discord among the-fathers anger among the-beaten
nulla in victoribus auctoritas, non leges, non princeps in
no in the-victors authority not laws not an-emperor in
civitate essent, Mucianus urbem ingressus cuncta simul
the-state there-were Mucianus the-city having-entered all-things at-the-same-time
in se traxit. fracta Primi Antonii Varique Arrii potentia,
to himself drew was-broken of-Primus Antonius and-of-Varus Arrius the-power
male dissimulata in eos Muciani iracundia, quamvis vultu
ill concealed toward them of-Mucianus the-anger although by-his-face
tegeretur. sed civitas rimandis offensis sagax verterat se
it-were-covered but the-state at-ferreting-out offenses sharp had-turned itself
transtuleratque: ille unus ambiri, coli. nec deerat
and-had-transferred he alone was-courted was-cultivated nor was-he-lacking
ipse, stipatus armatis domos hortosque permutans, apparatu
himself surrounded by-armed-men houses and-gardens changing in-apparatus
incessu excubiis vim principis amplecti, nomen remittere.
in-gait in-guards the-power of-an-emperor he-embraced the-name he-waived

plurimum terroris intulit caedes Calpurnii Galeriani. is fuit
the-most of-terror brought the-killing of-Calpurnius Galerianus he was
filius Gai Pisonis, nihil ausus: sed nomen insigne
the-son of-Gaius Piso nothing having-dared but his-name distinguished
et decora ipsius iuventa rumore vulgi celebrabantur,
and comely his-own youth by-the-rumor of-the-crowd were-celebrated
erantque in civitate adhuc turbida et novis sermonibus laeta
and-there-were in a-state still turbulent and in-new talk glad
qui principatus inanem ei famam circumdarent. iussu
those-who of-the-principate an-empty to-him reputation should-put-around by-the-order
Muciani custodia militari cinctus, ne in ipsa urbe conspectior
of-Mucianus by-a-guard military surrounded lest in the-very city more-conspicuous
mors foret, ad quadragensimum ab urbe lapidem Appia
his-death should-be at the-fortieth from the-city milestone on-the-Appian
via fuso per venas sanguine extinguitur. Iulius Priscus
road with-poured through his-veins blood he-is-extinguished Julius Priscus
praetoriarum sub Vitellio cohortium praefectus se ipse
of-the-praetorian under Vitellius cohorts prefect himself himself
interfecit, pudore magis quam necessitate. Alfenus Varus
killed from-shame more than from-necessity Alfenus Varus
ignaviae infamiaeque suae superfuit. Asiaticus (is enim
cowardice and-infamy his-own survived Asiaticus he for
libertus) malam potentiam servili supplicio expiavit.
a-freedman his-evil power by-a-slave's punishment expiated

Rome hears, without grief, of disaster in Germany. The Batavians, an island people who give the empire only men and arms, were led by Julius Civilis, a royal noble once in chains. Civilis, pretending to serve Vespasian, rouses his people at a feast in a sacred grove against a corrupt levy. The Canninefates and Frisii storm two cohorts' camp; Civilis wins a battle by the Rhine when the fleet's rowers desert, and he courts the Gauls.

12 Isdem diebus crebrescentem cladis Germanicae famam
in-the-same days the-growing of-the-German disaster report
nequaquam maesta civitas excipiebat; caesos exercitus, capta
by-no-means sad the-state received slaughtered armies captured
legionum hiberna, descivisse Gallias non ut mala
of-the-legions the-winter-quarters to-have-revolted the-Gauls not as evils
loquebantur. id bellum quibus causis ortum, quanto
they-spoke-of that war from-what causes arisen with-how-great
externarum sociarumque gentium motu flagraverit, altius
of-foreign and-allied peoples movement it-has-blazed more-deeply
expediam. Batavi, donec trans Rhenum agebant, pars
I-shall-explain the-Batavians while across the-Rhine they-dwelt a-part
Chattorum, seditione domestica pulsi extrema Gallicae
of-the-Chatti by-strife domestic driven the-farthest of-the-Gallic
orae vacua cultoribus simulque insulam iuxta sitam
coast empty of-tillers and-at-the-same-time an-island near situated
occupavere, quam mare Oceanus a fronte, Rhenus amnis
occupied which the-sea Ocean in front the-Rhine river
tergum ac latera circumluit. nec opibus (rarum in
at-the-back and sides washes-round nor with-wealth a-rare-thing in
societate validiorum) attritis viros tantum armaque imperio
alliance of-the-stronger worn-down men only and-arms to-the-empire
ministrant, diu Germanicis bellis exerciti, mox aucta
they-supply long in-German wars trained soon with-increased

per Britanniam gloria, transmissis illuc cohortibus, quas
through Britain glory with-sent-across thither cohorts which
vetere instituto nobilissimi popularium regebant. erat
by-old institution the-noblest of-their-countrymen commanded there-was
et domi delectus eques, praecipuo nandi studio, arma
also at-home a-picked cavalry with-especial of-swimming zeal arms
equosque retinens integris turmis Rhenum perrumpere ***
and-horses keeping in-whole squadrons the-Rhine to-break-through (lacuna)
Iulius Paulus et Iulius Civilis regia stirpe multo ceteros 13
Julius Paulus and Julius Civilis of-royal stock by-much the-others
anteibant. Paulum Fonteius Capito falso rebellionis crimine
surpassed Paulus Fonteius Capito on-a-false of-rebellion charge
interfecit; iniectae Civili catenae, missusque ad Neronem
killed were-thrown-on Civilis chains and-sent to Nero
et a Galba absolutus sub Vitellio rursus discrimen adiit,
and by Galba acquitted under Vitellius again danger he-faced
flagitante supplicium eius exercitu: inde causae irarum
with-demanding the-punishment his the-army thence the-causes of-his-wrath
spesque ex malis nostris. sed Civilis ultra quam barbaris
and-hopes from evils our but Civilis beyond what for-barbarians
solitum ingenio sollers et Sertorium se aut Annibalem
customary in-mind shrewd and Sertorius himself or Hannibal
ferens simili oris dehonestamento, ne ut hosti
bearing-himself-as with-a-like of-face disfigurement lest as an-enemy
obviam iretur, si a populo Romano palam descivisset,
to-meet-him it-should-be-gone if from the-people Roman openly he-had-revolted
Vespasiani amicitiam studiumque partium praetendit, missis
of-Vespasian the-friendship and-the-zeal for-the-party he-put-forward with-sent
sane ad eum Primi Antonii litteris, quibus avertere accita
certainly to him of-Primus Antonius letters in-which to-divert the-summoned
Vitellio auxilia et tumultus Germanici specie retentare
by-Vitellius auxiliaries and of-a-rising German under-the-appearance to-hold-back

legiones iubebatur. eadem Hordeonius Flaccus praesens
the-legions he-was-ordered the-same-things Hordeonius Flaccus in-person
monuerat, inclinato in Vespasianum animo et rei
had-advised with-inclined toward Vespasian mind and for-the-thing
publicae cura, cui excidium adventabat, si redintegratum
public concern to-which destruction was-approaching if renewed
bellum et tot armatorum milia Italiam inrupissent.
the-war and so-many of-armed-men thousands Italy had-burst-into
14 Igitur Civilis desciscendi certus, occultato interim altiore
therefore Civilis of-revolting resolved with-hidden meanwhile the-deeper
consilio, cetera ex eventu iudicaturus, novare res hoc
plan the-rest from the-outcome going-to-judge to-make-new affairs in-this
modo coepit. iussu Vitellii Batavorum iuventus ad dilectum
way began by-the-order of-Vitellius of-the-Batavians the-youth to a-levy
vocabatur, quem suapte natura gravem onerabant ministri
was-called which by-its-own nature heavy burdened the-agents
avaritia ac luxu, senes aut invalidos conquirendo, quos pretio
by-greed and luxury old-men or the-weak seeking-out whom for-a-price
dimitterent: rursus impubes et forma conspicui (et est
they-might-release again the-under-age and in-beauty conspicuous and there-is
plerisque procera pueritia) ad stuprum trahebantur. hinc invidia,
with-most a-tall boyhood to debauchery were-dragged hence resentment
et compositae seditionis auctores perpulere ut dilectum
and of-the-arranged mutiny the-authors drove-them that the-levy
abnuerent. Civilis primores gentis et promptissimos
they-should-refuse Civilis the-chief-men of-the-people and the-readiest
vulgi specie epularum sacrum in nemus vocatos, ubi
of-the-crowd under-the-pretext of-a-feast sacred into grove called when
nocte ac laetitia incaluisse videt, a laude gloriaque
by-night and merriment to-have-grown-warm he-sees from the-praise and-glory
gentis orsus iniurias et raptus et cetera servitii mala
of-the-people having-begun the-wrongs and seizures and the-other of-servitude evils

enumerat: neque enim societatem, ut olim, sed tamquam
he-enumerates nor for an-alliance as once but as-if
mancipia haberi: quando legatum, gravi quidem comitatu et
chattels to-be-held when a-legate with-heavy indeed retinue and
superbo, cum imperio venire? tradi se praefectis
haughty with command to-come to-be-handed-over themselves to-prefects
centurionibusque: quos ubi spoliis et sanguine expleverint,
and-centurions whom when with-spoils and blood they-have-sated
mutari, exquirique novos sinus et varia praedandi vocabula.
to-be-changed and-to-be-sought new pockets and various of-plundering names
instare dilectum quo liberi a parentibus, fratres a
to-be-pressing a-levy by-which children from parents brothers from
fratribus velut supremum dividantur. numquam magis adflictam
brothers as-if for-the-last-time may-be-parted never more afflicted
rem Romanam nec aliud in hibernis quam praedam
the-state Roman nor anything-else in the-winter-quarters than plunder
et senes: attollerent tantum oculos et inania legionum nomina
and old-men let-them-raise only their-eyes and the-empty of-the-legions names
ne pavescerent. at sibi robur peditum equitumque,
that-not they-dread but to-themselves the-strength of-infantry and-cavalry
consanguineos Germanos, Gallias idem cupientis. ne Romanis
kinsmen the-Germans the-Gauls the-same desiring not to-the-Romans
quidem ingratum id bellum, cuius ambiguam fortunam
even unwelcome that war whose doubtful fortune
Vespasiano imputaturos: victoriae rationem non reddi.
to-Vespasian going-to-charge for-victory account not to-be-rendered
Magno cum adsensu auditus barbaro ritu et patriis
great with assent heard by-barbarian rite and ancestral
execrationibus universos adigit. missi ad Canninefatis qui
curses all he-binds were-sent to the-Canninefates men-who
consilia sociarent. ea gens partem insulae colit, origine lingua
the-plans should-share that people part of-the-island inhabits in-origin language

virtute par Batavis; numero superantur. mox occultis
valor equal to-the-Batavians in-number they-are-surpassed soon by-secret
nuntiis pellexit Britannica auxilia, Batavorum cohortis missas
messages he-enticed the-British auxiliaries of-the-Batavians the-cohorts sent
in Germaniam, ut supra rettulimus, ac tum Mogontiaci
into Germany as above we-reported and then at-Mogontiacum
agentis. erat in Canninefatibus stolidae audaciae Brinno,
staying there-was among the-Canninefates of-stupid daring Brinno
claritate natalium insigni; pater eius multa hostilia
for-the-renown of-birth distinguished the-father his many hostile-things
ausus Gaianarum expeditionum ludibrium impune
having-dared of-the-Gaian expeditions the-mockery with-impunity
spreverat. igitur ipso rebellis familiae nomine placuit
had-spurned therefore by-the-very of-the-rebel family name he-pleased
impositusque scuto more gentis et sustinentium
and-placed on-a-shield in-the-custom of-the-people and of-the-bearers
umeris vibratus dux deligitur. statimque accitis Frisiis
on-shoulders swung as-leader is-chosen and-at-once with-summoned the-Frisians
(transrhenana gens est) duarum cohortium hiberna
a-trans-Rhenane people is of-two cohorts the-winter-quarters
proximo † occupata† Oceano inrumpit. nec providerant
nearest (corrupt) occupied Ocean bursts-into nor had-foreseen
impetum hostium milites, nec, si providissent, satis virium ad
the-onslaught of-the-enemy the-soldiers nor if they-had-foreseen enough of-strength for
arcendum erat: capta igitur ac direpta castra. dein vagos
repelling was captured therefore and plundered the-camp then the-straggling
et pacis modo effusos lixas negotiatoresque Romanos
and in-peace's manner spread-out camp-followers and-traders Roman
invadunt. simul excidiis castellorum imminebant,
they-attack at-the-same-time over-the-destruction of-the-forts they-hung
quae a praefectis cohortium incensa sunt, quia defendi
which by the-prefects of-the-cohorts burned were because to-be-defended

nequibant. signa vexillaque et quod militum in superiorem
they-could-not the-standards and-banners and what of-soldiers into the-upper
insulae partem congregantur, duce Aquilio primipilari,
of-the-island part are-gathered with-leader Aquilius a-chief-centurion
nomen magis exercitus quam robur: quippe viribus
the-name rather of-an-army than the-strength for with-the-strength
cohortium abductis Vitellius e proximis Nerviorum
of-the-cohorts led-away Vitellius from the-nearest of-the-Nervii
Germanorumque pagis segnem numerum armis oneraverat.
and-of-the-Germans cantons a-sluggish number with-arms had-loaded
Civilis dolo grassandum ratus incusavit ultro praefectos 16
Civilis by-guile must-proceed thinking blamed even the-prefects
quod castella deseruissent: se cum cohorte, cui praeerat,
because the-forts they-had-deserted himself with the-cohort which he-commanded
Canninefatem tumultum compressurum, illi sua quisque
the-Canninefate rising going-to-suppress they their-own each
hiberna repeterent. subesse fraudem consilio et dispersas
winter-quarters should-seek-again to-lurk-beneath treachery in-the-plan and the-scattered
cohortis facilius opprimi, nec Brinnonem ducem eius belli,
cohorts more-easily to-be-crushed nor Brinno the-leader of-that war
sed Civilem esse patuit, erumpentibus paulatim indiciis, quae
but Civilis to-be became-plain with-breaking-out gradually the-signs which
Germani, laeta bello gens, non diu occultaverant. ubi insidiae
the-Germans a-glad in-war people not long had-concealed when the-ambush
parum cessere, ad vim transgressus Canninefatis, Frisios,
too-little succeeded to force having-gone-over the-Canninefates Frisians
Batavos propriis cuneis componit: derecta ex diverso
Batavians in-their-own wedges he-arranges drawn-up from the-opposite-side
acies haud procul a flumine Rheno et obversis in hostem
the-line not far from the-river Rhine and with-turned toward the-enemy
navibus, quas incensis castellis illuc adpulerant. nec diu certato
ships which with-burned forts thither they-had-brought nor long with-fought

Tungrorum cohors signa ad Civilem transtulit, perculsique
of-the-Tungrians a-cohort its-standards to Civilis transferred and-struck
milites improvisa proditione a sociis hostibusque caedebantur.
the-soldiers by-unforeseen treachery by allies and-enemies were-cut-down
eadem etiam in navibus perfidia: pars remigum e Batavis
the-same also in the-ships treachery part of-the-rowers from the-Batavians
tamquam imperitia officia nautarum propugnatorumque
as-if from-inexperience the-duties of-the-sailors and-of-the-fighters
impediebant; mox contra tendere et puppis hostili ripae
hindered soon against they-strained and the-sterns to-the-hostile bank
obicere: ad postremum gubernatores centurionesque, nisi
they-turned at last the-helmsmen and-centurions unless
eadem volentis, trucidant, donec universa quattuor et
the-same-things willing they-slaughter until the-whole four and
viginti navium classis transfugeret aut caperetur.
twenty of-ships fleet deserted or was-captured

17 Clara ea victoria in praesens, in posterum usui; armaque et
famous that victory for the-present for the-future of-use and-arms and
navis, quibus indigebant, adepti magna per Germanias
ships which they-lacked having-obtained in-great through the-Germanies
Galliasque fama libertatis auctores celebrabantur. Germaniae
and-the-Gauls fame of-liberty as-the-authors they-were-celebrated the-Germanies
statim misere legatos auxilia offerentis: Galliarum societatem
at-once sent envoys help offering of-the-Gauls the-alliance
Civilis arte donisque adfectabat, captos cohortium praefectos
Civilis by-art and-gifts courted the-captured of-the-cohorts prefects
suas in civitates remittendo, cohortibus, abire an manere
their-own into states sending-back to-the-cohorts to-go-away or to-remain
mallent, data potestate. manentibus honorata militia,
whether-they-preferred with-given the-power to-those-remaining honored service
digredientibus spolia Romanorum offerebantur: simul
to-those-departing the-spoils of-the-Romans were-offered at-the-same-time

secretis sermonibus admonebat malorum, quae tot
in-secret talks he-reminded of-the-evils which for-so-many
annis perpessi miseram servitutem falso pacem vocarent.
years having-endured a-wretched servitude falsely peace they-called
Batavos, quamquam tributorum expertis, arma contra
the-Batavians although of-tributes free arms against
communis dominos cepisse; prima acie fusum victumque
the-common masters to-have-taken in-the-first battle routed and-beaten
Romanum. quid si Galliae iugum exuant? quantum in Italia
the-Roman what if the-Gauls the-yoke should-put-off how-much in Italy
reliquum? provinciarum sanguine provincias vinci. ne
left of-provinces by-the-blood provinces to-be-conquered that-not
Vindicis aciem cogitarent: Batavo equite protritos Aeduos
of-Vindex the-battle they-should-think by-Batavian cavalry trampled the-Aedui
Arvernosque; fuisse inter Verginii auxilia Belgas, vereque
and-Arverni to-have-been among of-Verginius the-auxiliaries the-Belgae and-truly
reputantibus Galliam suismet viribus concidisse. nunc easdem
to-those-reckoning Gaul by-its-own strength to-have-fallen now the-same
omnium partis, addito si quid militaris disciplinae in
of-all the-parties with-added if anything of-military discipline in
castris Romanorum viguerit; esse secum veteranas cohortis,
the-camps of-the-Romans has-flourished to-be with-himself veteran cohorts
quibus nuper Othonis legiones procubuerint. servirent Syria
to-which lately of-Otho the-legions have-succumbed let-them-be-slaves Syria
Asiaque et suetus regibus Oriens: multos adhuc in Gallia
and-Asia and accustomed to-kings the-East many still in Gaul
vivere ante tributa genitos. nuper certe caeso Quintilio
to-be-living before tributes born lately surely with-slain Quintilius
Varo pulsam e Germania servitutem, nec Vitellium principem
Varus driven from Germany servitude nor Vitellius as-emperor
sed Caesarem Augustum bello provocatum. libertatem natura
but Caesar Augustus in-war challenged liberty by-nature

etiam mutis animalibus datam, virtutem proprium hominum
even to-dumb animals given valor the-peculiar of-men
bonum; deos fortioribus adesse: proinde arriperent vacui
good the-gods to-the-braver to-be-present therefore let-them-seize the-free
occupatos, integri fessos. dum alii Vespasianum, alii Vitellium
the-busy the-fresh the-weary while some Vespasian others Vitellius
foveant, patere locum adversus utrumque. sic in Gallias
favor to-lie-open room against each so toward the-Gauls
Germaniasque intentus, si destinata provenissent, validissimarum
and-Germanies intent if the-designs had-succeeded of-the-strongest
ditissimarumque nationum regno imminebat.
and-richest nations over-the-kingdom he-hung

LIII · VETERA BESIEGED

Hordeonius Flaccus sends Munius Lupercus against Civilis, but a Batavian squadron deserts in the battle and the legions flee to Vetera. Batavian cohorts summoned to Italy turn back to join Civilis, and at Bonna they cut down the legion that tries to stop them. Civilis swears his men to Vespasian, but the legions at Vetera refuse to join a traitor. The Germans attack the camp with ladders and towers, are driven off, and settle into a blockade.

18 At Flaccus Hordeonius primos Civilis conatus per
but Flaccus Hordeonius the-first of-Civilis attempts through
dissimulationem aluit: ubi expugnata castra, deletas cohortis,
dissimulation fostered when stormed the-camp destroyed the-cohorts
pulsum Batavorum insula Romanum nomen trepidi
driven of-the-Batavians from-the-island the-Roman name alarmed
nuntii adferebant, Munium Lupercum legatum (is duarum
messengers reported Munius Lupercus the-legate he of-two
legionum hibernis praeerat) egredi adversus hostem iubet.
legions the-winter-quarters commanded to-go-out against the-enemy he-orders

Lupercus legionarios e praesentibus, Ubios e proximis,
Lupercus the-legionaries from those-present the-Ubii from the-nearest
Trevirorum equites haud longe agentis raptim transmisit,
of-the-Treviri the-horsemen not far stationed hurriedly sent-across
addita Batavorum ala, quae iam pridem corrupta fidem
with-added of-Batavians a-squadron which already long-since corrupted loyalty
simulabat, ut proditis in ipsa acie Romanis maiore
feigned that with-betrayed in the-very battle-line the-Romans for-a-greater
pretio fugeret. Civilis captarum cohortium signis
price it-might-flee Civilis of-the-captured cohorts with-the-standards
circumdatus, ut suo militi recens gloria ante oculos
surrounded that to-his-own soldiery fresh glory before the-eyes
et hostes memoria cladis terrerentur, matrem suam
and the-enemy by-the-memory of-the-disaster might-be-terrified mother his-own
sororesque, simul omnium coniuges parvosque liberos
and-sisters at-the-same-time of-all the-wives and-small children
consistere a tergo iubet, hortamenta victoriae vel pulsis
to-take-their-stand at the-rear orders incitements to-victory or for-the-routed
pudorem. ut virorum cantu, feminarum ululatu sonuit
a-shame when of-men with-the-chant of-women with-the-wailing resounded
acies, nequaquam par a legionibus cohortibusque redditur
the-line by-no-means equal from the-legions and-cohorts is-returned
clamor. nudaverat sinistrum cornu Batavorum ala
the-shout had-bared the-left wing of-the-Batavians the-squadron
transfugiens statimque in nos versa. sed legionarius miles,
deserting and-at-once against us turned but the-legionary soldiery
quamquam rebus trepidis, arma ordinesque retinebat. Ubiorum
although in-affairs alarming arms and-ranks kept of-the-Ubii
Trevirorumque auxilia foeda fuga dispersa totis campis
and-Treviri the-auxiliaries in-foul flight dispersed over-the-whole plains
palantur: illuc incubuere Germani, et fuit interim effugium
straggle thither pressed the-Germans and there-was meanwhile an-escape

legionibus in castra, quibus Veterum nomen est. praefectus
for-the-legions into the-camp to-which Vetera the-name is the-prefect
alae Batavorum Claudius Labeo, oppidano certamine
of-the-squadron of-Batavians Claudius Labeo from-a-townsman's contest
aemulus Civili, ne interfectus invidiam apud popularis vel, si
rival to-Civilis lest killed odium among his-countrymen or if
retineretur, semina discordiae praeberet, in Frisios avehitur.
he-were-kept seeds of-discord he-should-supply to the-Frisians is-carried-off
19 Isdem diebus Batavorum et Canninefatium cohortis, cum
in-the-same days of-the-Batavians and of-the-Canninefates the-cohorts when
iussu Vitellii in urbem pergerent, missus a Civile
by-the-order of-Vitellius to the-city they-were-proceeding sent by Civilis
nuntius adsequitur. intumuere statim superbia ferociaque et
a-messenger overtakes swelled at-once with-arrogance and-ferocity and
pretium itineris donativum, duplex stipendium, augeri
as-the-price of-the-march a-donative double pay to-be-increased
equitum numerum, promissa sane a Vitellio, postulabant, non
of-horsemen the-number promised certainly by Vitellius they-demanded not
ut adsequerentur, sed causam seditioni. et Flaccus multa
that they-might-obtain but a-cause for-mutiny and Flaccus many-things
concedendo nihil aliud effecerat quam ut acrius exposcerent
by-granting nothing else had-effected than that more-keenly they-should-demand
quae sciebant negaturum. spreto Flacco inferiorem Germaniam
what they-knew he-would-refuse with-spurned Flaccus Lower Germany
petivere ut Civili iungerentur. Hordeonius adhibitis
they-sought that with-Civilis they-might-join Hordeonius with-summoned
tribunis centurionibusque consultavit num obsequium abnuentis
tribunes and-centurions deliberated whether obedience the-refusing
vi coerceret; mox insita ignavia et trepidis ministris,
by-force he-should-compel soon by-implanted cowardice and with-alarmed subordinates
quos ambiguus auxiliorum animus et subito dilectu suppletae
whom the-wavering of-the-auxiliaries mind and by-sudden levy filled-up

legiones angebant, statuit continere intra castra militem: dein
the-legions distressed he-decided to-keep within the-camp the-soldiery then
paenitentia et arguentibus ipsis qui suaserant, tamquam
from-repentance and with-blaming themselves who had-advised-it as-if
secuturus scripsit Herennio Gallo legionis primae legato, qui
going-to-follow he-wrote to-Herennius Gallus of-the-legion first the-legate who
Bonnam obtinebat, ut arceret transitu Batavos: se
Bonna held that he-should-keep-off from-passage the-Batavians himself
cum exercitu tergis eorum haesurum. et opprimi poterant
with the-army to-the-backs of-them going-to-cling and to-be-crushed they-could
si hinc Hordeonius, inde Gallus, motis utrimque
if from-here Hordeonius from-there Gallus with-moved from-both-sides
copiis, medios clausissent. Flaccus omisit inceptum
forces in-the-middle had-shut-them Flaccus dropped the-undertaking
aliisque litteris Gallum monuit ne terreret abeuntis:
and-by-other letters Gallus advised that-not he-should-frighten the-departing
unde suspicio sponte legatorum excitari bellum cunctaque
whence suspicion by-the-wish of-the-legates to-be-roused the-war and-all-things
quae acciderant aut metuebantur non inertia militis
which had-happened or were-feared not from-the-inertia of-the-soldiery
neque hostium vi, sed fraude ducum evenire.
nor of-the-enemy by-force but by-the-treachery of-the-generals to-come-about
Batavi cum castris Bonnensibus propinquarent, praemisere 20
the-Batavians when to-the-camp at-Bonna they-drew-near sent-ahead
qui Herennio Gallo mandata cohortium exponeret. nullum
one-who to-Herennius Gallus the-instructions of-the-cohorts should-set-out no
sibi bellum adversus Romanos, pro quibus totiens
for-themselves war against the-Romans for whom so-often
bellassent: longa atque inrita militia fessis patriae atque
they-had-fought by-long and fruitless service for-the-weary of-fatherland and
otii cupidinem esse. si nemo obsisteret, innoxium iter
of-leisure a-desire to-be if no-one should-oppose harmless the-march

fore: sin arma occurrant, ferro viam inventuros.
going-to-be but-if arms should-meet-them with-the-sword a-way going-to-find
cunctantem legatum milites perpulerant fortunam proelii
the-hesitating legate the-soldiers had-driven the-fortune of-battle
experiretur. tria milia legionariorum et tumultuariae Belgarum
he-should-try three thousands of-legionaries and hastily-raised of-Belgae
cohortes, simul paganorum lixarumque ignava sed
cohorts at-the-same-time of-civilians and-camp-followers a-cowardly but
procax ante periculum manus omnibus portis prorumpunt ut
impudent before danger band by-all gates burst-out that
Batavos numero imparis circumfundant. illi veteres militiae
the-Batavians in-number unequal they-might-surround they old in-soldiering
in cuneos congregantur, densi undique et frontem tergaque
into wedges gather dense on-all-sides and in-front and-rear
ac latus tuti; sic tenuem nostrorum aciem perfringunt.
and flank safe so the-thin of-our-men line they-break-through
cedentibus Belgis pellitur legio, et vallum portasque
with-yielding Belgae is-driven-back the-legion and the-rampart and-gates
trepidi petebant. ibi plurimum cladis: cumulatae corporibus
in-panic sought there the-most of-the-disaster heaped with-bodies
fossae, nec caede tantum et vulneribus, sed ruina
the-ditches nor by-slaughter only and wounds but by-the-crush
et suis plerique telis interiere. victores colonia
and by-their-own most weapons perished the-victors with-the-colony
Agrippinensium vitata, nihil cetero in itinere hostile
of-the-Agrippinenses avoided nothing the-remaining on march hostile
ausi, Bonnense proelium excusabant, tamquam petita
having-dared the-Bonna battle excused as-if with-sought
pace, postquam negabatur, sibimet ipsi consuluissent.
peace after it-was-refused for-themselves themselves they-had-provided

Civilis adventu veteranarum cohortium iusti iam exercitus 21
Civilis by-the-arrival of-the-veteran cohorts of-a-regular now army
ductor, sed consilii ambiguus et vim Romanam reputans,
the-leader but of-plan doubtful and the-might Roman reckoning
cunctos qui aderant in verba Vespasiani adigit mittitque
all who were-present into the-words of-Vespasian binds and-sends
legatos ad duas legiones, quae priore acie pulsae in
envoys to the-two legions which in-the-former battle routed into
Vetera castra concesserant, ut idem sacramentum acciperent.
Vetera the-camp had-withdrawn that the-same oath they-should-take
redditur responsum: neque proditoris neque hostium se
is-returned the-answer neither of-a-traitor nor of-enemies themselves
consiliis uti; esse sibi Vitellium principem, pro quo
the-counsels to-use to-be to-themselves Vitellius as-emperor for whom
fidem et arma usque ad supremum spiritum retenturos:
loyalty and arms right to the-last breath going-to-keep
proinde perfuga Batavus arbitrium rerum Romanarum ne
therefore a-deserter Batavian the-arbitration of-affairs Roman should-not
ageret, sed meritas sceleris poenas expectaret. quae ubi
play but the-deserved of-his-crime penalties should-await which-things when
relata Civili, incensus ira universam Batavorum gentem
reported to-Civilis inflamed with-anger the-whole of-the-Batavians race
in arma rapit; iunguntur Bructeri Tencterique et excita
to arms he-hurries are-joined the-Bructeri and-Tencteri and roused
nuntiis Germania ad praedam famamque.
by-messages Germany to plunder and-fame
Adversus has concurrentis belli minas legati legionum Munius 22
against these of-the-converging war threats the-legates of-the-legions Munius
Lupercus et Numisius Rufus vallum murosque firmabant.
Lupercus and Numisius Rufus the-rampart and-walls strengthened
subversa longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in
were-overthrown of-long peace the-works not far from-the-camp in

modum municipii extructa, ne hostibus usui forent. sed
the-manner of-a-township built lest to-the-enemy of-use they-should-be but
parum provisum ut copiae in castra conveherentur; rapi
too-little provided that supplies into the-camp should-be-brought-in to-be-plundered
permisere: ita paucis diebus per licentiam absumpta sunt
they-allowed so in-a-few days through license used-up were
quae adversus necessitates in longum suffecissent. Civilis
what-things against needs for long would-have-sufficed Civilis
medium agmen cum robore Batavorum obtinens utramque
the-middle column with the-strength of-the-Batavians holding each
Rheni ripam, quo truculentior visu foret, Germanorum
of-the-Rhine bank that more-savage to-see it-might-be of-Germans
catervis complet, adsultante per campos equite; simul
with-bands fills with-charging over the-plains cavalry at-the-same-time
naves in adversum amnem agebantur. hinc veteranarum
ships into the-opposing stream were-driven here of-the-veteran
cohortium signa, inde depromptae silvis lucisque ferarum
cohorts the-standards there brought-out from-forests and-groves of-beasts
imagines, ut cuique genti inire proelium mos est, mixta
images as for-each people to-enter battle the-custom is by-the-mixed
belli civilis externique facie obstupefecerant obsessos. et
of-war civil and-foreign appearance had-stunned the-besieged and
spem obpugnantium augebat amplitudo valli, quod
the-hope of-the-attackers increased the-size of-the-rampart which
duabus legionibus situm vix quinque milia armatorum
for-two legions laid-out scarcely five thousands of-armed
Romanorum tuebantur; sed lixarum multitudo turbata
Romans defended but of-camp-followers a-multitude with-disturbed
pace illuc congregata et bello ministra aderat.
peace thither gathered and for-war serviceable was-present

Pars castrorum in collem leniter exurgens, pars aequo 23
part of-the-camp onto a-hill gently rising part on-the-level
adibatur. quippe illis hibernis obsideri premique
was-approached for by-those winter-quarters to-be-besieged and-pressed
Germanias Augustus crediderat, neque umquam id malorum
the-Germanies Augustus had-believed nor ever that of-evils
ut obpugnatum ultro legiones nostras venirent; inde non
that to-assault even legions our they-should-come thence not
loco neque munimentis labor additus: vis et arma satis
to-the-place nor to-the-fortifications labor added force and arms enough
placebant. Batavi Transrhenanique, quo discreta virtus
seemed the-Batavians and-the-trans-Rhenanes so-that the-separate valor
manifestius spectaretur, sibi quaeque gens consistunt,
more-plainly might-be-seen by-themselves each people take-their-stand
eminus lacessentes. post ubi pleraque telorum turribus
from-afar provoking afterward when most of-the-missiles on-the-towers
pinnisque moenium inrita haerebant et desuper saxis
and-battlements of-the-walls useless stuck and from-above with-stones
vulnerabantur, clamore atque impetu invasere vallum,
they-were-wounded with-shouting and onrush they-attacked the-rampart
adpositis plerique scalis, alii per testudinem suorum;
with-placed-against most ladders others over the-tortoise of-their-own
scandebantque iam quidam, cum gladiis et armorum incussu
and-climbed now some when by-swords and of-arms by-the-clash
praecipitati sudibus et pilis obruuntur, praeferoces initio
hurled-down with-stakes and javelins are-overwhelmed very-fierce at-the-beginning
et rebus secundis nimii. sed tum praedae cupidine adversa
and in-affairs prosperous excessive but then of-plunder from-desire adversities
quoque tolerabant; machinas etiam, insolitum sibi, ausi.
also they-endured machines even unaccustomed to-themselves they-dared
nec ulla ipsis sollertia: perfugae captivique docebant struere
nor any in-themselves skill deserters and-captives taught to-build

materias in modum pontis, mox subiectis rotis propellere,
timbers in the-manner of-a-bridge then with-placed-under wheels to-push-forward
ut alii superstantes tamquam ex aggere proeliarentur, pars
that some standing-on-top as-if from a-mound might-fight part
intus occulti muros subruerent. sed excussa ballistis saxa
inside hidden the-walls might-undermine but hurled by-ballistas stones
stravere informe opus. et cratis vineasque parantibus adactae
laid-low the-shapeless work and hurdles and-sheds for-those-preparing driven
tormentis ardentes hastae, ultroque ipsi obpugnatores
by-engines burning spears and-in-turn themselves the-attackers
ignibus petebantur, donec desperata vi verterent consilium
with-fires were-assailed until with-despaired-of force they-turned their-plan
ad moras, haud ignari paucorum dierum inesse alimenta
to delays not unaware of-a-few days to-be-within the-food
et multum imbellis turbae; simul ex inopia proditio
and much of-unwarlike crowd at-the-same-time from want treachery
et fluxa servitiorum fides ac fortuita belli sperabantur.
and the-unstable of-slaves loyalty and the-accidents of-war were-hoped

LIV · MUTINY ON THE RHINE

Flaccus sends Dillius Vocula toward Vetera, but the soldiers believe their old general a traitor; on the march Vocula sends a shouting mutineer to execution and is given the command. Want and drought weigh on the army; at Gelduba a lost grain ship sets the soldiers on the legate Herennius Gallus, whom Vocula frees. All Germany joins Civilis; a night assault on Vetera fails, and he settles back to the blockade.

24 Flaccus interim cognito castrorum obsidio et missis per
Flaccus meanwhile with-learned of-the-camp the-siege and with-sent through
Gallias qui auxilia concirent, lectos e legionibus Dillio
the-Gauls men-who auxiliaries should-rouse the-picked from the-legions to-Dillius

Voculae duoetvicensimae legionis legato tradit, ut quam
Vocula of-the-twenty-second legion the-legate hands-over that as
maximis per ripam itineribus celeraret, ipse navibus
greatest along the-bank marches he-should-hasten himself in-ships
invadit invalidus corpore, invisus militibus. neque enim
advances weak in-body hated by-the-soldiers nor for
ambigue fremebant: emissas a Mogontiaco Batavorum
ambiguously they-growled sent-out from Mogontiacum of-the-Batavians
cohortis, dissimulatos Civilis conatus, adsciri in societatem
the-cohorts concealed of-Civilis the-attempts to-be-taken into alliance
Germanos. non Primi Antonii neque Muciani ope
the-Germans not of-Primus Antonius nor of-Mucianus by-the-help
Vespasianum magis adolevisse. aperta odia armaque palam
Vespasian more to-have-grown open hatreds and-arms openly
depelli: fraudem et dolum obscura eoque inevitabilia.
to-be-repelled treachery and guile hidden and-therefore inescapable
Civilem stare contra, struere aciem: Hordeonium e
Civilis to-stand against to-draw-up a-line Hordeonius from
cubiculo et lectulo iubere quidquid hosti conducat. tot
his-bedroom and couch to-order whatever to-the-enemy profits so-many
armatas fortissimorum virorum manus unius senis valetudine
armed of-the-bravest men bands by-one old-man's ill-health
regi: quin potius interfecto traditore fortunam virtutemque
to-be-ruled why-not rather with-killed the-traitor fortune and-valor
suam malo omine exolverent. his inter se vocibus
their-own from-the-evil omen they-should-free by-these among themselves words
instinctos flammavere insuper adlatae a Vespasiano litterae,
incited inflamed besides brought from Vespasian a-letter
quas Flaccus, quia occultari nequibant, pro contione recitavit,
which Flaccus because to-be-hidden it-could-not before the-assembly read
vinctosque qui attulerant ad Vitellium misit.
and-bound those-who had-brought-it to Vitellius sent

25 Sic mitigatis animis Bonnam, hiberna primae legionis,
so with-softened minds to-Bonna the-winter-quarters of-the-first legion
ventum. infensior illic miles culpam cladis in
it-was-come more-hostile there the-soldiery the-blame for-the-disaster upon
Hordeonium vertebat: eius iussu derectam adversus Batavos
Hordeonius turned by-his order drawn-up against the-Batavians
aciem, tamquam a Mogontiaco legiones sequerentur; eiusdem
the-line as-if from Mogontiacum the-legions were-following by-his-same
proditione caesos, nullis supervenientibus auxiliis: ignota
treachery slaughtered with-no arriving auxiliaries unknown
haec ceteris exercitibus neque imperatori suo nuntiari,
these-things to-the-other armies nor to-emperor their-own to-be-reported
cum adcursu tot provinciarum extingui repens
when by-the-onrush of-so-many provinces to-be-extinguished the-sudden
perfidia potuerit. Hordeonius exemplaris omnium litterarum,
treachery could-have Hordeonius copies of-all the-letters
quibus per Gallias Britanniamque et Hispanias auxilia
in-which through the-Gauls and-Britain and the-Spains auxiliaries
orabat, exercitui recitavit instituitque pessimum facinus, ut
he-begged to-the-army read and-established a-most-evil deed that
epistulae aquiliferis legionum traderentur, a quis ante
the-letters to-the-eagle-bearers of-the-legions should-be-handed-over by whom sooner
militi quam ducibus legebantur. tum e seditiosis unum
to-the-soldiery than to-the-generals they-were-read then of the-mutineers one
vinciri iubet, magis usurpandi iuris, quam quia unius culpa
to-be-bound he-orders more of-asserting authority than because of-one the-fault
foret. motusque Bonna exercitus in coloniam Agrippinensem,
were and-moved from-Bonna the-army to the-colony Agrippinensis
adfluentibus auxiliis Gallorum, qui primo rem Romanam
with-flowing-in auxiliaries of-Gauls who at-first the-cause Roman
enixe iuvabant: mox valescentibus Germanis pleraeque
strenuously helped soon with-growing-strong Germans most

civitates adversum nos arma sumpsere spe libertatis et, si
states against us arms took from-hope of-liberty and if
exuissent servitium, cupidine imperitandi. gliscebat iracundia
they-had-put-off servitude from-desire of-ruling grew the-wrath
legionum, nec terrorem unius militis vincula indiderant:
of-the-legions nor terror of-one soldier the-chains had-instilled
quin idem ille arguebat ultro conscientiam ducis,
indeed the-same that-man charged even the-guilty-knowledge of-the-general
tamquam nuntius inter Civilem Flaccumque falso crimine
as-if as-messenger between Civilis and-Flaccus by-a-false charge
testis veri opprimeretur. conscendit tribunal Vocula
the-witness of-the-truth he-were-being-crushed mounted the-tribunal Vocula
mira constantia, prensumque militem ac vociferantem
with-wonderful constancy and-the-seized soldier and shouting
duci ad supplicium iussit: et dum mali pavent, optimus
to-be-led to execution ordered and while the-wicked fear the-best
quisque iussis paruere. exim consensu ducem Voculam
each the-orders obeyed thereupon with-one-accord as-general Vocula
poscentibus, Flaccus summam rerum ei permisit.
demanding Flaccus the-sum of-affairs to-him entrusted
Sed discordis animos multa efferabant: inopia stipendii 26
but the-discordant minds many-things made-savage the-want of-pay
frumentique et simul dilectum tributaque Galliae
and-grain and at-the-same-time the-levy and-tributes the-Gauls
aspernantes, Rhenus incognita illi caelo siccitate vix
spurning the-Rhine by-an-unknown to-that climate drought scarcely
navium patiens, arti commeatus, dispositae per omnem ripam
of-ships tolerant straitened supplies posted along the-whole bank
stationes quae Germanos vado arcerent, eademque de causa
outposts which the-Germans from-the-ford should-keep-off and-the-same for reason
minus frugum et plures qui consumerent. apud imperitos
less of-crops and more who should-consume-them among the-inexperienced

prodigii loco accipiebatur ipsa aquarum penuria, tamquam
of-a-portent in-the-place was-taken the-very of-waters lack as-if
nos amnes quoque et vetera imperii munimenta desererent:
us the-rivers also and the-old of-the-empire defenses were-deserting
quod in pace fors seu natura, tunc fatum et ira dei
what in peace chance or nature then fate and the-wrath of-the-god
vocabatur. Ingressis Novaesium sexta decima legio
was-called to-(them)-having-entered Novaesium the-sixth tenth legion
coniungitur. additus Voculae in partem curarum Herennius
is-joined was-added to-Vocula into a-share of-the-cares Herennius
Gallus legatus; nec ausi ad hostem pergere ∗∗∗ (loco
Gallus the-legate nor having-dared to the-enemy to-go (lacuna) in-the-place
Gelduba nomen est) castra fecere. ibi struenda acie,
Gelduba the-name is a-camp they-made there by-drawing-up the-line
muniendo vallandoque et ceteris belli meditamentis militem
by-fortifying and-palisading and the-other of-war exercises the-soldiery
firmabant. utque praeda ad virtutem accenderetur, in
they-strengthened and-that by-plunder to valor it-might-be-kindled into
proximos Cugernorum pagos, qui societatem Civilis acceperant,
the-nearest of-the-Cugerni cantons which the-alliance of-Civilis had-accepted
ductus a Vocula exercitus; pars cum Herennio Gallo permansit.
led by Vocula the-army part with Herennius Gallus remained

27 Forte navem haud procul castris, frumento gravem, cum
by-chance a-ship not far from-the-camp with-grain heavy when
per vada haesisset, Germani in suam ripam trahebant.
on the-shallows it-had-stuck the-Germans to their-own bank were-dragging
non tulit Gallus misitque subsidio cohortem: auctus
not did-bear-it Gallus and-sent for-support a-cohort was-increased
et Germanorum numerus, paulatimque adgregantibus se
also of-the-Germans the-number and-gradually with-gathering themselves
auxiliis acie certatum. Germani multa cum strage nostrorum
auxiliaries in-line it-was-fought the-Germans much with slaughter of-our-men

navem abripiunt. victi, quod tum in morem verterat, non
the-ship carry-off the-beaten what then into custom had-turned not
suam ignaviam, sed perfidiam legati culpabant. protractum
their-own cowardice but the-treachery of-the-legate blamed dragged-out
e tentorio, scissa veste, verberato corpore, quo pretio,
from his-tent with-torn clothes with-beaten body at-what price
quibus consciis prodidisset exercitum, dicere iubent. redit in
with-what accomplices he-had-betrayed the-army to-tell they-order returns upon
Hordeonium invidia: illum auctorem sceleris, hunc ministrum
Hordeonius the-odium that-one the-author of-the-crime this-one the-agent
vocant, donec exitium minitantibus exterritus proditionem
they-call until death by-(those)-threatening terrified treachery
et ipse Hordeonio obiecit; vinctusque adventu demum
also himself against-Hordeonius he-charged and-bound at-the-arrival at-last
Voculae exolvitur. is postera die auctores seditionis morte
of-Vocula is-released he on-the-next day the-authors of-the-mutiny with-death
adfecit: tanta illi exercitui diversitas inerat licentiae
visited such-great in-that army a-contrariety was of-license
patientiaeque. haud dubie gregarius miles Vitellio fidus,
and-of-submission not doubtfully the-common soldiery to-Vitellius loyal
splendidissimus quisque in Vespasianum proni: inde
the-most-distinguished each toward Vespasian inclined thence
scelerum ac suppliciorum vices et mixtus obsequio
of-crimes and of-punishments alternations and mixed with-obedience
furor, ut contineri non possent qui puniri poterant.
frenzy so-that to-be-restrained not they-could who to-be-punished could
At Civilem immensis auctibus universa Germania extollebat, 28
but Civilis with-immense increases all Germany exalted
societate nobilissimis obsidum firmata. ille, ut cuique
with-alliance by-the-noblest hostages confirmed he as to-each
proximum, vastari Ubios Trevirosque, et aliam manum
nearest to-be-laid-waste the-Ubii and-Treviri and another band

Mosam amnem transire iubet, ut Menapios et Morinos
the-Meuse river to-cross orders that the-Menapii and the-Morini
et extrema Galliarum quateret. actae utrobique praedae,
and the-farthest of-the-Gauls it-might-shake were-driven on-both-sides plunders
infestius in Ubiis, quod gens Germanicae originis
more-hostilely among the-Ubii because a-people of-German origin
eiurata patria Agrippinenses vocarentur. caesae
with-renounced fatherland Agrippinenses they-were-called were-slaughtered
cohortes eorum in vico Marcoduro incuriosius agentes,
the-cohorts their in the-village Marcodurum too-carelessly staying
quia procul ripa aberant. nec quievere Ubii quo
because far from-the-bank they-were-distant nor rested the-Ubii by-which
minus praedas e Germania peterent, primo impune, dein
less plunders from Germany they-should-seek at-first with-impunity then
circumventi sunt, per omne id bellum meliore usi fide
surrounded they-were through all that war better having-used loyalty
quam fortuna. contusis Ubiis gravior et successu rerum
than fortune with-crushed Ubii more-formidable and by-the-success of-affairs
ferocior Civilis obsidium legionum urgebat, intentis custodiis
fiercer Civilis the-siege of-the-legions pressed with-alert guards
ne quis occultus nuntius venientis auxilii penetraret. machinas
lest any secret messenger of-coming help should-get-through the-machines
molemque operum Batavis delegat: Transrhenanos proelium
and-mass of-works to-the-Batavians he-assigns the-trans-Rhenanes battle
poscentis ad scindendum vallum ire detrusosque redintegrare
demanding to tearing-down the-rampart to-go and-driven-back to-renew
certamen iubet, superante multitudine et facili damno.
the-contest he-orders with-overflowing multitude and easy loss
29 Nec finem labori nox attulit: congestis circum lignis
nor an-end to-the-toil night brought with-heaped around wood
accensisque, simul epulantes, ut quisque vino
and-kindled at-the-same-time feasting as each with-wine

incaluerat, ad pugnam temeritate inani ferebantur. quippe
had-grown-warm to battle with-rashness empty they-were-carried for
ipsorum tela per tenebras vana: Romani conspicuam
their-own missiles through the-darkness vain the-Romans the-conspicuous
barbarorum aciem, et si quis audacia aut insignibus
of-the-barbarians line and if anyone by-daring or by-insignia
effulgens, ad ictum destinabant. intellectum id Civili et
shining for a-stroke they-marked-out understood that-was by-Civilis and
restincto igne misceri cuncta tenebris et armis iubet.
with-quenched fire to-be-confounded all-things with-darkness and arms he-orders
tum vero strepitus dissoni, casus incerti, neque feriendi neque
then indeed din discordant chances uncertain neither of-striking nor
declinandi providentia: unde clamor acciderat, circumagere
of-dodging foresight whence the-shout had-come they-turned
corpora, tendere artus; nihil prodesse virtus, fors cuncta
their-bodies they-stretched their-limbs nothing helped valor chance all-things
turbare et ignavorum saepe telis fortissimi cadere.
confounded and of-cowards often by-the-missiles the-bravest fell
apud Germanos inconsulta ira: Romanus miles periculorum
among the-Germans thoughtless anger the-Roman soldiery of-dangers
gnarus ferratas sudis, gravia saxa non forte iaciebat. ubi
aware iron-tipped stakes heavy stones not at-random hurled where
sonus molientium aut adpositae scalae hostem in manus
the-sound of-the-toilers or the-placed ladders the-enemy into their-hands
dederant, propellere umbone, pilo sequi; multos in
had-given they-pushed-off with-the-boss with-the-javelin followed many onto
moenia egressos pugionibus fodere. sic exhausta nocte
the-walls having-climbed with-daggers they-stabbed so with-exhausted night
novam aciem dies aperuit.
a-new line the-day opened

30 Eduxerant Batavi turrim duplici tabulato, quam praetoriae
had-brought-out the-Batavians a-tower with-double story which to-the-praetorian
portae (is aequissimus locus) propinquantem promoti
gate that the-most-level place drawing-near pushed-forward
contra validi asseres et incussae trabes perfregere multa
against-it strong poles and battered beams broke-through with-much
superstantium pernicie. pugnatumque in perculsos subita
of-those-standing-on-it destruction and-it-was-fought against the-shaken with-a-sudden
et prospera eruptione; simul a legionariis peritia et arte
and successful sally at-the-same-time by the-legionaries in-skill and art
praestantibus plura struebantur. praecipuum pavorem intulit
superior more-things were-built the-chief panic brought
suspensum et nutans machinamentum, quo repente demisso
a-suspended and swaying contrivance by-which suddenly lowered
praeter suorum ora singuli pluresve hostium sublime
before of-their-own-men the-faces single or-more of-the-enemy aloft
rapti verso pondere intra castra effundebantur. Civilis
snatched with-turned weight within the-camp were-poured-out Civilis
omissa expugnandi spe rursus per otium adsidebat,
with-dropped of-storming hope again in leisure sat-down-before-them
nuntiis et promissis fidem legionum convellens.
by-messages and promises the-loyalty of-the-legions uprooting

The news of Cremona brings the Rhine army to swear to Vespasian, sullenly. Civilis answers Montanus's embassy with his own wrongs and a call to the Treviri to rise. His veterans surprise Vocula's camp at Gelduba until Vascon cohorts take them in the rear; Vocula relieves Vetera but fails to pursue. Civilis attacks a grain convoy and besieges Vetera again, and the legions at Novaesium, given a donative in Vespasian's name, murder Hordeonius Flaccus; Vocula escapes in a slave's dress. Mogontiacum is relieved, and the Treviri fortify their border.

Haec in Germania ante Cremonense proelium gesta, cuius 31
these-things in Germany before the-Cremona battle done whose
eventum litterae Primi Antonii docuere, addito Caecinae
outcome the-letters of-Primus Antonius made-known with-added of-Caecina
edicto; et praefectus cohortis e victis, Alpinius Montanus,
the-edict and the-prefect of-a-cohort from the-beaten Alpinius Montanus
fortunam partium praesens fatebatur. diversi hinc motus
the-fortune of-the-party in-person confessed different hence the-movements
animorum: auxilia e Gallia, quis nec amor neque odium
of-minds the-auxiliaries from Gaul in-whom neither love nor hatred
in partis, militia sine adfectu, hortantibus praefectis statim
toward the-party service without feeling with-urging prefects at-once
a Vitellio desciscunt: vetus miles cunctabatur. sed adigente
from Vitellius revolt the-old soldiery hesitated but with-compelling
Hordeonio Flacco, instantibus tribunis, dixit sacramentum,
Hordeonius Flaccus with-pressing tribunes it-recited the-oath
non vultu neque animo satis adfirmans: et cum cetera
not by-face nor by-mind sufficiently affirming and when the-other
iuris iurandi verba conciperent, Vespasiani nomen haesitantes
of-the-oath sworn words they-pronounced of-Vespasian the-name hesitating
aut levi murmure et plerumque silentio transmittebant.
or with-a-light murmur and mostly in-silence they-passed-over

32 Lectae deinde pro contione epistulae Antonii ad Civilem
read then before the-assembly the-letters of-Antonius to Civilis
suspiciones militum inritavere, tamquam ad socium partium
the-suspicions of-the-soldiers provoked as-if to an-ally of-the-party
scriptae et de Germanico exercitu hostiliter. mox adlatis
written and about the-German army hostilely soon with-brought
Geldubam in castra nuntiis eadem dicta factaque, et missus
to-Gelduba into the-camp news the-same-things said and-done and was-sent
cum mandatis Montanus ad Civilem ut absisteret bello
with instructions Montanus to Civilis that he-should-desist from-war
neve externa armis falsis velaret: si Vespasianum iuvare
and-not foreign-aims with-arms false should-veil if Vespasian to-help
adgressus foret, satis factum coeptis. ad ea Civilis
set-about he-had enough done for-the-undertakings to these-things Civilis
primo callide: post ubi videt Montanum praeferocem ingenio
at-first craftily afterward when he-sees Montanus very-fierce in-nature
paratumque in res novas, orsus a questu periculisque quae
and-ready for things new having-begun from complaint and-the-dangers which
per quinque et viginti annos in castris Romanis exhausisset,
through five and twenty years in the-camps Roman he-had-drained
'egregium' inquit 'pretium laborum recepi, necem fratris
an-excellent he-said reward of-my-toils I-have-received the-death of-my-brother
et vincula mea et saevissimas huius exercitus voces, quibus
and the-chains my and the-most-savage of-this army cries by-which
ad supplicium petitus iure gentium poenas reposco. vos
to execution I-was-sought by-the-law of-nations the-penalties I-demand you
autem Treviri ceteraeque servientium animae, quod praemium
however Treviri and-the-other of-the-enslaved souls what reward
effusi totiens sanguinis expectatis nisi ingratam
for-the-poured-out so-often blood do-you-await except unthanked
militiam, immortalia tributa, virgas, securis et dominorum
service endless tributes rods axes and of-masters

ingenia? en ego praefectus unius cohortis et Canninefates
the-tempers behold I the-prefect of-one cohort and the-Canninefates
Batavique, exigua Galliarum portio, vana illa castrorum spatia
and-Batavians a-small of-the-Gauls portion empty those of-camps the-spaces
excidimus vel saepta ferro fameque premimus. denique
have-destroyed or hedged with-steel and-famine we-press finally
ausos aut libertas sequetur aut victi idem erimus.' sic
having-dared either liberty will-follow or beaten the-same we-shall-be so
accensum, sed molliora referre iussum dimittit: ille ut
inflamed but milder-things to-report ordered he-dismisses-him he as
inritus legationis redit, cetera dissimulans, quae mox erupere.
unsuccessful in-his-embassy returns the-rest concealing which soon burst-out
Civilis parte copiarum retenta veteranas cohortis et quod e 33
Civilis with-part of-his-forces kept-back the-veteran cohorts and what of
Germanis maxime promptum adversus Voculam exercitumque
the-Germans most ready against Vocula and-the-army
eius mittit, Iulio Maximo et Claudio Victore, sororis suae
his sends with-Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor of-sister his-own
filio, ducibus. rapiunt in transitu hiberna alae
the-son as-leaders they-seize in passing the-winter-quarters of-a-squadron
Asciburgii sita; adeoque improvisi castra involavere ut non
at-Asciburgium situated and-so unforeseen the-camp they-flew-into that not
adloqui, non pandere aciem Vocula potuerit: id solum ut in
to-address not to-deploy the-line Vocula could that only as in
tumultu monuit, subsignano milite media firmare: auxilia
the-uproar he-advised with-the-standard soldiery the-center to-strengthen the-auxiliaries
passim circumfusa sunt. eques prorupit, exceptusque
everywhere poured-around were the-cavalry burst-forth and-received
compositis hostium ordinibus terga in suos vertit.
by-the-ordered of-the-enemy ranks their-backs upon their-own turned
caedes inde, non proelium. et Nerviorum cohortes, metu
slaughter thence not battle and of-the-Nervii the-cohorts from-fear

seu perfidia, latera nostrorum nudavere: sic ad legiones
or treachery the-flanks of-our-men bared so to the-legions
perventum, quae amissis signis intra vallum sternebantur,
it-was-reached which with-lost standards within the-rampart were-being-laid-low
cum repente novo auxilio fortuna pugnae mutatur. Vasconum
when suddenly by-new help the-fortune of-the-fight is-changed of-the-Vascones
lectae a Galba cohortes ac tum accitae, dum castris
levied by Galba the-cohorts and then summoned while to-the-camp
propinquant, audito proeliantium clamore intentos hostis
they-draw-near with-heard of-the-fighters the-shout the-intent enemy
a tergo invadunt latioremque quam pro numero
from the-rear they-attack and-wider than in-proportion-to their-number
terrorem faciunt, aliis a Novaesio, aliis a Mogontiaco
terror cause with-some from Novaesium with-others from Mogontiacum
universas copias advenisse credentibus. is error Romanis
all the-forces to-have-arrived believing that error to-the-Romans
addit animos, et dum alienis viribus confidunt, suas
adds spirit and while in-others' strength they-trust their-own
recepere. fortissimus quisque e Batavis, quantum peditum
they-recovered the-bravest each of the-Batavians as-much-as of-infantry
erat, funduntur: eques evasit cum signis captivisque,
there-was are-routed the-cavalry escaped with the-standards and-captives
quos prima acie corripuerant. caesorum eo die in partibus
which in-the-first battle they-had-seized of-the-slain that day on the-side
nostris maior numerus et imbellior, e Germanis ipsa robora.
our a-greater number and less-warlike of the-Germans the-very flower
34 Dux uterque pari culpa meritus adversa prosperis
general each by-equal fault having-deserved adversity to-success
defuere. nam Civilis si maioribus copiis instruxisset aciem,
were-wanting for Civilis if with-greater forces he-had-drawn-up the-line
circumiri a tam paucis cohortibus nequisset castraque
to-be-surrounded by so few cohorts he-could-not-have and-the-camp

perrupta excidisset: Vocula nec adventum hostium
broken-into would-have-destroyed Vocula neither the-arrival of-the-enemy
exploravit, eoque simul egressus victusque; dein
reconnoitered and-therefore at-the-same-time having-gone-out and-beaten then
victoriae parum confisus, tritis frustra diebus castra in
in-victory too-little confident with-wasted in-vain days his-camp against
hostem movit, quem si statim impellere cursumque rerum
the-enemy he-moved whom if at-once to-drive and-the-course of-affairs
sequi maturasset, solvere obsidium legionum eodem impetu
to-follow he-had-hastened to-raise the-siege of-the-legions by-the-same onrush
potuit. temptaverat interim Civilis obsessorum animos,
he-could-have had-tried meanwhile Civilis of-the-besieged the-minds
tamquam perditae apud Romanos res et suis victoria
as-if lost among the-Romans affairs and for-his-own victory
provenisset: circumferebantur signa vexillaque, ostentati
had-come-out were-carried-around the-standards and-banners displayed
etiam captivi. ex quibus unus, egregium facinus ausus,
also the-captives of whom one an-excellent deed having-dared
clara voce gesta patefecit, confossus illico a Germanis:
with-clear voice the-events disclosed stabbed on-the-spot by the-Germans
unde maior indici fides; simul vastatione
whence greater for-the-informant credit at-the-same-time by-the-devastation
incendiisque flagrantium villarum venire victorem exercitum
and-burnings of-blazing farmhouses to-be-coming the-victorious army
intellegebatur. in conspectu castrorum constitui signa
was-understood in sight of-the-camp to-be-set the-standards
fossamque et vallum circumdari Vocula iubet: depositis
and-a-ditch and rampart to-be-thrown-around Vocula orders with-laid-down
impedimentis sarcinisque expediti certarent. hinc in
baggage and-packs unencumbered they-should-contend hence against
ducem clamor pugnam poscentium; et minari adsueverant.
the-general shouting battle of-men-demanding and to-threaten they-had-grown-used

ne tempore quidem ad ordinandam aciem capto incompositi
not with-time even for arraying the-line taken disordered
fessique proelium sumpsere; nam Civilis aderat, non minus
and-weary the-battle they-took-up for Civilis was-at-hand not less
vitiis hostium quam virtute suorum fretus. varia apud
on-the-vices of-the-enemy than on-the-valor of-his-own relying varied among
Romanos fortuna et seditiosissimus quisque ignavus: quidam
the-Romans fortune and the-most-mutinous each cowardly some
recentis victoriae memores retinere locum, ferire hostem,
of-the-recent victory mindful held their-place struck the-enemy
seque et proximos hortari et redintegrata acie manus
both-themselves and those-nearest encouraged and with-renewed line their-hands
ad obsessos tendere ne tempori deessent. illi cuncta
to the-besieged stretched that-not the-moment they-should-fail they all-things
e muris cernentes omnibus portis prorumpunt. ac forte
from the-walls seeing by-all gates burst-out and by-chance
Civilis lapsu equi prostratus, credita per utrumque
Civilis by-the-fall of-his-horse thrown-down with-believed through each
exercitum fama vulneratum aut interfectum, immane
army the-report wounded or killed immense
quantum suis pavoris et hostibus alacritatis indidit:
how-much to-his-own of-panic and to-the-enemy of-eagerness put
sed Vocula omissis fugientium tergis vallum turrisque
but Vocula with-dropped of-the-fleeing the-backs the-rampart and-towers
castrorum augebat, tamquam rursus obsidium immineret,
of-the-camp increased as-if again a-siege were-impending
corrupta totiens victoria non falso suspectus bellum malle.
with-spoiled so-often victory not falsely suspected war to-prefer
35 Nihil aeque exercitus nostros quam egestas copiarum fatigabat.
nothing equally armies our as the-want of-supplies wore
impedimenta legionum cum imbelli turba Novaesium missa
the-baggage of-the-legions with an-unwarlike crowd to-Novaesium was-sent

ut inde terrestri itinere frumentum adveherent; nam flumine
that thence by-the-land route grain they-should-bring for the-river
hostes potiebantur. primum agmen securum incessit, nondum
the-enemy held the-first column safe advanced not-yet
satis firmo Civile. qui ubi rursum missos Novaesium
sufficiently strong Civilis who when again sent to-Novaesium
frumentatores datasque in praesidium cohortis velut multa
the-foragers and-given for protection cohorts as-if in-deep
pace ingredi accepit, rarum apud signa militem, arma
peace to-be-advancing he-learned few by the-standards the-soldiery arms
in vehiculis, cunctos licentia vagos, compositus invadit,
in wagons all through-license wandering in-order attacks
praemissis qui pontis et viarum angusta insiderent.
with-sent-ahead men-who of-the-bridges and of-the-roads the-narrows should-occupy
pugnatum longo agmine et incerto Marte, donec proelium
it-was-fought in-a-long column and with-uncertain Mars until the-battle
nox dirimeret. cohortes Geldubam perrexere, manentibus, ut
night broke-off the-cohorts to-Gelduba pushed-on with-remaining as
fuerant, castris, quae relictorum illic militum praesidio
they-had-been the-camp which of-the-left there soldiers by-the-garrison
tenebantur. non erat dubium quantum in regressu discriminis
was-held not it-was doubtful how-much in the-return of-danger
adeundum foret frumentatoribus onustis perculsisque. addit
to-be-faced would-be by-the-foragers laden and-panicked adds
exercitui suo Vocula mille delectos e quinta et quinta
to-army his-own Vocula a-thousand picked from the-fifth and fifth
decima legionibus apud Vetera obsessis, indomitum militem
tenth legions at Vetera besieged an-untamed soldiery
et ducibus infensum. plures quam iussum erat profecti
and to-the-generals hostile more than ordered had-been having-set-out
palam in agmine fremebant, non se ultra famem, insidias
openly in the-column growled not they further famine the-plots

legatorum toleraturos: at qui remanserant, desertos se
of-the-legates going-to-endure but those-who had-remained deserted themselves
abducta parte legionum querebantur. duplex hinc seditio,
with-led-away part of-the-legions complained double hence the-mutiny
aliis revocantibus Voculam, aliis redire in castra abnuentibus.
with-some recalling Vocula others to-return to the-camp refusing
36 Interim Civilis Vetera circumsedit: Vocula Geldubam atque
meanwhile Civilis Vetera besieged Vocula to-Gelduba and
inde Novaesium concessit, mox haud procul Novaesio
thence to-Novaesium withdrew soon not far from-Novaesium
equestri proelio prospere certavit. sed miles secundis
in-a-cavalry battle successfully fought but the-soldiery by-success
adversisque perinde in exitium ducum accendebatur; et
and-adversity alike to the-destruction of-the-generals was-inflamed and
adventu quintanorum quintadecimanorumque auctae legiones
by-the-arrival of-the-fifth-men and-fifteenth-men increased the-legions
donativum exposcunt, comperto pecuniam a Vitellio missam.
a-donative demand with-learned money by Vitellius sent
nec diu cunctatus Hordeonius nomine Vespasiani dedit,
nor long having-hesitated Hordeonius in-the-name of-Vespasian gave-it
idque praecipuum fuit seditionis alimentum. effusi in luxum
and-that the-chief was of-the-mutiny nourishment poured-out into luxury
et epulas et nocturnos coetus veterem in Hordeonium
and feasts and nightly gatherings the-old against Hordeonius
iram renovant, nec ullo legatorum tribunorumve obsistere
anger they-renew nor with-any of-the-legates or-tribunes to-oppose
auso (quippe omnem pudorem nox ademerat) protractum
having-dared for all shame night had-taken-away dragged-out
e cubili interficiunt. eadem in Voculam parabantur,
from his-bed they-kill-him the-same-things against Vocula were-prepared
nisi servili habitu per tenebras ignoratus evasisset.
had-not in-slave's dress through the-darkness unrecognized he-had-escaped

Ubi sedato impetu metus rediit, centuriones cum epistulis 37
when with-calmed the-onrush fear returned centurions with letters
ad civitates Galliarum misere, auxilia ac stipendia oraturos:
to the-states of-the-Gauls they-sent auxiliaries and pay going-to-beg
ipsi, ut est vulgus sine rectore praeceps pavidum socors,
themselves as is a-crowd without director headlong fearful sluggish
adventante Civile raptis temere armis ac statim omissis,
with-approaching Civilis with-snatched rashly arms and at-once dropped
in fugam vertuntur. res adversae discordiam peperere,
into flight they-turn affairs adverse discord bore
iis qui e superiore exercitu erant causam suam
with-those who from the-upper army were the-cause their-own
dissociantibus; Vitellii tamen imagines in castris et per
separating of-Vitellius yet the-images in the-camp and through
proximas Belgarum civitates repositae, cum iam Vitellius
the-nearest of-the-Belgae states were-replaced when already Vitellius
occidisset. dein mutati in paenitentiam primani quartanique
had-fallen then changed into repentance the-first-men and-fourth-men
et duoetvicensimani Voculam sequuntur, apud quem resumpto
and twenty-second-men Vocula follow with whom with-resumed
Vespasiani sacramento ad liberandum Mogontiaci obsidium
of-Vespasian the-oath to raising of-Mogontiacum the-siege
ducebantur. discesserant obsessores, mixtus ex Chattis Usipis
they-were-led had-departed the-besiegers a-mixed from Chatti Usipi
Mattiacis exercitus, satietate praedae nec incruenti: in via
Mattiaci army from-satiety of-plunder nor bloodless on the-road
dispersos et nescios miles noster invaserat. quin et loricam
scattered and unaware soldiery our had-attacked indeed also a-breastwork
vallumque per finis suos Treviri struxere, magnisque in
and-rampart along borders their-own the-Treviri built and-with-great in

vicem cladibus cum Germanis certabant, donec egregia erga
turn losses with the-Germans contended until excellent toward
populum Romanum merita mox rebelles foedarent.
the-people Roman services soon as-rebels they-should-disgrace

LVI · THE SENATE IN THE NEW YEAR

Vespasian and Titus enter the consulship in absence, while Rome fears the loss of Africa and its grain. Mucianus clips Antonius's and Varus's power, sends away their legions, and offers Antonius Hither Spain. Domitian speaks modestly in the senate; Publius Celer is condemned on Musonius's charge, and Soranus is avenged. The senators swear that they harmed no one, and the informers are attacked: Curtius Montanus denounces Regulus, Helvidius goes for Eprius Marcellus, and Mucianus protects the accusers. Praetorians are re-enrolled, and Sabinus receives a censor's funeral.

38 Interea Vespasianus iterum ac Titus consulatum
meanwhile Vespasian for-the-second-time and Titus the-consulship
absentes inierunt, maesta et multiplici metu suspensa civitate,
absent entered-on with-sad and by-manifold fear anxious state
quae super instantia mala falsos pavores induerat, descivisse
which besides pressing evils false alarms had-put-on to-have-revolted
Africam res novas moliente L. Pisone. is pro consule
Africa things new contriving Lucius Piso he as proconsul
provinciae nequaquam turbidus ingenio; sed quia naves
of-the-province by-no-means turbulent in-nature but because the-ships
saevitia hiemis prohibebantur, vulgus alimenta in dies
by-the-savagery of-winter were-kept-back the-crowd food by the-day
mercari solitum, cui una ex re publica annonae
to-buy accustomed for-whom the-one of the-thing public of-the-grain-supply
cura, clausum litus, retineri commeatus, dum timet,
concern closed the-shore to-be-held-back the-supplies while it-fears

credebat, augentibus famam Vitellianis, qui studium partium
believed with-increasing the-report the-Vitellians who the-zeal of-party
nondum posuerant, ne victoribus quidem ingrato rumore,
not-yet had-laid-down not to-the-victors even unwelcome with-the-rumor
quorum cupiditates externis quoque bellis inexplebilis nulla
whose desires in-foreign also wars insatiable no
umquam civilis victoria satiavit.
ever civil victory has-sated

Kalendis Ianuariis in senatu, quem Iulius Frontinus praetor 39
on-the-kalends of-January in the-senate which Julius Frontinus praetor
urbanus vocaverat, legatis exercitibusque ac regibus laudes
urban had-called to-the-legates and-armies and kings praises
gratesque decretae; Tettio Iuliano praetura, tamquam
and-thanks were-decreed from-Tettius Julianus the-praetorship as-if
transgredientem in partis Vespasiani legionem deseruisset,
crossing to the-party of-Vespasian the-legion he-had-deserted
ablata ut in Plotium Grypum transferretur; Hormo
was-taken-away that to Plotius Grypus it-might-be-transferred to-Hormus
dignitas equestris data. et mox eiurante Frontino Caesar
rank knightly was-given and soon with-resigning Frontinus Caesar
Domitianus praeturam cepit. eius nomen epistulis edictisque
Domitian the-praetorship took his name to-letters and-edicts
praeponebatur, vis penes Mucianum erat, nisi quod
was-placed-at-the-head the-power with Mucianus was except that
pleraque Domitianus instigantibus amicis aut propria libidine
most-things Domitian with-instigating friends or by-his-own whim
audebat. sed praecipuus Muciano metus e Primo Antonio
dared but the-chief to-Mucianus fear from Primus Antonius
Varoque Arrio, quos recentis clarosque rerum fama ac
and-Varus Arrius whom fresh and-famous of-their-deeds by-the-fame and
militum studiis etiam populus fovebat, quia in neminem
by-the-soldiers' zeal even the-people favored because against no-one

ultra aciem saevierant. et ferebatur Antonius Scribonianum
beyond the-battle-line they-had-raged and it-was-said Antonius Scribonianus
Crassum, egregiis maioribus et fraterna imagine
Crassus with-distinguished ancestors and with-fraternal ancestral-mask
fulgentem, ad capessendam rem publicam hortatus, haud
shining for taking-up the-thing public to-have-urged not
defutura consciorum manu, ni Scribonianus abnuisset, ne
going-to-be-lacking of-accomplices a-band had-not Scribonianus refused not
paratis quidem corrumpi facilis, adeo metuens incerta.
by-ready-things even to-be-corrupted easy so fearing uncertain-things
igitur Mucianus, quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat,
therefore Mucianus because openly to-be-crushed Antonius could-not
multis in senatu laudibus cumulatum secretis promissis onerat,
with-many in the-senate praises heaped with-secret promises loads
citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam;
Hither Spain displaying by-the-departure of-Cluvius Rufus vacant
simul amicis eius tribunatus praefecturasque largitur.
at-the-same-time to-the-friends his tribunates and-prefectures he-lavishes
dein postquam inanem animum spe et cupidine impleverat,
then after the-empty mind with-hope and desire he-had-filled
viris abolet dimissa in hiberna legione septima, cuius
his-strength he-abolishes with-sent-away into winter-quarters the-legion seventh whose
flagrantissimus in Antonium amor. et tertia legio, familiaris
most-burning toward Antonius love and the-third legion intimate
Arrio Varo miles, in Syriam remissa; pars exercitus in
with-Arrius Varus the-soldiery into Syria sent-back part of-the-army into
Germanias ducebatur. sic egesto quidquid turbidum redit
the-Germanies was-led so with-cleared-out whatever turbulent returns
urbi sua forma legesque et munia magistratuum.
to-the-city its-own form and-laws and the-duties of-the-magistrates

Quo die senatum ingressus est Domitianus, de absentia 40
on-which day the-senate entered has Domitian about the-absence
patris fratrisque ac iuventa sua pauca et modica
of-his-father and-brother and youth his-own a-few and moderate-things
disseruit, decorus habitu; et ignotis adhuc moribus
he-discoursed handsome in-bearing and with-unknown still character
crebra oris confusio pro modestia accipiebatur. referente
the-frequent of-face blushing for modesty was-taken with-proposing
Caesare de restituendis Galbae honoribus, censuit Curtius
Caesar about restoring of-Galba the-honors moved Curtius
Montanus ut Pisonis quoque memoria celebraretur. patres
Montanus that of-Piso also the-memory should-be-celebrated the-fathers
utrumque iussere: de Pisone inritum fuit. tum sorte
both ordered about Piso void it-was then by-lot
ducti per quos redderentur bello rapta, quique aera
drawn through whom should-be-restored in-war seized-things and-who the-bronzes
legum vetustate delapsa noscerent figerentque, et fastos
of-the-laws by-age fallen should-examine and-fix and the-calendars
adulatione temporum foedatos exonerarent modumque publicis
by-the-flattery of-the-times defiled should-unburden and-a-limit to-public
impensis facerent. redditur Tettio Iuliano praetura, postquam
expenses should-make is-restored to-Tettius Julianus the-praetorship after
cognitus est ad Vespasianum confugisse: Grypo honor
learned it-was to Vespasian to-have-fled to-Grypus the-honor
mansit. repeti inde cognitionem inter Musonium Rufum
remained to-be-resumed then the-hearing between Musonius Rufus
et Publium Celerem placuit, damnatusque Publius et
and Publius Celer it-was-decided and-condemned Publius and
Sorani manibus satis factum. insignis publica severitate
to-Soranus' shades enough done remarkable for-public severity
dies ne privatim quidem laude caruit. iustum iudicium
the-day not privately even of-praise was-lacking a-just prosecution

explesse Musonius videbatur, diversa fama Demetrio
to-have-fulfilled Musonius seemed different the-repute for-Demetrius
Cynicam sectam professo, quod manifestum reum ambitiosius
the-Cynic sect professing because a-manifest defendant more-ambitiously
quam honestius defendisset: ipsi Publio neque animus
than more-honorably he-had-defended to-the-very Publius neither courage
in periculis neque oratio suppeditavit. signo ultionis
in dangers nor speech sufficed with-the-signal of-vengeance
in accusatores dato, petit a Caesare Iunius Mauricus ut
against the-accusers given asks of Caesar Junius Mauricus that
commentariorum principalium potestatem senatui faceret,
of-the-records imperial access to-the-senate he-should-make
per quos nosceret quem quisque accusandum poposcisset.
through which it-might-learn whom each to-be-accused had-demanded
consulendum tali super re principem respondit.
must-be-consulted such about a-matter the-emperor he-answered

41 Senatus inchoantibus primoribus ius iurandum concepit quo
the-senate with-beginning the-chief-men the-oath sworn took by-which
certatim omnes magistratus, ceteri, ut sententiam rogabantur,
in-rivalry all the-magistrates the-rest as for-their-opinion they-were-asked
deos testis advocabant, nihil ope sua factum quo
the-gods as-witnesses called nothing by-help their-own done by-which
cuiusquam salus laederetur, neque se praemium aut
of-anyone the-safety might-be-harmed nor themselves reward or
honorem ex calamitate civium cepisse, trepidis et verba
office from the-calamity of-citizens to-have-taken with-the-alarmed and the-words
iuris iurandi per varias artis mutantibus, quis flagitii
of-the-oath sworn through various arts changing in-whom of-crime
conscientia inerat. probabant religionem patres, periurium
guilty-knowledge was approved the-scruple the-fathers perjury
arguebant; eaque velut censura in Sariolenum Voculam et
charged and-that as-if a-censorship upon Sariolenus Vocula and

Nonium Attianum et Cestium Severum acerrime incubuit,
Nonius Attianus and Cestius Severus most-fiercely pressed
crebris apud Neronem delationibus famosos. Sariolenum et
by-frequent with Nero informings infamous Sariolenus also
recens crimen urgebat, quod apud Vitellium molitus eadem
a-recent charge pressed that with Vitellius contrived the-same-things
foret: nec destitit senatus manus intentare Voculae, donec
he-had nor ceased the-senate its-hands to-threaten against-Vocula until
curia excederet. ad Paccium Africanum transgressi eum
the-senate-house he-left to Paccius Africanus having-passed him
quoque proturbant, tamquam Neroni Scribonios fratres concordia
also they-thrust-out as-if to-Nero the-Scribonian brothers for-concord
opibusque insignis ad exitium monstravisset. Africanus neque
and-wealth distinguished for destruction he-had-pointed-out Africanus neither
fateri audebat neque abnuere poterat: in Vibium Crispum,
to-confess dared nor to-deny could upon Vibius Crispus
cuius interrogationibus fatigabatur, ultro conversus, miscendo
whose by-questions he-was-wearied in-turn turning by-mixing-in
quae defendere nequibat, societate culpae invidiam declinavit.
what to-defend he-could-not by-partnership of-guilt the-odium he-deflected
Magnam eo die pietatis eloquentiaeque famam Vipstanus 42
great on-that day of-devotion and-of-eloquence fame Vipstanus
Messala adeptus est, nondum senatoria aetate, ausus
Messalla attained has not-yet of-senatorial age having-dared
pro fratre Aquilio Regulo deprecari. Regulum subversa
for his-brother Aquilius Regulus to-intercede Regulus the-overthrown
Crassorum et Orfiti domus in summum odium extulerat:
of-the-Crassi and of-Orfitus house into the-highest hatred had-raised
sponte accusationem subisse iuvenis admodum,
of-his-own-accord the-prosecution to-have-undertaken a-youth very
nec depellendi periculi sed in spem potentiae videbatur;
nor of-repelling danger but toward hope of-power he-seemed

et Sulpicia Praetextata Crassi uxor quattuorque liberi, si
and Sulpicia Praetextata of-Crassus the-wife and-four children if
cognosceret senatus, ultores aderant. igitur Messala non
should-take-cognizance the-senate as-avengers were-present therefore Messalla not
causam neque reum tueri, sed periculis fratris semet
the-case nor the-defendant defending but to-the-dangers of-his-brother himself
opponens flexerat quosdam. occurrit truci oratione Curtius
opposing had-swayed some met-him with-a-fierce speech Curtius
Montanus, eo usque progressus ut post caedem Galbae
Montanus to-that point advancing that after the-murder of-Galba
datam interfectori Pisonis pecuniam a Regulo adpetitumque
given to-the-killer of-Piso money by Regulus and-assailed
morsu Pisonis caput obiectaret. 'hoc certe' inquit 'Nero non
with-his-teeth of-Piso the-head he-charged this surely he-said Nero not
coegit, nec dignitatem aut salutem illa saevitia redemisti.
compelled nor rank or safety by-that savagery did-you-buy
sane toleremus istorum defensiones qui perdere alios quam
granted let-us-tolerate of-those the-defenses who to-ruin others than
periclitari ipsi maluerunt: te securum reliquerat exul pater
to-be-in-danger themselves preferred you secure had-left an-exiled father
et divisa inter creditores bona, nondum honorum capax aetas,
and divided among creditors his-goods not-yet of-offices capable an-age
nihil quod ex te concupisceret Nero, nihil quod timeret.
nothing which from you might-covet Nero nothing which he-might-fear
libidine sanguinis et hiatu praemiorum ignotum adhuc
by-lust for-blood and gaping for-rewards unknown still
ingenium et nullis defensionibus expertum caede nobili
your-talent and in-no defenses tried with-murder noble
imbuisti, cum ex funere rei publicae raptis consularibus
you-steeped when from the-funeral of-the-thing public with-seized consular
spoliis, septuagiens sestertio saginatus et sacerdotio fulgens
spoils with-seven-million sesterces fattened and with-a-priesthood shining

innoxios pueros, inlustris senes, conspicuas feminas eadem
harmless boys illustrious old-men conspicuous women in-the-same
ruina prosterneres, cum segnitiam Neronis incusares, quod
ruin you-laid-low when the-sluggishness of-Nero you-blamed that
per singulas domos seque et delatores fatigaret: posse
through single houses himself and the-informers he-wearied to-be-able
universum senatum una voce subverti. retinete, patres
the-whole senate with-one word to-be-overthrown keep fathers
conscripti, et reservate hominem tam expediti consilii ut
conscript and preserve a-man of-so ready counsel that
omnis aetas instructa sit, et quo modo senes nostri Marcellum,
every age equipped be and that as old-men our Marcellus
Crispum, iuvenes Regulum imitentur. invenit aemulos etiam
Crispus the-young Regulus may-imitate has-found rivals even
infelix nequitia: quid si floreat vigeatque? et quem adhuc
unsuccessful wickedness what if it-flourish and-thrive and whom still
quaestorium offendere non audemus, praetorium et consularem
a-former-quaestor to-offend not we-dare a-former-praetor and consular
ausuri sumus? an Neronem extremum dominorum putatis?
going-to-dare are-we or Nero the-last of-masters do-you-think
idem crediderant qui Tiberio, qui Gaio superstites
the-same had-believed those-who to-Tiberius who to-Gaius survivors
fuerunt, cum interim intestabilior et saevior exortus est.
were when meanwhile a-more-detestable and more-savage arisen has
non timemus Vespasianum; ea principis aetas, ea moderatio:
not we-fear Vespasian such of-the-emperor the-age such the-moderation
sed diutius durant exempla quam mores. elanguimus,
but longer last examples than characters we-have-grown-languid
patres conscripti, nec iam ille senatus sumus qui occiso
fathers conscript nor now that senate we-are which with-killed

Nerone delatores et ministros more maiorum puniendos
Nero the-informers and agents by-the-custom of-the-ancestors to-be-punished
flagitabat. optimus est post malum principem dies primus.'
demanded the-best is after a-bad emperor day the-first
43 Tanto cum adsensu senatus auditus est Montanus ut spem
such with assent of-the-senate heard was Montanus that hope
caperet Helvidius posse etiam Marcellum prosterni. igitur a
took Helvidius to-be-able even Marcellus to-be-laid-low therefore from
laude Cluvii Rufi orsus, qui perinde dives et eloquentia
praise of-Cluvius Rufus having-begun who equally rich and in-eloquence
clarus nulli umquam sub Nerone periculum facessisset,
famous to-no-one ever under Nero danger had-caused
crimine simul exemploque Eprium urgebat, ardentibus
by-the-charge at-the-same-time and-by-the-example Eprius he-pressed with-burning
patrum animis. quod ubi sensit Marcellus, velut excedens
of-the-fathers minds which when perceived Marcellus as-if leaving
curia 'imus' inquit, 'Prisce, et relinquimus tibi senatum
the-senate-house we-go he-said Priscus and we-leave to-you senate
tuum: regna praesente Caesare.' sequebatur Vibius Crispus,
your-own reign with-present Caesar followed Vibius Crispus
ambo infensi, vultu diverso, Marcellus minacibus oculis, Crispus
both hostile in-face different Marcellus with-threatening eyes Crispus
renidens, donec adcursu amicorum retraherentur. cum
smiling until by-the-running-up of-friends they-were-drawn-back when
glisceret certamen, hinc multi bonique, inde pauci et validi
grew the-contest on-this-side many and-good on-that a-few and powerful
pertinacibus odiis tenderent, consumptus per discordiam dies.
with-obstinate hatreds strove was-used-up through discord the-day
44 Proximo senatu, inchoante Caesare de abolendo dolore iraque
at-the-next senate with-beginning Caesar about abolishing grief and-anger
et priorum temporum necessitatibus, censuit Mucianus prolixe
and of-former times the-necessities moved Mucianus at-length

pro accusatoribus; simul eos qui coeptam, deinde omissam
for the-accusers at-the-same-time those who a-begun then dropped
actionem repeterent, monuit sermone molli et tamquam
action should-resume he-warned in-speech soft and as-if
rogaret. patres coeptatam libertatem, postquam obviam
he-were-asking the-fathers the-attempted liberty after to-meet-it
itum, omisere. Mucianus, ne sperni senatus iudicium
it-was-gone dropped Mucianus lest to-be-spurned the-senate's judgment
et cunctis sub Nerone admissis data impunitas videretur,
and for-all under Nero committed-things given impunity should-seem
Octavium Sagittam et Antistium Sosianum senatorii ordinis
Octavius Sagitta and Antistius Sosianus of-senatorial rank
egressos exilium in easdem insulas redegit. Octavius Pontiam
having-left exile into the-same islands sent-back Octavius Pontia
Postuminam, stupro cognitam et nuptias suas abnuentem,
Postumina in-debauchery known and marriage with-him refusing
impotens amoris interfecerat, Sosianus pravitate morum
uncontrolled in-love had-killed Sosianus by-the-crookedness of-his-character
multis exitiosus. ambo gravi senatus consulto damnati
to-many ruinous both by-a-severe senate decree condemned
pulsique, quamvis concesso aliis reditu, in eadem poena
and-driven-out although with-granted to-others return in the-same penalty
retenti sunt. nec ideo lenita erga Mucianum invidia: quippe
kept were nor therefore was-softened toward Mucianus the-odium for
Sosianus ac Sagitta viles, etiam si reverterentur: accusatorum
Sosianus and Sagitta worthless even if they-should-return of-the-accusers
ingenia et opes et exercita malis artibus potentia timebantur.
the-talents and wealth and practiced by-evil arts power were-feared
Reconciliavit paulisper studia patrum habita in senatu cognitio 45
reconciled for-a-little the-zeal of-the-fathers a-held in the-senate hearing
secundum veterem morem. Manlius Patruitus senator pulsatum
according-to old custom Manlius Patruitus a-senator beaten

se in colonia Seniensi coetu multitudinis et iussu
himself in the-colony of-Sena by-a-gathering of-the-multitude and by-order
magistratuum querebatur; nec finem iniuriae hic stetisse:
of-the-magistrates complained nor the-end of-the-wrong here to-have-stopped
planctum et lamenta et supremorum imaginem praesenti
wailing and laments and of-funeral-rites a-likeness while-present
sibi circumdata cum contumeliis ac probris, quae in
to-himself to-have-been-put-around with insults and abuse which against
senatum universum iacerentur. vocati qui arguebantur,
the-senate whole were-hurled were-summoned those-who were-charged
et cognita causa in convictos vindicatum, additumque senatus
and with-heard the-case upon the-convicted it-was-punished and-was-added a-senate
consultum quo Seniensium plebes modestiae admoneretur.
decree by-which of-the-Senese the-plebs of-restraint should-be-reminded
isdem diebus Antonius Flamma accusantibus Cyrenensibus
in-the-same days Antonius Flamma with-accusing the-Cyrenaeans
damnatur lege repetundarum et exilio ob saevitiam.
is-condemned under-the-law of-extortion and to-exile on-account-of savagery
46 Inter quae militaris seditio prope exarsit. praetorianam
among which a-military mutiny almost blazed-up the-praetorian
militiam repetebant a Vitellio dimissi, pro Vespasiano
service sought-back by Vitellius discharged for Vespasian
congregati; et lectus in eandem spem e legionibus miles
gathered and chosen for the-same hope from the-legions the-soldiery
promissa stipendia flagitabat. ne Vitelliani quidem sine multa
the-promised pay demanded not the-Vitellians even without much
caede pelli poterant: sed immensa pecunia tanta
slaughter to-be-driven-out could but with-immense money so-great
vis hominum retinenda erat. ingressus castra Mucianus,
a-mass of-men to-be-retained was having-entered the-camp Mucianus
quo rectius stipendia singulorum spectaret, suis cum
that more-correctly the-services of-individuals he-might-view their-own with

insignibus armisque victores constituit, modicis inter se
insignia and-arms the-victors he-stationed at-moderate among themselves
spatiis discretos. tum Vitelliani, quos apud Bovillas in
intervals separated then the-Vitellians whom at Bovillae into
deditionem acceptos memoravimus, ceterique per urbem et
surrender received we-recounted and-the-rest through the-city and
urbi vicina conquisiti producuntur prope intecto corpore.
to-the-city neighboring hunted-out are-led-forth almost uncovered in-body
eos Mucianus diduci et Germanicum Britannicumque
them Mucianus to-be-drawn-apart and the-German and-British
militem, ac si qui aliorum exercituum, separatim adsistere
soldiery and if any of-other armies separately to-stand
iubet. illos primus statim aspectus obstupefecerat, cum ex
orders them the-first at-once sight had-stunned when from
diverso velut aciem telis et armis trucem, semet
the-opposite-side as-if a-battle-line with-missiles and arms grim themselves
clausos nudosque et inluvie deformis aspicerent: ut vero huc
shut-in and-naked and with-filth disfigured they-saw when indeed hither
illuc distrahi coepere, metus per omnis et praecipua
thither to-be-drawn-apart they-began fear through all and especial
Germanici militis formido, tamquam ea separatione ad
of-the-German soldiery the-dread as-if by-that separation for
caedem destinaretur. prensare commanipularium pectora,
slaughter it-were-marked-out they-clasped of-their-messmates the-breasts
cervicibus innecti, suprema oscula petere, ne desererentur
on-their-necks they-hung last kisses they-sought that-not they-should-be-deserted
soli neu pari causa disparem fortunam paterentur; modo
alone nor in-equal cause unequal fortune should-suffer now
Mucianum, modo absentem principem, postremum caelum ac
Mucianus now the-absent emperor at-last heaven and
deos obtestari, donec Mucianus cunctos eiusdem sacramenti,
the-gods they-adjured until Mucianus all of-the-same oath

eiusdem imperatoris milites appellans, falso timori obviam
of-the-same emperor soldiers calling the-false fear to-meet
iret; namque et victor exercitus clamore lacrimas
went for also the-victorious army with-shouting the-tears
eorum iuvabat. isque finis illa die. paucis post diebus
their helped and-that the-end on-that day a-few after days
adloquentem Domitianum firmati iam excepere: spernunt
addressing Domitian strengthened already they-received they-spurn
oblatos agros, militiam et stipendia orant. preces erant, sed
the-offered lands service and pay they-beg prayers they-were but
quibus contra dici non posset; igitur in praetorium
to-which against to-be-spoken not could therefore into the-praetorian-guard
accepti. dein quibus aetas et iusta stipendia, dimissi
received then those-to-whom age and full service were-discharged
cum honore, alii ob culpam, sed carptim ac singuli, quo
with honor others for a-fault but piecemeal and one-by-one by-which
tutissimo remedio consensus multitudinis extenuatur.
safest remedy the-agreement of-a-multitude is-weakened

47 Ceterum verane pauperie an uti videretur, actum in
but whether-from-real poverty or that it-might-seem it-was-acted in
senatu ut sescentiens sestertium a privatis mutuum
the-senate that sixty-million sesterces from private-persons as-a-loan
acciperetur, praepositusque ei curae Pompeius Silvanus. nec
be-received and-was-put-over that charge Pompeius Silvanus nor
multo post necessitas abiit sive omissa simulatio. abrogati
much later the-necessity passed-away or was-dropped the-pretense were-annulled
inde legem ferente Domitiano consulatus quos Vitellius
then with-a-law proposing Domitian the-consulships which Vitellius
dederat, funusque censorium Flavio Sabino ductum, magna
had-given and-a-funeral censorial for-Flavius Sabinus conducted great
documenta instabilis fortunae summaque et ima miscentis.
proofs of-unstable fortune and-the-highest and the-lowest confounding

Tacitus traces how the African legion came under an imperial legate. Its commander, Valerius Festus, Vitellius's anxious kinsman, may have tempted the proconsul Piso; Sagitta warns Piso that Mucianus has sent a centurion to kill him, and Piso has the centurion executed and stays indoors, but Festus's horsemen murder him at dawn. Festus settles a war between Oea and Lepcis. Vespasian refuses Parthian cavalry and sends Titus to Judaea; glad of Titus's plea for Domitian, he bids him be easy and ships grain to Rome. The Capitol's restoration begins with solemn rites.

Sub idem tempus L. Piso pro consule interficitur. ea 48
about the-same time Lucius Piso as proconsul is-killed that
de caede quam verissime expediam, si pauca supra
about murder as most-truly I-shall-explain if a-few-things above
repetiero ab initio causisque talium facinorum
I-shall-have-gone-back-over from the-beginning and-causes of-such deeds
non absurda. legio in Africa auxiliaque tutandis imperii
not absurd the-legion in Africa and-auxiliaries for-guarding of-the-empire
finibus sub divo Augusto Tiberioque principibus proconsuli
the-frontiers under the-deified Augustus and-Tiberius as-emperors to-the-proconsul
parebant. mox G. Caesar, turbidus animi ac Marcum
were-obedient soon Gaius Caesar turbulent of-mind and Marcus
Silanum obtinentem Africam metuens, ablatam proconsuli
Silanus holding Africa fearing taken-away from-the-proconsul
legionem misso in eam rem legato tradidit. aequatus inter
the-legion with-sent for that purpose legate handed-over was-equalized between
duos beneficiorum numerus, et mixtis utriusque mandatis
the-two of-favors the-number and with-mixed of-each the-commands
discordia quaesita auctaque pravo certamine. legatorum
discord was-sought and-increased by-crooked contest of-the-legates
ius adolevit diuturnitate officii, vel quia minoribus
the-right grew by-long-tenure of-office or because for-the-lesser

maior aemulandi cura, proconsulum splendidissimus quisque
greater of-emulating the-care of-the-proconsuls the-most-distinguished each
securitati magis quam potentiae consulebant.
for-security more than for-power provided
49 Sed tum legionem in Africa regebat Valerius Festus, sumptuosae
but then the-legion in Africa commanded Valerius Festus of-extravagant
adulescentiae neque modica cupiens et adfinitate Vitellii
youth nor moderate-things desiring and by-kinship with-Vitellius
anxius. is crebris sermonibus temptaveritne Pisonem ad res
anxious he in-frequent talks whether-he-tempted Piso to things
novas an temptanti restiterit, incertum, quoniam secreto
new or to-the-tempter he-resisted uncertain since at-the-secret-talk
eorum nemo adfuit, et occiso Pisone plerique ad gratiam
of-them no-one was-present and with-killed Piso most to the-favor
interfectoris inclinavere. nec ambigitur provinciam et militem
of-the-killer inclined nor is-it-doubted the-province and the-soldiery
alienato erga Vespasianum animo fuisse; et quidam e
with-estranged toward Vespasian mind to-have-been and some of
Vitellianis urbe profugi ostentabant Pisoni nutantis Gallias,
the-Vitellians from-the-city fugitives displayed to-Piso wavering the-Gauls
paratam Germaniam, pericula ipsius et in pace suspecto
ready Germany the-dangers of-himself and in peace for-one-suspected
tutius bellum. inter quae Claudius Sagitta, praefectus alae
safer war amid which Claudius Sagitta prefect of-the-squadron
Petrianae, prospera navigatione praevenit Papirium centurionem
Petrian by-a-successful voyage forestalled Papirius a-centurion
a Muciano missum, adseveravitque mandata interficiendi
by Mucianus sent and-asserted orders of-killing
Pisonis centurioni data: cecidisse Galerianum consobrinum
Piso to-the-centurion given to-have-fallen Galerianus cousin
eius generumque; unam in audacia spem salutis, sed duo
his and-son-in-law one in daring the-hope of-safety but two

itinera audendi, seu mallet statim arma, seu petita navibus
roads of-daring whether he-preferred at-once arms or with-sought by-ships
Gallia ducem se Vitellianis exercitibus ostenderet. nihil
Gaul as-leader himself to-the-Vitellian armies he-should-show nothing
ad ea moto Pisone, centurio a Muciano missus, ut
at these-things with-moved Piso the-centurion by Mucianus sent when
portum Carthaginis attigit, magna voce laeta Pisoni omnia
the-harbor of-Carthage he-touched with-great voice joyful-things for-Piso all-things
tamquam principi continuare, obvios et subitae
as-if for-an-emperor he-kept-wishing those-meeting-him and by-the-sudden
rei miraculo attonitos ut eadem adstreperent hortari.
of-the-thing wonder stunned that the-same-things they-should-shout he-urged
vulgus credulum ruere in forum, praesentiam Pisonis exposcere;
the-crowd credulous rushed into the-forum the-presence of-Piso demanded
gaudio clamoribusque cuncta miscebant, indiligentia veri
with-joy and-shouts all-things they-confused by-carelessness of-the-truth
et adulandi libidine. Piso indicio Sagittae vel insita
and of-flattering from-lust Piso on-the-information of-Sagitta or from-implanted
modestia non in publicum egressus est neque se studiis
modesty not into public came-out has nor himself to-the-zeal
vulgi permisit: centurionemque percontatus, postquam
of-the-crowd entrusted and-the-centurion having-questioned after
quaesitum sibi crimen caedemque comperit, animadverti
sought for-himself a-charge and-murder he-learned to-be-punished
in eum iussit, haud perinde spe vitae quam ira in
upon him ordered not so-much from-hope of-life as from-anger against
percussorem, quod idem ex interfectoribus Clodii Macri
the-assassin because the-same-man from the-killers of-Clodius Macer
cruentas legati sanguine manus ad caedem proconsulis
bloody with-a-legate's blood his-hands to the-murder of-a-proconsul
rettulisset. anxio deinde edicto Carthaginiensibus
had-brought-back with-an-anxious then edict with-the-Carthaginians

increpitis, ne solita quidem munia usurpabat, clausus intra
rebuked not the-usual even duties he-exercised shut within
domum, ne qua motus novi causa vel forte oreretur.
his-house lest any of-movement new a-cause even by-chance should-arise
Sed ubi Festo consternatio vulgi, centurionis supplicium
but when to-Festus the-consternation of-the-crowd the-centurion's execution
veraque et falsa more famae in maius innotuere,
and-true-things and false in-the-manner of-rumor into the-greater became-known
equites in necem Pisonis mittit. illi raptim vecti obscuro
horsemen for the-murder of-Piso he-sends they hurriedly carried in-the-dark
adhuc coeptae lucis domum proconsulis inrumpunt destrictis
still of-the-begun light the-house of-the-proconsul burst-into with-drawn
gladiis, et magna pars Pisonis ignari, quod Poenos
swords and a-great part of-Piso ignorant because Punic
auxiliaris Maurosque in eam caedem delegerat. haud procul
auxiliaries and-Moors for that murder he-had-chosen not far
cubiculo obvium forte servum quisnam et ubi esset
from-the-bedroom meeting-them by-chance a-slave who and where was
Piso interrogavere. servus egregio mendacio se Pisonem
Piso they-asked the-slave by-a-splendid lie himself Piso
esse respondit ac statim obtruncatur. nec multo post Piso
to-be answered and at-once is-cut-down nor much later Piso
interficitur; namque aderat qui nosceret, Baebius
is-killed for there-was-present one-who could-recognize-him Baebius
Massa e procuratoribus Africae, iam tunc optimo cuique
Massa of the-procurators of-Africa already then to-the-best each
exitiosus et inter causas malorum quae mox tulimus saepius
ruinous and among the-causes of-the-evils which soon we-endured more-often
rediturus. Festus Adrumeto, ubi speculabundus substiterat,
going-to-return Festus from-Hadrumetum where watching he-had-halted
ad legionem contendit praefectumque castrorum Caetronium
to the-legion hastens and-the-prefect of-the-camp Caetronius

Pisanum vinciri iussit proprias ob simultates, sed
Pisanus to-be-bound ordered his-own on-account-of quarrels but
Pisonis satellitem vocabat militesque et centuriones
of-Piso the-henchman he-called-him and-soldiers and centurions
quosdam puniit, alios praemiis adfecit, neutrum ex merito,
some he-punished others with-rewards he-visited neither from desert
sed ut oppressisse bellum crederetur. mox Oeensium
but that to-have-crushed a-war he-might-be-believed soon of-the-Oeenses
Lepcitanorumque discordias componit, quae raptu
and-Lepcitani the-discords he-settles which from-the-seizure
frugum et pecorum inter agrestis modicis principiis,
of-crops and cattle among rustics from-moderate beginnings
iam per arma atque acies exercebantur; nam populus
now through arms and battle-lines were-carried-on for the-people
Oeensis multitudine inferior Garamantas exciverat, gentem
of-Oea in-number inferior the-Garamantes had-summoned a-race
indomitam et inter accolas latrociniis fecundam. unde
untamed and among the-neighbors in-brigandage fertile whence
artae Lepcitanis res, lateque vastatis agris intra moenia
straitened for-the-Lepcitani affairs and-widely with-laid-waste fields within the-walls
trepidabant, donec interventu cohortium alarumque fusi
they-trembled until by-the-intervention of-the-cohorts and-squadrons routed
Garamantes et recepta omnis praeda, nisi quam vagi
the-Garamantes and was-recovered all the-plunder except what wandering
per inaccessa mapalium ulterioribus vendiderant.
through the-trackless-places of-the-huts to-the-farther-peoples they-had-sold
At Vespasiano post Cremonensem pugnam et prosperos 51
but to-Vespasian after the-Cremona battle and successful
undique nuntios cecidisse Vitellium multi cuiusque ordinis,
from-all-sides news to-have-fallen Vitellius many of-every rank
pari audacia fortunaque hibernum mare adgressi,
with-equal daring and-fortune the-winter sea having-attempted

nuntiavere. aderant legati regis Vologaesi quadraginta
announced there-were-present envoys of-king Vologaeses forty
milia Parthorum equitum offerentes. magnificum laetumque
thousands of-Parthian horsemen offering magnificent and-joyful-thing
tantis sociorum auxiliis ambiri neque indigere: gratiae
by-such of-allies auxiliaries to-be-courted and-not to-need thanks
Vologaeso actae mandatumque ut legatos ad senatum
to-Vologaeses were-given and-he-was-instructed that envoys to the-senate
mitteret et pacem esse sciret. Vespasianus in Italiam
he-should-send and peace to-be he-should-know Vespasian on Italy
resque urbis intentus adversam de Domitiano famam
and-the-affairs of-the-city intent unfavorable about Domitian a-report
accipit, tamquam terminos aetatis et concessa filio
receives as-if the-bounds of-age and things-allowed to-a-son
egrederetur: igitur validissimam exercitus partem Tito
he-were-overstepping therefore the-strongest of-the-army part to-Titus
tradit ad reliqua Iudaici belli perpetranda.
he-hands-over for the-remaining of-the-Judaean war to-be-carried-through
52 Titum, antequam digrederetur, multo apud patrem sermone
Titus before he-departed in-much with his-father talk
orasse ferunt ne criminantium nuntiis temere
to-have-begged they-say that-not by-the-accusers' reports rashly
accenderetur integrumque se ac placabilem filio
he-be-inflamed and-impartial himself and placable to-his-son
praestaret. non legiones, non classis proinde firma imperii
he-should-show not legions not fleets so-much firm of-empire
munimenta quam numerum liberorum; nam amicos tempore,
bulwarks as a-number of-children for friends by-time
fortuna, cupidinibus aliquando aut erroribus imminui,
by-fortune by-desires sometimes or by-errors to-be-diminished
transferri, desinere: suum cuique sanguinem indiscretum,
to-be-transferred to-cease his-own to-each blood inseparable

sed maxime principibus, quorum prosperis et alii fruantur,
but most for-emperors whose successes also others enjoy
adversa ad iunctissimos pertineant. ne fratribus quidem
adversities to the-most-closely-joined belong not for-brothers even
mansuram concordiam, ni parens exemplum praebuisset.
going-to-last concord unless the-parent an-example had-furnished
Vespasianus haud aeque Domitiano mitigatus quam Titi
Vespasian not so-much toward-Domitian softened as of-Titus
pietate gaudens, bono esse animo iubet belloque et
at-the-devotion rejoicing of-good to-be spirit he-bids and-by-war and
armis rem publicam attollere: sibi pacem domumque
arms the-thing public to-exalt to-himself peace and-the-house
curae fore. tum celerrimas navium frumento onustas
a-care going-to-be then the-swiftest of-ships with-grain laden
saevo adhuc mari committit: quippe tanto discrimine
to-the-savage still sea he-entrusts for by-so-great a-crisis
urbs nutabat ut decem haud amplius dierum frumentum in
the-city tottered that ten not more days grain in
horreis fuerit, cum a Vespasiano commeatus subvenere.
the-granaries there-was when from Vespasian the-supplies came-to-help
Curam restituendi Capitolii in Lucium Vestinum confert, 53
the-care of-restoring the-Capitol upon Lucius Vestinus he-confers
equestris ordinis virum, sed auctoritate famaque inter proceres.
of-knightly rank a-man but in-authority and-fame among the-chief-men
ab eo contracti haruspices monuere ut reliquiae prioris
by him gathered soothsayers advised that the-remains of-the-former
delubri in paludes aveherentur, templum isdem vestigiis
shrine into the-marshes should-be-carried-away the-temple on-the-same footprints
sisteretur: nolle deos mutari veterem formam.
should-be-set to-be-unwilling the-gods to-be-changed the-old form
XI kalendas Iulias serena luce spatium omne quod
on-the-eleventh before-the-kalends of-July with-clear light the-space all which

templo dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque; ingressi
for-the-temple was-dedicated girded with-fillets and-garlands entered
milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis; dein virgines
the-soldiers who-had auspicious names with-lucky boughs then the-maidens
Vestales cum pueris puellisque patrimis matrimisque aqua
Vestal with boys and-girls with-living-fathers and-mothers with-water
e fontibus amnibusque hausta perluere. tum Helvidius
from springs and-rivers drawn sprinkled then Helvidius
Priscus praetor, praeeunte Plautio Aeliano pontifice, lustrata
Priscus the-praetor with-leading Plautius Aelianus the-pontiff with-purified
suovetaurilibus area et super caespitem redditis extis, Iovem,
by-the-suovetaurilia the-area and on the-turf with-laid-out entrails Jupiter
Iunonem, Minervam praesidesque imperii deos precatus uti
Juno Minerva and-the-guardian of-the-empire gods having-prayed that
coepta prosperarent sedisque suas pietate hominum
the-undertakings they-should-prosper and-seats their-own by-the-piety of-men
inchoatas divina ope attollerent, vittas, quis ligatus lapis
begun by-divine help should-raise the-fillets with-which bound the-stone
innexique funes erant, contigit; simul ceteri magistratus
and-attached the-ropes were touched at-the-same-time the-other magistrates
et sacerdotes et senatus et eques et magna pars populi,
and priests and the-senate and the-knights and a-great part of-the-people
studio laetitiaque conixi, saxum ingens traxere. passimque
with-zeal and-joy straining the-stone huge dragged and-everywhere
iniectae fundamentis argenti aurique stipes et metallorum
were-thrown-in on-the-foundations of-silver and-gold pieces and of-metals
primitiae, nullis fornacibus victae, sed ut gignuntur: praedixere
first-fruits by-no furnaces subdued but as they-are-born forewarned
haruspices ne temeraretur opus saxo aurove in aliud
the-soothsayers that-not should-be-profaned the-work by-stone or-gold for another-use

destinato. altitudo aedibus adiecta: id solum religio adnuere
destined height to-the-temple added that alone religion to-allow
et prioris templi magnificentiae defuisse credebatur.
and of-the-former temple to-the-magnificence to-have-been-lacking was-believed

LVIII · THE EMPIRE OF THE GAULS

The death of Vitellius and the burning of the Capitol make the Gauls believe the empire is ending, and the Druids chant that the fire portends the world's rule for the peoples beyond the Alps. Classicus, Tutor, and Sabinus plot at Cologne to kill the legates and win the legions. Vocula, deceived, marches with them; when Classicus and Tutor encamp apart he falls back on Novaesium and exhorts the soldiers to loyalty, but he is murdered, and the legions swear to the empire of the Gauls. Vetera, starved, surrenders and is massacred on its march out.

Audita interim per Gallias Germaniasque mors Vitellii 54
heard meanwhile through the-Gauls and-Germanies the-death of-Vitellius
duplicaverat bellum. nam Civilis omissa dissimulatione in
had-doubled the-war for Civilis with-dropped pretense against
populum Romanum ruere, Vitellianae legiones vel externum
the-people Roman rushed the-Vitellian legions even foreign
servitium quam imperatorem Vespasianum malle. Galli
servitude than as-emperor Vespasian preferred the-Gauls
sustulerant animos, eandem ubique exercituum nostrorum
had-raised their-spirits the-same everywhere of-armies our
fortunam rati, vulgato rumore a Sarmatis Dacisque
fortune thinking with-spread-abroad rumor by the-Sarmatians and-Dacians
Moesica ac Pannonica hiberna circumsederi; paria
the-Moesian and Pannonian winter-quarters to-be-besieged equal-things
de Britannia fingebantur. sed nihil aeque quam incendium
about Britain were-invented but nothing so-much as the-burning

Capitolii, ut finem imperio adesse crederent, impulerat.
of-the-Capitol that the-end to-the-empire to-be-at-hand they-should-believe had-driven
captam olim a Gallis urbem, sed integra Iovis sede
captured once by the-Gauls the-city but with-intact of-Jupiter seat
mansisse imperium: fatali nunc igne signum caelestis
to-have-remained the-empire by-fated now fire a-sign of-heavenly
irae datum et possessionem rerum humanarum Transalpinis
wrath given and the-possession of-affairs human for-the-Transalpine
gentibus portendi superstitione vana Druidae canebant.
peoples to-be-portended with-superstition empty the-Druids chanted
incesseratque fama primores Galliarum ab Othone adversus
and-had-spread a-report the-chief-men of-the-Gauls by Otho against
Vitellium missos, antequam digrederentur, pepigisse ne
Vitellius sent before they-departed to-have-agreed that-not
deessent libertati, si populum Romanum continua civilium
they-would-fail liberty if the-people Roman a-continuous of-civil
bellorum series et interna mala fregissent.
wars series and internal evils had-broken
55 Ante Flacci Hordeonii caedem nihil prorupit quo coniuratio
before of-Flaccus Hordeonius the-murder nothing burst-out by-which the-conspiracy
intellegeretur: interfecto Hordeonio commeavere nuntii inter
might-be-understood with-killed Hordeonius went-to-and-fro messengers between
Civilem Classicumque praefectum alae Trevirorum.
Civilis and-Classicus prefect of-the-squadron of-the-Treviri
Classicus nobilitate opibusque ante alios: regium illi genus
Classicus in-nobility and-wealth before others royal to-him the-family
et pace belloque clara origo, ipse e maioribus suis hostis
and in-peace and-war famous the-origin himself from ancestors his-own an-enemy
populi Romani quam socios iactabat. miscuere sese
of-the-people Roman rather-than allies he-boasted mingled themselves
Iulius Tutor et Iulius Sabinus, hic Trevir, hic Lingonus,
Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus this-one a-Treviran that-one a-Lingonian

Tutor ripae Rheni a Vitellio praefectus; Sabinum super
Tutor over-the-bank of-the-Rhine by Vitellius set Sabinus besides
insitam vanitatem falsae stirpis gloria incendebat: proaviam
implanted vanity of-false stock glory inflamed great-grandmother
suam divo Iulio per Gallias bellanti corpore atque
his-own to-the-deified Julius through the-Gauls warring by-her-body and
adulterio placuisse. hi secretis sermonibus animos ceterorum
adultery to-have-pleased these in-secret talks the-minds of-the-others
scrutari, ubi quos idoneos rebantur conscientia obstrinxere,
sounded when whom fit they-thought by-complicity they-bound
in colonia Agrippinensi in domum privatam conveniunt;
in the-colony Agrippinensis into a-house private they-meet
nam publice civitas talibus inceptis abhorrebat; ac tamen
for publicly the-state from-such undertakings shrank and yet
interfuere quidam Ubiorum Tungrorumque. sed plurima vis
were-present some of-the-Ubii and-Tungrians but the-most force
penes Treviros ac Lingonas, nec tulere moras consultandi.
with the-Treviri and Lingones nor did-they-bear the-delays of-deliberating
certatim proclamant furere discordiis populum Romanum,
in-rivalry they-proclaim to-be-raging with-discords the-people Roman
caesas legiones, vastatam Italiam, capi cum maxime
slaughtered the-legions laid-waste Italy to-be-taken at-this-moment most
urbem, omnis exercitus suis quemque bellis distineri:
the-city all the-armies by-their-own each wars to-be-held-apart
si Alpes praesidiis firmentur, coalita libertate
if the-Alps with-garrisons should-be-strengthened with-grown-firm liberty
disceptaturas Gallias quem virium suarum terminum velint.
going-to-decide the-Gauls what of-strength their-own limit they-wish
Haec dicta pariter probataque: de reliquiis Vitelliani 56
these-things said alike and-approved about the-remnants of-the-Vitellian
exercitus dubitavere. plerique interficiendos censebant, turbidos,
army they-hesitated most to-be-killed voted turbulent

infidos, sanguine ducum pollutos: vicit ratio parcendi,
faithless with-the-blood of-generals polluted won the-reasoning of-sparing
ne sublata spe veniae pertinaciam accenderent: adliciendos
lest with-removed hope of-pardon obstinacy they-should-kindle to-be-enticed
potius in societatem. legatis tantum legionum interfectis,
rather into alliance with-the-legates only of-the-legions killed
ceterum vulgus conscientia scelerum et spe impunitatis
but the-crowd by-guilt of-crimes and by-hope of-impunity
facile accessurum. ea primi concilii forma missique
easily going-to-come-over that of-the-first council the-shape and-were-sent
per Gallias concitores belli; simulatum ipsis obsequium
through the-Gauls rousers of-war feigned by-themselves obedience
quo incautiorem Voculam opprimerent. nec defuere
by-which the-more-incautious Vocula they-might-crush nor were-lacking
qui Voculae nuntiarent, sed vires ad coercendum
those-who to-Vocula reported but the-strength for restraining
deerant, infrequentibus infidisque legionibus. inter ambiguos
was-lacking with-understrength and-faithless legions amid wavering
milites et occultos hostis optimum e praesentibus ratus
soldiers and secret enemies the-best of present-courses thinking
mutua dissimulatione et isdem quibus petebatur
by-mutual dissimulation and with-the-same-means with-which he-was-attacked
grassari, in coloniam Agrippinensem descendit. illuc Claudius
to-proceed into the-colony Agrippinensis he-goes-down thither Claudius
Labeo, quem captum et amendatum in Frisios diximus,
Labeo whom captured and sent-away into the-Frisians we-said
corruptis custodibus perfugit; pollicitusque, si praesidium
with-bribed guards fled and-having-promised if a-force
daretur, iturum in Batavos et potiorem civitatis partem
were-given going-to-go into the-Batavians and the-better of-the-state part
ad societatem Romanam retracturum, accepta peditum
to alliance Roman going-to-draw-back with-received of-infantry

equitumque modica manu nihil apud Batavos ausus
and-cavalry a-moderate band nothing among the-Batavians having-dared
quosdam Nerviorum Baetasiorumque in arma traxit, et
some of-the-Nervii and-Baetasii into arms drew and
furtim magis quam bello Canninefatis Marsacosque incursabat.
by-stealth more than by-war the-Canninefates and-Marsaci he-raided
Vocula Gallorum fraude inlectus ad hostem contendit; nec 57
Vocula by-the-Gauls' treachery enticed toward the-enemy hastened nor
procul Veteribus aberat, cum Classicus ac Tutor per
far from-Vetera was-he-distant when Classicus and Tutor under
speciem explorandi praegressi cum ducibus Germanorum
pretense of-reconnoitering having-gone-ahead with the-chiefs of-the-Germans
pacta firmavere. tumque primum discreti a legionibus
the-terms confirmed and-then first separated from the-legions
proprio vallo castra sua circumdant, obtestante
with-their-own rampart the-camp their-own they-surround with-protesting
Vocula non adeo turbatam civilibus armis rem
Vocula not so-far thrown-into-confusion by-civil arms the-state
Romanam ut Treviris etiam Lingonibusque despectui
Roman that to-the-Treviri even and-Lingones an-object-of-contempt
sit. superesse fidas provincias, victores exercitus, fortunam
it-be to-remain loyal provinces victorious armies the-fortune
imperii et ultores deos. sic olim Sacrovirum et Aeduos,
of-the-empire and avenging gods so once Sacrovir and the-Aedui
nuper Vindicem Galliasque singulis proeliis concidisse.
lately Vindex and-the-Gauls in-single battles to-have-fallen
eadem rursus numina, eadem fata ruptores foederum
the-same again divinities the-same fates the-breakers of-treaties
expectarent. melius divo Iulio divoque Augusto notos
should-await better to-the-deified Julius and-the-deified Augustus known
eorum animos: Galbam et infracta tributa hostilis spiritus
their minds Galba and lessened tributes hostile spirits

induisse. nunc hostis, quia molle servitium; cum spoliati
to-have-put-on now enemies because soft the-servitude when despoiled
exutique fuerint, amicos fore. haec ferociter locutus,
and-stripped they-have-been friends going-to-be these-things fiercely having-spoken
postquam perstare in perfidia Classicum Tutoremque videt,
after to-persist in treachery Classicus and-Tutor he-sees
verso itinere Novaesium concedit: Galli duum milium
with-turned route to-Novaesium withdraws the-Gauls two of-thousands
spatio distantibus campis consedere. illuc commeantium
at-a-distance distant on-the-plains encamped thither of-the-going-to-and-fro
centurionum militumque emebantur animi, ut (flagitium
centurions and-soldiers were-bought the-minds that a-crime
incognitum) Romanus exercitus in externa verba iurarent
unheard-of a-Roman army to foreign words should-swear
pignusque tanti sceleris nece aut vinculis legatorum
and-the-pledge of-such crime by-the-death or by-the-chains of-the-legates
daretur. Vocula, quamquam plerique fugam suadebant,
should-be-given Vocula although most flight urged
audendum ratus vocata contione in hunc modum disseruit:
must-dare thinking with-called assembly in this manner discoursed
58 'Numquam apud vos verba feci aut pro vobis sollicitior
never before you words have-I-made either for you more-anxious
aut pro me securior. nam mihi exitium parari libens
or for myself more-unconcerned for for-me destruction to-be-prepared gladly
audio mortemque in tot malis ut finem miseriarum expecto:
I-hear and-death in so-many evils as an-end of-miseries I-await
vestri me pudet miseretque, adversus quos non proelium et
of-you me it-shames and-it-pities against whom not battle and
acies parantur; id enim fas armorum et ius hostium
line are-prepared that for the-right of-arms and the-law of-enemies
est: bellum cum populo Romano vestris se manibus
is war with the-people Roman with-your themselves hands

gesturum Classicus sperat imperiumque et sacramentum
to-be-going-to-wage Classicus hopes and-an-empire and the-oath
Galliarum ostentat. adeo nos, si fortuna in praesens virtusque
of-the-Gauls displays so-far us if fortune for the-present and-valor
deseruit, etiam vetera exempla deficiunt, quotiens Romanae
has-deserted even old examples fail how-often Roman
legiones perire praeoptaverint ne loco pellerentur? socii
legions to-perish have-preferred lest from-their-place they-should-be-driven allies
saepe nostri excindi urbis suas seque cum coniugibus
often our to-be-destroyed cities their-own and-themselves with wives
ac liberis cremari pertulerunt, neque aliud pretium exitus
and children to-be-burned have-endured nor other reward of-their-end
quam fides famaque. tolerant cum maxime inopiam
than loyalty and-fame endure at-this-moment most want
obsidiumque apud Vetera legiones nec terrore aut promissis
and-siege at Vetera the-legions nor by-terror or promises
demoventur: nobis super arma et viros et egregia castrorum
are-they-moved for-us besides arms and men and excellent of-the-camp
munimenta frumentum et commeatus quamvis longo bello
fortifications grain and supplies however for-a-long war
pares. pecunia nuper etiam donativo suffecit, quod sive
equal money lately even for-the-donative sufficed which whether
a Vespasiano sive a Vitellio datum interpretari mavultis, ab
by Vespasian or by Vitellius given to-interpret you-prefer from
imperatore certe Romano accepistis. tot bellorum victores,
an-emperor surely Roman you-received of-so-many wars victors
apud Geldubam, apud Vetera, fuso totiens hoste, si
at Gelduba at Vetera with-routed so-often the-enemy if
pavetis aciem, indignum id quidem, sed est vallum murique
you-dread battle unworthy that indeed but there-is a-rampart and-walls
et trahendi artes, donec e proximis provinciis auxilia
and of-drawing-out arts until from the-nearest provinces auxiliaries

exercitusque concurrant. sane ego displiceam: sunt alii legati,
and-armies run-together granted I may-displease there-are other legates
tribuni, centurio denique aut miles. ne hoc prodigium toto
tribunes a-centurion finally or a-soldier lest this portent in-the-whole
terrarum orbe vulgetur, vobis satellitibus Civilem et
of-lands world be-spread-abroad with-you as-henchmen Civilis and
Classicum Italiam invasuros. an, si ad moenia urbis Germani
Classicus Italy going-to-invade or if to the-walls of-the-city the-Germans
Gallique duxerint, arma patriae inferetis? horret
and-Gauls shall-have-led arms against-your-fatherland will-you-bring shudders
animus tanti flagitii imagine. Tutorine Treviro agentur
the-mind of-such crime at-the-image by-Tutor-whether the-Treviran shall-be-kept
excubiae? signum belli Batavus dabit, et Germanorum catervas
the-watches the-signal of-war a-Batavian shall-give and of-the-Germans the-bands
supplebitis? quis deinde sceleris exitus, cum Romanae legiones
you-will-fill-up what then of-the-crime the-end when Roman legions
contra derexerint? transfugae e transfugis et proditores
against-you shall-have-drawn-up deserters from deserters and traitors
e proditoribus inter recens et vetus sacramentum invisi
from traitors between the-recent and old oath hateful
deis errabitis? te, Iuppiter optime maxime, quem per
to-the-gods you-will-wander you Jupiter best greatest whom through
octingentos viginti annos tot triumphis coluimus,
eight-hundred twenty years with-so-many triumphs we-have-worshiped
te, Quirine Romanae parens urbis, precor venerorque ut, si
you Quirinus of-the-Roman father city I-pray and-entreat that if
vobis non fuit cordi me duce haec castra incorrupta et
to-you not it-was at-heart with-me as-leader this camp uncorrupted and
intemerata servari, at certe pollui foedarique a Tutore et
inviolate to-be-kept but at-least to-be-polluted and-defiled by Tutor and

Classico ne sinatis, militibus Romanis aut innocentiam
Classicus not you-should-allow to-the-soldiers Roman either innocence
detis aut maturam et sine noxa paenitentiam.'
grant or a-timely and without harm repentance
Varie excepta oratio inter spem metumque ac pudorem. 59
variously received the-speech amid hope and-fear and shame
digressum Voculam et de supremis agitantem liberti servique
departed Vocula and about the-last-things deliberating freedmen and-slaves
prohibuere foedissimam mortem sponte praevenire. et
prevented a-most-foul death of-his-own-accord to-forestall and
Classicus misso Aemilio Longino, desertore primae legionis,
Classicus with-sent Aemilius Longinus a-deserter of-the-first legion
caedem eius maturavit; Herennium et Numisium legatos
the-murder his hastened Herennius and Numisius the-legates
vinciri satis visum. dein sumptis Romani imperii insignibus
to-be-bound enough it-seemed then with-assumed of-the-Roman empire the-insignia
in castra venit. nec illi, quamquam ad omne facinus durato,
into the-camp he-came nor to-him although to every crime hardened
verba ultra suppeditavere quam ut sacramentum recitaret:
words further sufficed than that the-oath he-should-recite
iuravere qui aderant pro imperio Galliarum. interfectorem
swore those-who were-present for the-empire of-the-Gauls the-killer
Voculae altis ordinibus, ceteros, ut quisque flagitium navaverat,
of-Vocula with-high ranks the-rest as each a-crime had-performed
praemiis attollit. Divisae inde inter Tutorem et Classicum
with-rewards he-exalts were-divided then between Tutor and Classicus
curae. Tutor valida manu circumdatos Agrippinensis
the-cares Tutor with-a-strong band the-surrounded Agrippinenses
quantumque militum apud superiorem Rheni ripam in eadem
and-as-many-as of-soldiers along the-upper of-the-Rhine bank into the-same
verba adigit, occisis Mogontiaci tribunis, pulso castrorum
words binds with-killed at-Mogontiacum the-tribunes with-driven-out of-the-camp

praefecto, qui detractaverant: Classicus corruptissimum quemque
the-prefect who had-refused Classicus the-most-corrupt each
e deditis pergere ad obsessos iubet, veniam ostentantis, si
from the-surrendered to-go to the-besieged orders pardon holding-out if
praesentia sequerentur: aliter nihil spei, famem ferrumque et
the-present they-should-follow otherwise nothing of-hope famine and-sword and
extrema passuros. adiecere qui missi erant exemplum suum.
the-extremes going-to-suffer added those-who sent were their-own example
60 Obsessos hinc fides, inde egestas inter decus ac flagitium
the-besieged on-this-side loyalty on-that want between honor and disgrace
distrahebant. cunctantibus solita insolitaque alimenta deerant,
tore-apart to-the-hesitating usual and-unusual foods were-lacking
absumptis iumentis equisque et ceteris animalibus, quae
with-used-up the-pack-animals and-horses and the-other animals which
profana foedaque in usum necessitas vertit. virgulta postremo
profane and-foul into use necessity turned shrubs at-last
et stirpis et internatas saxis herbas vellentes miseriarum
and roots and the-growing-between rocks grasses plucking of-miseries
patientiaeque documentum fuere, donec egregiam laudem
and-of-endurance an-example they-were until an-excellent glory
fine turpi macularent, missis ad Civilem legatis vitam
by-an-end shameful they-stained with-sent to Civilis envoys life
orantes. neque ante preces admissae quam in verba
begging nor before the-prayers were-admitted than to the-words
Galliarum iurarent: tum pactus praedam castrorum
of-the-Gauls they-swore then having-bargained-for the-plunder of-the-camp
dat custodes qui pecuniam calones sarcinas retentarent
he-gives guards who the-money servants baggage should-hold-back
et qui ipsos levis abeuntis prosequerentur. ad quintum
and who themselves light-armed departing should-escort at the-fifth
ferme lapidem coorti Germani incautum agmen adgrediuntur.
about milestone rising the-Germans the-incautious column attack

pugnacissimus quisque in vestigio, multi palantes occubuere:
the-most-pugnacious each in his-footprint many straggling fell
ceteri retro in castra perfugiunt, querente sane Civile
the-rest back into the-camp flee with-complaining certainly Civilis
et increpante Germanos tamquam fidem per scelus
and reproaching the-Germans as-if good-faith through crime
abrumperent. simulata ea fuerint an retinere saevientis
they-were-breaking feigned that were or to-restrain the-raging
nequiverit, parum adfirmatur. direptis castris faces iniciunt,
he-could-not too-little is-affirmed with-plundered camp torches they-throw-in
cunctosque qui proelio superfuerant incendium hausit.
and-all who from-the-battle had-survived the-fire swallowed

LIX · COLOGNE AND THE TENCTERI

Civilis cuts the hair he had vowed to grow, and Munius Lupercus is sent to the prophetess Veleda but killed on the way. The captured legions march in shame from Novaesium to Trier, and the Picentine squadron breaks away. The Tencteri demand that Cologne tear down its walls and kill its Romans; the Agrippinenses answer that the colonists are their kin and choose Civilis and Veleda as arbiters. Civilis wins over the Tungrians, and the Sequani rout Julius Sabinus.

Civilis barbaro voto post coepta adversus Romanos arma 61
Civilis by-a-barbarian vow after begun against the-Romans arms
propexum rutilatumque crinem patrata demum caede
combed-forward and-dyed-red his-hair with-accomplished at-last the-slaughter
legionum deposuit; et ferebatur parvulo filio quosdam
of-the-legions laid-down and it-was-said to-his-little son certain
captivorum sagittis iaculisque puerilibus figendos obtulisse.
of-the-captives with-arrows and-darts boyish to-be-pierced to-have-offered
ceterum neque se neque quemquam Batavum in verba
but neither himself nor any Batavian to the-words

Galliarum adegit, fisus Germanorum opibus et, si
of-the-Gauls did-be-bind trusting of-the-Germans in-the-resources and if
certandum adversus Gallos de possessione rerum foret,
it-must-be-fought against the-Gauls about the-possession of-affairs it-should-be
inclutus fama et potior. Munius Lupercus legatus legionis
renowned in-fame and stronger Munius Lupercus legate of-a-legion
inter dona missus Veledae. ea virgo nationis Bructerae
among the-gifts was-sent to-Veleda that maiden of-the-nation Bructeran
late imperitabat, vetere apud Germanos more, quo
widely ruled by-old among the-Germans custom by-which
plerasque feminarum fatidicas et augescente superstitione
very-many of-the-women prophetic and with-growing superstition
arbitrantur deas. tuncque Veledae auctoritas adolevit; nam
they-judge goddesses and-then of-Veleda the-authority grew for
prosperas Germanis res et excidium legionum praedixerat.
successful for-the-Germans affairs and the-destruction of-the-legions she-had-foretold
sed Lupercus in itinere interfectus. pauci centurionum
but Lupercus on the-road killed a-few of-the-centurions
tribunorumque in Gallia geniti reservantur pignus societati.
and-tribunes in Gaul born are-reserved as-a-pledge for-the-alliance
cohortium alarum legionum hiberna subversa crematque,
of-the-cohorts squadrons legions the-winter-quarters overturned and-burned
iis tantum relictis quae Mogontiaci ac Vindonissae sita
with-those only left which at-Mogontiacum and Vindonissa situated
sunt.
are

62 Legio sexta decima cum auxiliis simul deditis a
the-legion sixth tenth with the-auxiliaries at-the-same-time surrendered from
Novaesio in coloniam Trevirorum transgredi iubetur, praefinita
Novaesium into the-colony of-the-Treviri to-cross is-ordered with-fixed
die intra quam castris excederet. medium omne tempus
day within which from-the-camp it-should-depart the-intervening whole time

per varias curas egere, ignavissimus quisque caesorum apud
amid various cares they-spent the-most-cowardly each of-the-slain at
Vetera exemplo paventes, melior pars rubore et infamia:
Vetera by-the-example fearing the-better part from-blushing and disgrace
quale illud iter? quis dux viae? et omnia in arbitrio
what-sort that march who the-leader of-the-way and all-things in the-decision
eorum quos vitae necisque dominos fecissent. alii nulla
of-those whom of-life and-death masters they-had-made others by-no
dedecoris cura pecuniam aut carissima sibimet ipsi
of-disgrace care money or the-dearest-things for-themselves themselves
circumdare, quidam expedire arma telisque tamquam in
put-around some readied arms and-with-weapons as-if for
aciem accingi. haec meditantibus advenit proficiscendi
battle girded-themselves these-things to-the-meditating came of-setting-out
hora expectatione tristior. quippe intra vallum deformitas
the-hour than-expectation sadder for within the-rampart the-ugliness
haud perinde notabilis: detexit ignominiam campus et dies.
not so noticeable laid-bare the-ignominy the-plain and the-day
revulsae imperatorum imagines, inhonora signa, fulgentibus
torn-down of-the-emperors the-images dishonored the-standards with-gleaming
hinc inde Gallorum vexillis; silens agmen et velut longae
on-this-side on-that of-the-Gauls banners the-silent column and like a-long
exequiae; dux Claudius Sanctus effosso oculo dirus
funeral-procession the-leader Claudius Sanctus with-dug-out eye grim
ore, ingenio debilior. duplicatur flagitium, postquam desertis
in-face in-mind weaker is-doubled the-disgrace after with-deserted
Bonnensibus castris altera se legio miscuerat. et vulgata
the-Bonna camp the-other itself legion had-mingled and with-spread-abroad
captarum legionum fama cuncti qui paulo ante Romanorum
of-the-captured legions the-report all who a-little before of-the-Romans
nomen horrebant, procurrentes ex agris tectisque et undique
the-name had-dreaded running-forth from fields and-houses and from-all-sides

effusi insolito spectaculo nimium fruebantur. non tulit
poured-out the-unaccustomed spectacle too-much enjoyed not bore
ala Picentina gaudium insultantis vulgi, spretisque
the-squadron Picentine the-joy of-the-insulting crowd and-with-spurned
Sancti promissis aut minis Mogontiacum abeunt; ac forte
of-Sanctus the-promises or threats to-Mogontiacum they-go-away and by-chance
obvio interfectore Voculae Longino, coniectis in eum telis
with-meeting the-killer of-Vocula Longinus with-hurled at him missiles
initium exolvendae in posterum culpae fecere: legiones
the-beginning of-paying-off for the-future the-guilt they-made the-legions
nihil mutato itinere ante moenia Trevirorum considunt.
with-nothing changed route before the-walls of-the-Treviri encamp
63 Civilis et Classicus rebus secundis sublati, an coloniam
Civilis and Classicus by-affairs prosperous elated whether the-colony
Agrippinensem diripiendam exercitibus suis permitterent
Agrippinensis to-be-plundered to-armies their-own they-should-allow
dubitavere. saevitia ingenii et cupidine praedae ad
hesitated by-the-savagery of-their-nature and by-desire of-plunder to
excidium civitatis trahebantur: obstabat ratio belli
the-destruction of-the-state they-were-drawn stood-in-the-way the-reasoning of-war
et novum imperium inchoantibus utilis clementiae fama;
and for-a-new empire to-those-beginning useful of-mercy the-repute
Civilem etiam beneficii memoria flexit, quod filium eius
Civilis also by-the-memory of-a-kindness bent because the-son his
primo rerum motu in colonia Agrippinensi deprehensum
at-the-first of-things outbreak in the-colony Agrippinensis caught
honorata custodia habuerant. sed Transrhenanis gentibus
in-honorable custody they-had-kept but to-the-trans-Rhenane peoples
invisa civitas opulentia auctuque; neque alium finem belli
hateful the-city for-its-wealth and-growth nor other end of-the-war

rebantur quam si promisca ea sedes omnibus Germanis
they-thought than if common that seat for-all Germans
foret aut disiecta Ubios quoque dispersisset.
should-be or destroyed the-Ubii also it-had-scattered
Igitur Tencteri, Rheno discreta gens, missis legatis mandata 64
therefore the-Tencteri by-the-Rhine separated a-people with-sent envoys instructions
apud concilium Agrippinensium edi iubent, quae
before the-council of-the-Agrippinenses to-be-set-forth order which
ferocissimus e legatis in hunc modum protulit: 'redisse
the-fiercest of the-envoys in this manner produced to-have-returned
vos in corpus nomenque Germaniae communibus deis et
you into the-body and-name of-Germany to-the-common gods and
praecipuo deorum Marti grates agimus, vobisque gratulamur
to-the-chief of-the-gods Mars thanks we-give and-you we-congratulate
quod tandem liberi inter liberos eritis; nam ad hunc diem
that at-last free among free-men you-will-be for to this day
flumina ac terram et caelum quodam modo ipsum clauserant
rivers and land and heaven in-a-certain way itself had-closed
Romani ut conloquia congressusque nostros arcerent, vel,
the-Romans that the-parleys and-meetings our they-might-prevent or
quod contumeliosius est viris ad arma natis, inermes ac prope
what more-insulting is for-men for arms born unarmed and almost
nudi sub custode et pretio coiremus. sed ut amicitia
naked under a-guard and for-a-price we-should-meet but that the-friendship
societasque nostra in aeternum rata sint, postulamus a
and-alliance our for ever ratified may-be we-demand from
vobis muros coloniae, munimenta servitii, detrahatis (etiam
you the-walls of-the-colony the-bulwarks of-servitude that-you-pull-down even
fera animalia, si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur), Romanos
wild animals if shut-in you-keep courage forget the-Romans
omnis in finibus vestris trucidetis (haud facile libertas et
all in borders your that-you-slaughter not easily liberty and

domini miscentur): bona interfectorum in medium cedant,
masters are-mixed the-goods of-the-killed into the-common should-go
ne quis occulere quicquam aut segregare causam suam
lest anyone to-hide anything or to-separate the-cause his-own
possit. liceat nobis vobisque utramque ripam colere,
could let-it-be-allowed to-us and-to-you each bank to-dwell-on
ut olim maioribus nostris: quo modo lucem diemque
as once to-ancestors our in-which way light and-day
omnibus hominibus, ita omnis terras fortibus viris natura
to-all men so all lands to-brave men nature
aperuit. instituta cultumque patrium resumite, abruptis
has-opened the-institutions and-ways ancestral resume with-broken-off
voluptatibus, quibus Romani plus adversus subiectos quam
the-pleasures by-which the-Romans more against the-subjected than
armis valent. sincerus et integer et servitutis oblitus populus
by-arms prevail pure and whole and of-servitude forgetful a-people
aut ex aequo agetis aut aliis imperitabitis.'
either on equal-terms you-will-deal or over-others you-will-rule
65 Agrippinenses sumpto consultandi spatio, quando neque
the-Agrippinenses with-taken of-deliberating time since neither
subire condiciones metus futuri neque palam aspernari
to-accept the-terms the-fear of-the-future nor openly to-spurn
condicio praesens sinebat, in hunc modum respondent: 'quae
the-condition present allowed in this manner reply what
prima libertatis facultas data est, avidius quam cautius
the-first of-liberty opportunity given was more-eagerly than more-cautiously
sumpsimus, ut vobis ceterisque Germanis, consanguineis
we-took that with-you and-the-other Germans kinsmen
nostris, iungeremur. muros civitatis, congregantibus se
our we-might-be-joined the-walls of-the-city with-gathering themselves
cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis
at-this-moment most of-the-Romans armies to-increase for-us

quam diruere tutius est. si qui ex Italia aut provinciis
than to-demolish safer is if any from Italy or the-provinces
alienigenae in finibus nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit
foreigners in borders our had-been them war has-used-up
vel in suas quisque sedis refugerunt. deductis olim et
or to their-own each seats they-have-fled-back for-those-settled once and
nobiscum per conubium sociatis quique mox provenerunt
with-us through marriage joined and-who afterward have-been-born
haec patria est; nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus
this the-fatherland is nor you so unjust do-we-think
ut interfici a nobis parentes fratres liberos nostros
that to-be-killed by us parents brothers children our
velitis. vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus:
you-should-wish the-toll and burdens of-commerce we-remove
sint transitus incustoditi sed diurni et inermes, donec
let-there-be crossings unguarded but by-day and unarmed until
nova et recentia iura vetustate in consuetudinem vertuntur.
new and recent rights by-age into custom are-turned
arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos
as-arbiter we-shall-have Civilis and Veleda before whom
pacta sancientur.' sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem
the-pacts will-be-ratified so with-softened Tencteri envoys to Civilis
ac Veledam missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate
and Veleda sent with gifts all-things according-to the-will
Agrippinensium perpetravere; sed coram adire adloquique
of-the-Agrippinenses accomplished but in-person to-approach and-to-address
Veledam negatum: arcebantur aspectu quo venerationis plus
Veleda was-refused they-were-kept-from the-sight that of-veneration more
inesset. ipsa edita in turre; delectus e propinquis
might-be-in-it she-herself placed-high in a-tower one-chosen from her-kinsmen
consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat.
the-questions and-answers as messenger of-a-divinity carried

66 Civilis societate Agrippinensium auctus proximas civitates
Civilis by-the-alliance of-the-Agrippinenses increased the-nearest states
adfectare aut adversantibus bellum inferre statuit. occupatisque
to-court or on-the-opposers war to-bring decided and-with-occupied
Sunucis et iuventute eorum per cohortis composita,
Sunuci and the-youth their into cohorts arranged
quo minus ultra pergeret, Claudius Labeo Baetasiorum
by-which less further he-should-proceed Claudius Labeo of-Baetasii
Tungrorumque et Nerviorum tumultuaria manu restitit,
and-Tungrians and Nervii with-a-hastily-raised band withstood
fretus loco, quia pontem Mosae fluminis anteceperat.
relying on-the-place because the-bridge of-the-Meuse river he-had-seized-first
pugnabaturque in angustiis ambigue donec Germani
and-it-was-fought in the-narrows doubtfully until the-Germans
transnatantes terga Labeonis invasere; simul Civilis,
swimming-across the-rear of-Labeo attacked at-the-same-time Civilis
ausus an ex composito, intulit se agmini Tungrorum,
having-dared or by arrangement brought himself to-the-column of-the-Tungrians
et clara voce 'non ideo' inquit 'bellum sumpsimus, ut
and with-clear voice not for-that he-said war have-we-taken-up that
Batavi et Treviri gentibus imperent: procul haec a nobis
the-Batavians and Treviri over-peoples should-rule far this from us
adrogantia. accipite societatem: transgredior ad vos, seu me
arrogance accept alliance I-cross-over to you whether me
ducem seu militem mavultis.' movebatur vulgus condebantque
as-leader or as-soldier you-prefer was-moved the-crowd and-they-sheathed
gladios, cum Campanus ac Iuvenalis e primoribus
their-swords when Campanus and Juvenalis from the-chief-men
Tungrorum universam ei gentem dedidere; Labeo antequam
of-the-Tungrians the-whole to-him people surrendered Labeo before
circumveniretur profugit. Civilis Baetasios quoque ac Nervios
he-could-be-surrounded fled Civilis the-Baetasii also and Nervii

in fidem acceptos copiis suis adiunxit, ingens rerum,
into protection received to-forces his-own joined huge in-power
perculsis civitatum animis vel sponte inclinantibus.
with-struck of-the-states minds or of-their-own-accord inclining
Interea Iulius Sabinus proiectis foederis Romani 67
meanwhile Julius Sabinus with-thrown-down of-the-treaty Roman
monumentis Caesarem se salutari iubet magnamque
monuments as-Caesar himself to-be-saluted orders and-a-great
et inconditam popularium turbam in Sequanos rapit,
and disorderly of-his-countrymen crowd into the-Sequani hurries
conterminam civitatem et nobis fidam; nec Sequani
a-neighboring state and to-us loyal nor the-Sequani
detractavere certamen. fortuna melioribus adfuit: fusi
declined the-contest fortune the-better attended were-routed
Lingones. Sabinus festinatum temere proelium pari
the-Lingones Sabinus the-hastened rashly battle with-equal
formidine deseruit; utque famam exitii sui faceret,
dread deserted and-that a-report of-death his-own he-might-make
villam, in quam perfugerat, cremavit, illic voluntaria morte
the-farmhouse into which he-had-fled he-burned there by-voluntary death
interisse creditus. sed quibus artibus latebrisque vitam
to-have-perished believed but by-what arts and-hiding-places his-life
per novem mox annos traduxerit, simul amicorum eius
for nine further years he-dragged-out at-the-same-time of-friends his
constantiam et insigne Epponinae uxoris exemplum suo
the-constancy and the-remarkable of-Epponina his-wife example in-its-own
loco reddemus. Sequanorum prospera acie belli impetus
place we-shall-render of-the-Sequani by-the-successful battle of-the-war the-onrush
stetit. resipiscere paulatim civitates fasque et foedera
stood-still came-to-their-senses gradually the-states and-right and treaties

respicere, principibus Remis, qui per Gallias edixere ut missis
regarded with-the-chief Remi who through the-Gauls proclaimed that with-sent
legatis in commune consultarent, libertas an pax placeret.
envoys in common they-should-deliberate liberty or peace pleased

LX · CERIALIS AT TRIER

Mucianus sends legions north under Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerialis and holds Domitian back. At a council of the Gauls at Reims, Julius Auspex outargues the Treviran Valentinus, and the states choose peace. The rebels fail to cooperate; Tutor is beaten at Bingium, and the captured legions swear to Vespasian again. Cerialis storms Rigodulum, captures Valentinus, and enters Trier, sparing the city, receiving the shamed legions, and telling the Treviri and Lingones that Rome alone stands between Gaul and the Germans.

68 At Romae cuncta in deterius audita Mucianum angebant,
but at-Rome all-things for the-worse heard distressed Mucianus
ne quamquam egregii duces (iam enim Gallum Annium
lest although excellent generals already for Gallus Annius
et Petilium Cerialem delegerat) summam belli parum
and Petilius Cerialis he-had-chosen the-sum of-the-war too-little
tolerarent. nec relinquenda urbs sine rectore; et Domitiani
they-should-bear nor to-be-left the-city without a-director and of-Domitian
indomitae libidines timebantur, suspectis, uti diximus, Primo
the-untamed lusts were-feared with-suspected as we-said Primus
Antonio Varoque Arrio. Varus praetorianis praepositus vim
Antonius and-Varus Arrius Varus over-the-praetorians set the-force
atque arma retinebat: eum Mucianus pulsum loco, ne sine
and arms kept him Mucianus driven from-his-place lest without
solacio ageret, annonae praefecit. utque Domitiani
consolation he-should-act over-the-grain-supply set and-that of-Domitian

animum Varo haud alienum deleniret, Arrecinum Clementem,
the-mind to-Varus not estranged he-might-soothe Arrecinus Clemens
domui Vespasiani per adfinitatem innexum et gratissimum
to-the-house of-Vespasian by kinship tied and most-pleasing
Domitiano, praetorianis praeposuit, patrem eius sub
to-Domitian over-the-praetorians he-set the-father his under
C. Caesare egregie functum ea cura dictitans, laetum
Gaius Caesar outstandingly having-discharged that charge saying welcome
militibus idem nomen, atque ipsum, quamquam senatorii
to-the-soldiers the-same name and himself although of-senatorial
ordinis, ad utraque munia sufficere. adsumuntur e civitate
rank for both duties to-suffice are-taken-on from the-state
clarissimus quisque et alii per ambitionem. simul
the-most-famous each and others through ambition at-the-same-time
Domitianus Mucianusque accingebantur, dispari animo, ille
Domitian and-Mucianus girded-themselves with-unequal spirit he
spe ac iuventa properus, hic moras nectens quis
by-hope and youth hasty this-one delays weaving with-which
flagrantem retineret, ne ferocia aetatis et pravis
the-burning-one he-might-hold-back lest from-the-ferocity of-age and by-crooked
impulsoribus, si exercitum invasisset, paci belloque male
instigators if the-army he-had-seized for-peace and-war ill
consuleret. legiones victrices, octava, undecima, decima tertia
he-should-provide the-legions victorious eighth eleventh tenth third
Vitellianarum unaetvicensima, e recens conscriptis secunda
of-the-Vitellian twenty-first of the-recently enrolled second
Poeninis Cottianisque Alpibus, pars monte Graio
over-the-Pennine and-Cottian Alps part by-the-mountain Graian
traducuntur; quarta decima legio e Britannia, sexta ac prima
are-led-across the-fourth tenth legion from Britain the-sixth and first
ex Hispania accitae. Igitur venientis exercitus fama et
from Spain are-summoned therefore of-the-coming army by-the-report and

suopte ingenio ad mitiora inclinantes Galliarum civitates
by-their-own nature to milder-courses inclining of-the-Gauls the-states
in Remos convenere. Trevirorum legatio illic opperiebatur,
to the-Remi met of-the-Treviri the-embassy there was-waiting
acerrimo instinctore belli Iulio Valentino. is meditata
with-the-fiercest instigator of-war Julius Valentinus he in-a-prepared
oratione cuncta magnis imperiis obiectari solita contumeliasque
speech all-things to-great empires to-be-cast-at usual and-insults
et invidiam in populum Romanum effudit, turbidus
and odium against the-people Roman poured-out turbulent
miscendis seditionibus et plerisque gratus vaecordi facundia.
in-mixing seditions and to-most pleasing by-frenzied eloquence
69 At Iulius Auspex e primoribus Remorum, vim Romanam
but Julius Auspex from the-chief-men of-the-Remi the-might Roman
pacisque bona dissertans et sumi bellum etiam ab
and-of-peace the-goods arguing and to-be-taken-up war even by
ignavis, strenuissimi cuiusque periculo geri, iamque
cowards of-the-most-vigorous each at-the-danger to-be-waged and-already
super caput legiones, sapientissimum quemque reverentia
over their-head the-legions the-wisest each by-reverence
fideque, iuniores periculo ac metu continuit: et Valentini
and-loyalty the-younger by-danger and fear restrained and of-Valentinus
animum laudabant, consilium Auspicis sequebantur. constat
the-spirit they-praised the-counsel of-Auspex they-followed it-is-agreed
obstitisse Treviris Lingonibusque apud Gallias, quod
to-have-stood-in-the-way to-the-Treviri and-Lingones among the-Gauls that
Vindicis motu cum Verginio steterant. deterruit plerosque
of-Vindex in-the-rising with Verginius they-had-stood deterred most
provinciarum aemulatio: quod bello caput? unde ius
of-the-provinces the-rivalry what for-the-war the-head whence right
auspiciumque peteretur? quam, si cuncta provenissent, sedem
and-auspices should-be-sought what if all-things had-succeeded seat

imperio legerent? nondum victoria, iam discordia erat,
for-the-empire they-should-choose not-yet victory already discord there-was
aliis foedera, quibusdam opes virisque aut vetustatem
with-some treaties with-certain wealth and-strength or the-antiquity
originis per iurgia iactantibus: taedio futurorum
of-origin through quarrels boasting from-weariness of-the-future
praesentia placuere. scribuntur ad Treviros epistulae nomine
the-present-things pleased are-written to the-Treviri letters in-the-name
Galliarum ut abstinerent armis, impetrabili venia et
of-the-Gauls that they-should-refrain from-arms with-obtainable pardon and
paratis deprecatoribus, si paeniteret: restitit idem Valentinus
with-ready intercessors if they-repented resisted the-same Valentinus
obstruxitque civitatis suae auris, haud perinde instruendo
and-blocked of-state his-own the-ears not so-much on-equipping
bello intentus quam frequens contionibus.
war intent as frequent at-assemblies
Igitur non Treviri neque Lingones ceteraeve rebellium 70
therefore not the-Treviri nor the-Lingones or-the-other of-the-rebels
civitates pro magnitudine suscepti discriminis
states in-proportion-to the-greatness of-the-undertaken danger
agere; ne duces quidem in unum consulere, sed Civilis
acted not the-leaders even in one consulted but Civilis
avia Belgarum circumibat, dum Claudium Labeonem
the-pathless-places of-the-Belgae went-round while Claudius Labeo
capere aut exturbare nititur; Classicus segne plerumque
to-capture or to-dislodge he-strives Classicus sluggish mostly
otium trahens velut parto imperio fruebatur; ne Tutor
leisure dragging-out as-if with-won empire enjoyed not Tutor
quidem maturavit superiorem Germaniae ripam et ardua
even hastened the-upper of-Germany bank and the-heights
Alpium praesidiis claudere. atque interim unaetvicensima legio
of-the-Alps with-garrisons to-close and meanwhile the-twenty-first legion

Vindonissa, Sextilius Felix cum auxiliariis cohortibus per
from-Vindonissa Sextilius Felix with auxiliary cohorts through
Raetiam inrupere; accessit ala Singularium excita olim
Raetia burst-in came-up the-squadron of-Singulares summoned once
a Vitellio, deinde in partis Vespasiani transgressa. praeerat
by Vitellius then to the-side of-Vespasian crossed commanded
Iulius Briganticus sorore Civilis genitus, ut ferme
Julius Briganticus from-the-sister of-Civilis born as commonly
acerrima proximorum odia sunt, invisus avunculo infensusque.
the-fiercest of-the-nearest hatreds are hated by-his-uncle and-hostile
Tutor Trevirorum copias, recenti Vangionum, Caeracatium,
Tutor of-the-Treviri the-forces with-a-recent of-Vangiones Caeracates
Tribocorum dilectu auctas, veterano pedite atque equite
Triboci levy increased with-veteran infantry and cavalry
firmavit, corruptis spe aut metu subactis legionariis; qui
strengthened with-corrupted by-hope or by-fear subdued legionaries who
primo cohortem praemissam a Sextilio Felice interficiunt, mox
at-first a-cohort sent-ahead by Sextilius Felix kill soon
ubi duces exercitusque Romanus propinquabant, honesto
when the-generals and-army Roman drew-near by-an-honorable
transfugio rediere, secutis Tribocis Vangionibusque
desertion they-returned with-following the-Triboci and-Vangiones
et Caeracatibus. Tutor Treviris comitantibus, vitato
and Caeracates Tutor with-the-Treviri accompanying with-avoided
Mogontiaco, Bingium concessit, fidens loco, quia pontem
Mogontiacum to-Bingium withdrew trusting in-the-place because the-bridge
Navae fluminis abruperat, sed incursu cohortium,
of-the-Nava river he-had-broken-down but by-the-charge of-the-cohorts
quas Sextilius ducebat, et reperto vado proditus fususque.
which Sextilius led and with-found a-ford betrayed and-routed
ea clade perculsi Treviri, et plebes omissis armis per
by-that disaster struck the-Treviri and the-plebs with-dropped arms through

agros palatur: quidam principum, ut primi posuisse
the-fields straggle some of-the-chief-men that first to-have-laid-down
bellum viderentur, in civitates quae societatem Romanam
the-war they-might-seem into the-states which the-alliance Roman
non exuerant, perfugere. legiones a Novaesio Bonnaque
not had-put-off fled the-legions from Novaesium and-Bonna
in Treviros, ut supra memoravimus, traductae se ipsae
into the-Treviri as above we-recounted led-across themselves themselves
in verba Vespasiani adigunt. haec Valentino absente
into the-words of-Vespasian bind these-things with-Valentinus absent
gesta; qui ubi adventabat furens cunctaque rursus in
done who when he-was-approaching raging and-all-things again into
turbas et exitium conversurus, legiones in Mediomatricos,
disorders and destruction going-to-turn the-legions into the-Mediomatrici
sociam civitatem, abscessere: Valentinus ac Tutor in arma
an-allied state withdrew Valentinus and Tutor into arms
Treviros retrahunt, occisis Herennio ac Numisio legatis
the-Treviri drag-back with-killed Herennius and Numisius the-legates
quo minore spe veniae cresceret vinculum sceleris.
so-that with-smaller hope of-pardon might-grow the-bond of-crime
Hic belli status erat cum Petilius Cerialis Mogontiacum 71
this of-the-war the-state was when Petilius Cerialis to-Mogontiacum
venit. eius adventu erectae spes; ipse pugnae avidus et
came at-his arrival were-roused hopes himself for-battle eager and
contemnendis quam cavendis hostibus melior, ferocia
in-despising than in-guarding-against the-enemy better by-the-ferocity
verborum militem incendebat, ubi primum congredi
of-his-words the-soldiery he-inflamed as-soon-as first to-engage
licuisset, nullam proelio moram facturus. dilectus
it-should-be-allowed no to-battle delay going-to-make the-levies
per Galliam habitos in civitates remittit ac nuntiare
through Gaul held to the-states he-sends-back and to-announce

iubet sufficere imperio legiones: socii ad munia pacis
orders to-suffice for-the-empire the-legions the-allies to the-duties of-peace
redirent securi velut confecto bello quod Romanae
should-return unconcerned as-if with-finished war which Roman
manus excepissent. auxit ea res Gallorum obsequium: nam
hands had-taken-up increased that thing of-the-Gauls the-obedience for
recepta iuventute facilius tributa toleravere, proniores
with-recovered youth more-easily the-tributes they-bore more-inclined
ad officia quod spernebantur. at Civilis et Classicus ubi
to duties because they-were-spurned but Civilis and Classicus when
pulsum Tutorem, caesos Treviros, cuncta hostibus prospera
routed Tutor slaughtered the-Treviri all-things for-the-enemy successful
accepere, trepidi ac properantes, dum dispersas suorum copias
they-learned alarmed and hurrying while the-scattered of-their-own forces
conducunt, crebris interim nuntiis Valentinum monuere ne
they-collect by-frequent meanwhile messages Valentinus they-warned that-not
summae rei periculum faceret. eo rapidius Cerialis,
of-the-whole cause a-trial he-should-make so-much more-swiftly Cerialis
missis in Mediomatricos qui breviore itinere legiones
with-sent into the-Mediomatrici men-who by-a-shorter route the-legions
in hostem verterent, contracto quod erat militum
against the-enemy should-turn with-gathered what there-was of-soldiers
Mogontiaci quantumque secum transvexerat, tertiis
at-Mogontiacum and-as-many-as with-himself he-had-brought-across in-the-third
castris Rigodulum venit, quem locum magna Trevirorum
camp to-Rigodulum came which place with-a-great of-Treviri
manu Valentinus insederat, montibus aut Mosella amne
band Valentinus had-occupied by-mountains or by-the-Moselle river
saeptum; et addiderat fossas obicesque saxorum. nec deterruere
hedged and he-had-added ditches and-barriers of-stones nor deterred
ea munimenta Romanum ducem quo minus peditem
these fortifications the-Roman general by-which less the-infantry

perrumpere iuberet, equitum aciem in collem erigeret,
to-break-through he-should-order of-the-cavalry the-line up the-hill should-lead
spreto hoste, quem temere collectum haud ita loco
with-spurned the-enemy whom rashly gathered not so by-the-place
iuvari ut non plus suis in virtute foret. paulum morae
to-be-helped that not more for-his-own in valor would-be a-little of-delay
in adscensu, dum missilia hostium praevehuntur: ut ventum
in the-ascent while the-missiles of-the-enemy fly-past when it-was-come
in manus, deturbati ruinae modo praecipitantur. et
to hands thrown-down of-a-collapse in-the-manner they-are-hurled-headlong and
pars equitum aequioribus iugis circumvecta nobilissimos
part of-the-cavalry by-the-more-level ridges ridden-round the-noblest
Belgarum, in quis ducem Valentinum, cepit.
of-the-Belgae among whom the-leader Valentinus captured
Cerialis postero die coloniam Trevirorum ingressus est, 72
Cerialis on-the-next day the-colony of-the-Treviri entered has
avido milite eruendae civitatis. hanc esse Classici, hanc
with-eager soldiery of-razing the-city this to-be of-Classicus this
Tutoris patriam; horum scelere clausas caesasque legiones.
of-Tutor the-fatherland by-their crime shut-in and-slaughtered the-legions
quid tantum Cremonam meruisse? quam e gremio Italiae
what so-much Cremona to-have-deserved which from the-bosom of-Italy
raptam quia unius noctis moram victoribus attulerit. stare
snatched because of-one night delay to-the-victors it-had-brought to-stand
in confinio Germaniae integram sedem spoliis exercituum
on the-border of-Germany intact a-seat over-the-spoils of-armies
et ducum caedibus ovantem. redigeretur praeda in
and of-generals the-murders exulting let-be-brought-back the-plunder into
fiscum: ipsis sufficere ignis et rebellis coloniae ruinas,
the-treasury for-themselves to-suffice fire and of-a-rebel colony the-ruins
quibus tot castrorum excidia pensarentur. Cerialis metu
by-which so-many of-camps destructions might-be-paid-for Cerialis from-fear

infamiae, si licentia saevitiaque imbuere militem crederetur,
of-infamy if with-license and-savagery to-steep the-soldiery he-should-be-believed
pressit iras: et paruere, posito civium bello ad
checked their-angers and they-obeyed with-laid-aside of-citizens war toward
externa modestiores. convertit inde animos accitarum
foreign-wars more-restrained turned thence their-minds of-the-summoned
e Mediomatricis legionum miserabilis aspectus. stabant
from the-Mediomatrici legions pitiable the-appearance they-stood
conscientia flagitii maestae, fixis in terram oculis: nulla
from-guilt of-crime sad with-fixed on the-ground eyes no
inter coeuntis exercitus consalutatio; neque solantibus
among the-meeting armies greeting nor to-those-consoling
hortantibusve responsa dabant, abditi per tentoria et lucem
or-encouraging answers they-gave hidden in the-tents and the-light
ipsam vitantes. nec proinde periculum aut metus quam
itself avoiding nor so-much danger or fear as
pudor ac dedecus obstupefecerat, attonitis etiam victoribus,
shame and disgrace had-stunned-them with-stunned even the-victors
qui vocem precesque adhibere non ausi lacrimis ac
who voice and-prayers to-apply not having-dared with-tears and
silentio veniam poscebant, donec Cerialis mulceret animos,
silence pardon begged until Cerialis soothed their-minds
fato acta dictitans quae militum ducumque discordia vel
by-fate done saying what-things of-the-soldiers and-generals by-the-discord or
fraude hostium evenissent. primum illum stipendiorum
by-the-treachery of-the-enemy had-happened the-first that of-service
et sacramenti diem haberent: priorum facinorum neque
and of-the-oath day they-should-hold of-former deeds neither
imperatorem neque se meminisse. tunc recepti in eadem
the-emperor nor himself to-remember then received into the-same

castra, et edictum per manipulos ne quis in certamine
camp and was-proclaimed through the-maniples that-not anyone in a-contest
iurgiove seditionem aut cladem commilitoni obiectaret.
or-quarrel mutiny or disaster against-a-comrade should-cast
Mox Treviros ac Lingonas ad contionem vocatos ita 73
soon the-Treviri and Lingones to an-assembly called thus
adloquitur: 'neque ego umquam facundiam exercui, et
he-addresses neither I ever eloquence have-practiced and
populi Romani virtutem armis adfirmavi: sed quoniam apud
of-the-people Roman the-valor with-arms I-have-asserted but since among
vos verba plurimum valent bonaque ac mala non sua
you words most prevail and-goods and evils not by-their-own
natura, sed vocibus seditiosorum aestimantur, statui
nature but by-the-voices of-the-seditious are-judged I-have-decided
pauca disserere quae profligato bello utilius sit vobis
a-few-things to-discourse which with-finished war more-useful it-be for-you
audisse quam nobis dixisse. terram vestram ceterorumque
to-have-heard than for-us to-have-said the-land your and-of-the-other
Gallorum ingressi sunt duces imperatoresque Romani nulla
Gauls entered have generals and-commanders Roman from-no
cupidine, sed maioribus vestris invocantibus, quos discordiae
desire but with-ancestors your calling-on whom discords
usque ad exitium fatigabant, et acciti auxilio Germani
right to destruction wearied and summoned for-help the-Germans
sociis pariter atque hostibus servitutem imposuerant. quot
on-allies alike and on-enemies servitude had-imposed in-how-many
proeliis adversus Cimbros Teutonosque, quantis exercituum
battles against the-Cimbri and-Teutones with-what-great of-armies
nostrorum laboribus quove eventu Germanica bella
our toils or-with-what outcome the-German wars
tractaverimus, satis clarum. nec ideo Rhenum insedimus
we-have-handled enough clear nor for-that the-Rhine have-we-occupied

ut Italiam tueremur, sed ne quis alius Ariovistus regno
that Italy we-might-protect but lest any other Ariovistus of-the-kingdom
Galliarum potiretur. an vos cariores Civili Batavisque
of-the-Gauls should-get-possession or you dearer to-Civilis and-the-Batavians
et transrhenanis gentibus creditis quam maioribus eorum
and to-the-trans-Rhenane peoples do-you-believe than to-ancestors their
patres avique vestri fuerunt? eadem semper causa
fathers and-grandfathers your were the-same always the-cause
Germanis transcendendi in Gallias, libido atque avaritia et
for-the-Germans of-crossing into the-Gauls lust and greed and
mutandae sedis amor, ut relictis paludibus et solitudinibus
of-changing their-seat love that with-left marshes and wildernesses
suis fecundissimum hoc solum vosque ipsos possiderent:
their-own most-fertile this soil and-you yourselves they-might-possess
ceterum libertas et speciosa nomina praetexuntur; nec
but liberty and specious names are-put-forward nor
quisquam alienum servitium et dominationem sibi
anyone another's servitude and despotism for-himself
concupivit ut non eadem ista vocabula usurparet.'
has-desired that not the-same those words he-used

74 'Regna bellaque per Gallias semper fuere donec in
kingdoms and-wars through the-Gauls always there-were until into
nostrum ius concederetis. nos, quamquam totiens lacessiti,
our jurisdiction you-yielded we although so-often provoked
iure victoriae id solum vobis addidimus, quo pacem
by-the-right of-victory that only on-you have-imposed by-which peace
tueremur; nam neque quies gentium sine armis neque arma
we-might-protect for neither quiet of-peoples without arms nor arms
sine stipendiis neque stipendia sine tributis haberi queunt:
without pay nor pay without tributes to-be-had can
cetera in communi sita sunt. ipsi plerumque legionibus
the-rest in common placed are yourselves mostly legions

nostris praesidetis, ipsi has aliasque provincias regitis; nihil
our command yourselves these and-other provinces rule nothing
separatum clausumve. et laudatorum principum usus ex
separated or-shut and of-praised emperors the-benefit on
aequo quamvis procul agentibus: saevi proximis ingruunt.
equal-terms however far-off to-those-living the-savage on-those-nearest fall
quo modo sterilitatem aut nimios imbris et cetera naturae
in-which way barrenness or excessive rains and the-other of-nature
mala, ita luxum vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate. vitia
evils so the-luxury or greed of-the-rulers endure vices
erunt, donec homines, sed neque haec continua et
there-will-be as-long-as men but neither these-things continuous and
meliorum interventu pensantur: nisi forte Tutore et Classico
of-better-men by-the-intervention are-compensated unless perhaps with-Tutor and Classicus
regnantibus moderatius imperium speratis, aut minoribus quam
reigning a-more-moderate rule you-hope or with-smaller than
nunc tributis parabuntur exercitus quibus Germani Britannique
now tributes will-be-raised the-armies by-which the-Germans and-Britons
arceantur. nam pulsis, quod di prohibeant, Romanis
may-be-kept-off for with-driven-out which the-gods forbid the-Romans
quid aliud quam bella omnium inter se gentium existent?
what else than wars of-all among themselves peoples will-arise
octingentorum annorum fortuna disciplinaque compages haec
of-eight-hundred years by-fortune and-discipline structure this
coaluit, quae convelli sine exitio convellentium
has-grown-together which to-be-torn-apart without the-destruction of-the-tearers
non potest: sed vobis maximum discrimen, penes quos aurum
not can but for-you the-greatest danger with whom gold
et opes, praecipuae bellorum causae. proinde pacem et urbem,
and wealth the-chief of-wars causes therefore peace and the-city
quam victi victoresque eodem iure obtinemus, amate colite:
which beaten and-victors by-the-same right we-hold love cherish

moneant vos utriusque fortunae documenta ne contumaciam
let-warn you of-each fortune the-proofs lest defiance
cum pernicie quam obsequium cum securitate malitis.'
with ruin than obedience with security you-should-prefer
tali oratione graviora metuentis composuit erexitque.
by-such speech worse-things fearing he-calmed and-roused

LXI · THE BATTLE AT TRIER

Civilis and Classicus write to Cerialis that Vespasian is dead, and he sends the letter to Domitian. Taking Tutor's advice to strike at once, the Germans attack his camp while he sleeps elsewhere; he rallies the routed legions with bitter words, and the twenty-first legion turns the battle, so that the enemy's camp is taken the same day. Cologne, having killed its Germans, offers Civilis's wife and sister; his best cohort is burned at Tolbiacum, but the Canninefates sink or take most of the British fleet. Mucianus has Vitellius's son killed, and Antonius loses favor.

75 Tenebantur victore exercitu Treviri, cum Civilis et Classicus
were-held by-the-victorious army the-Treviri when Civilis and Classicus
misere ad Cerialem epistulas, quarum haec sententia fuit:
sent to Cerialis a-letter whose this the-sense was
Vespasianum, quamquam nuntios occultarent, excessisse vita,
Vespasian although the-news they-were-hiding to-have-departed from-life
urbem atque Italiam interno bello consumptam, Muciani ac
the-city and Italy by-internal war consumed of-Mucianus and
Domitiani vana et sine viribus nomina: si Cerialis imperium
of-Domitian empty and without strength the-names if Cerialis the-empire
Galliarum velit, ipsos finibus civitatium suarum contentos;
of-the-Gauls wish themselves with-the-borders of-states their-own content
si proelium mallet, ne id quidem abnuere. ad ea Cerialis
if battle he-preferred not that even to-refuse to these-things Cerialis

Civili et Classico nihil: eum qui attulerat et ipsas epistulas
to-Civilis and Classicus nothing him who had-brought-it and the-very letter
ad Domitianum misit. Hostes divisis copiis advenere undique.
to Domitian he-sent the-enemy with-divided forces arrived from-all-sides
plerique culpabant Cerialem passum iungi quos discretos
most blamed Cerialis having-allowed to-be-joined those-whom separated
intercipere licuisset. Romanus exercitus castra fossa
to-intercept it-would-have-been-possible the-Roman army its-camp with-a-ditch
valloque circumdedit, quis temere antea intutis consederat.
and-rampart surrounded in-which rashly before unfortified it-had-encamped
Apud Germanos diversis sententiis certabatur. Civilis 76
among the-Germans in-different opinions it-was-contended Civilis
opperiendas Transrhenanorum gentis, quarum terrore fractae
to-be-awaited of-the-trans-Rhenani peoples whose by-terror the-broken
populi Romani vires obtererentur: Gallos quid aliud quam
of-the-people Roman strength might-be-crushed the-Gauls what else than
praedam victoribus? et tamen, quod roboris sit, Belgas secum
plunder for-the-victors and yet what of-strength there-is the-Belgae with-them
palam aut voto stare. Tutor cunctatione crescere rem Romanam
openly or in-wish to-stand Tutor by-delay to-grow power the-Roman
adfirmabat, coeuntibus undique exercitibus: transvectam e
asserted with-converging from-all-sides armies brought-across from
Britannia legionem, accitas ex Hispania, adventare ex
Britain a-legion summoned from Spain to-be-approaching from
Italia; nec subitum militem, sed veterem expertumque belli.
Italy nor sudden soldiery but old and-experienced in-war
nam Germanos, qui ab ipsis sperentur, non iuberi,
for the-Germans who by themselves are-hoped-for not to-be-ordered
non regi, sed cuncta ex libidine agere; pecuniamque ac
not to-be-ruled but all-things from whim to-do and-money and
dona, quis solis corrumpantur, maiora apud Romanos, et
gifts by-which alone they-are-corrupted greater among the-Romans and

neminem adeo in arma pronum ut non idem pretium quietis
no-one so to arms inclined that not the-same pay for-quiet
quam periculi malit. quod si statim congrediantur, nullas
than for-danger he-would-prefer but if at-once they-engage no
esse Ceriali nisi e reliquiis Germanici exercitus legiones,
to-be for-Cerialis except from the-remnants of-the-German army legions
foederibus Galliarum obstrictas. idque ipsum quod inconditam
by-the-treaties of-the-Gauls bound and-that very-thing that the-disorderly
nuper Valentini manum contra spem suam fuderint, alimentum
lately of-Valentinus band against hope their-own they-routed nourishment
illis ducique temeritatis: ausuros rursus venturosque
for-them and-for-the-general of-rashness going-to-dare again and-going-to-come
in manus non imperiti adulescentuli, verba et contiones
into hands not of-an-inexperienced youth words and assemblies
quam ferrum et arma meditantis, sed Civilis et Classici;
rather-than steel and arms rehearsing but of-Civilis and Classicus
quos ubi aspexerint, redituram in animos formidinem, fugam
whom when they-should-see going-to-return into their-minds dread flight
famemque ac totiens captis precariam vitam. neque Treviros
and-famine and for-the-so-often captured precarious life nor the-Treviri
aut Lingonas benevolentia contineri: resumpturos arma,
or Lingones by-goodwill to-be-held going-to-resume arms
ubi metus abscesserit. diremit consiliorum diversitatem
when fear should-have-gone-away broke-off of-counsels the-difference
adprobata Tutoris sententia Classicus, statimque exequuntur.
with-approved of-Tutor the-opinion Classicus and-at-once they-carry-it-out
77 Media acies Ubiis Lingonibusque data; dextro cornu
the-middle line to-the-Ubii and-Lingones given on-the-right wing
cohortes Batavorum, sinistro Bructeri Tencterique. pars
the-cohorts of-the-Batavians on-the-left the-Bructeri and-Tencteri part
montibus, alii viam inter Mosellamque flumen tam
over-the-mountains others the-road between and-the-Moselle river so

improvisi adsiluere ut in cubiculo ac lectulo Cerialis
unforeseen leaped-upon-them that in his-bedroom and bed Cerialis
(neque enim noctem in castris egerat) pugnari simul
nor for the-night in the-camp had-he-spent to-be-fought at-the-same-time
vincique suos audierit, increpans pavorem nuntiantium,
and-to-be-beaten his-men he-heard chiding the-fear of-the-announcers
donec universa clades in oculis fuit: perrupta legionum castra,
until the-whole disaster before his-eyes was broken-into of-the-legions the-camp
fusi equites, medius Mosellae pons, qui ulteriora coloniae
routed the-cavalry the-middle of-the-Moselle bridge which the-farther-parts of-the-colony
adnectit, ab hostibus insessus. Cerialis turbidis rebus intrepidus
joins by the-enemy occupied Cerialis in-troubled affairs undaunted
et fugientis manu retrahens, intecto corpore promptus
and the-fleeing by-hand dragging-back with-unprotected body ready
inter tela, felici temeritate et fortissimi cuiusque adcursu
amid missiles by-lucky rashness and of-the-bravest each by-the-running-up
reciperatum pontem electa manu firmavit. mox in castra
the-recovered bridge with-a-picked band strengthened soon into the-camp
reversus palantis captarum apud Novaesium Bonnamque
returned the-straggling of-the-captured at Novaesium and-Bonna
legionum manipulos et rarum apud signa militem ac prope
legions maniples and few by the-standards the-soldiery and almost
circumventas aquilas videt. incensus ira 'non Flaccum'
surrounded the-eagles he-sees inflamed with-anger not Flaccus
inquit, 'non Voculam deseritis: nulla hic proditio; neque
he-said not Vocula do-you-desert no here treachery nor
aliud excusandum habeo quam quod vos Gallici foederis
other to-be-excused have-I than that you of-the-Gallic treaty
oblitos redisse in memoriam Romani sacramenti temere
forgetful to-have-returned into memory of-the-Roman oath rashly
credidi. adnumerabor Numisiis et Herenniis, ut omnes
I-believed I-shall-be-counted with-the-Numisii and Herennii that all

legati vestri aut militum manibus aut hostium ceciderint.
legates your either of-the-soldiers by-the-hands or of-the-enemy have-fallen
ite, nuntiate Vespasiano vel, quod propius est, Civili et
go announce to-Vespasian or what nearer is to-Civilis and
Classico, relictum a vobis in acie ducem: venient legiones
Classicus left by you in battle the-general there-will-come legions
quae neque me inultum neque vos impunitos patiantur.'
which neither me unavenged nor you unpunished would-suffer
78 Vera erant, et a tribunis praefectisque eadem
true-things they-were and by the-tribunes and-prefects the-same-things
ingerebantur. consistunt per cohortis et manipulos; neque
were-heaped-on they-take-their-stand by cohorts and maniples nor
enim poterat patescere acies effuso hoste et impedientibus
for could to-open-out the-line with-poured-out enemy and with-hindering
tentoriis sarcinisque, cum intra vallum pugnaretur. Tutor et
tents and-baggage since within the-rampart it-was-fought Tutor and
Classicus et Civilis suis quisque locis pugnam ciebant,
Classicus and Civilis in-their-own each places the-battle roused
Gallos pro libertate, Batavos pro gloria, Germanos ad praedam
the-Gauls for liberty the-Batavians for glory the-Germans to plunder
instigantes. et cuncta pro hostibus erant, donec legio
urging and all-things for the-enemy were until the-legion
unaetvicensima patentiore quam ceterae spatio conglobata
twenty-first in-a-more-open than the-others space massed
sustinuit ruentis, mox impulit. nec sine ope divina mutatis
withstood the-rushing soon drove-them nor without help divine with-changed
repente animis terga victores vertere. ipsi territos se
suddenly minds their-backs the-victors turned themselves frightened themselves
cohortium aspectu ferebant, quae primo impetu disiectae
of-the-cohorts by-the-sight asserted which at-the-first onset scattered
summis rursus iugis congregabantur ac speciem novi auxilii
on-the-highest again ridges were-gathering and the-appearance of-new help

fecerant. sed obstitit vincentibus pravum inter ipsos
had-made but stood-in-the-way of-the-winners a-crooked among themselves
certamen omisso hoste spolia consectandi. Cerialis ut incuria
contest with-dropped enemy the-spoils of-pursuing Cerialis as by-carelessness
prope rem adflixit, ita constantia restituit; secutusque
almost the-cause ruined so by-steadfastness restored and-having-followed
fortunam castra hostium eodem die capit excinditque.
fortune the-camp of-the-enemy on-the-same day takes and-destroys
Nec in longum quies militi data. orabant auxilium 79
nor for long quiet to-the-soldiery given begged help
Agrippinenses offerebantque uxorem ac sororem Civilis et
the-Agrippinenses and-offered the-wife and sister of-Civilis and
filiam Classici, relicta sibi pignora societatis. atque
the-daughter of-Classicus left to-themselves as-pledges of-the-alliance and
interim dispersos in domibus Germanos trucidaverant; unde
meanwhile the-scattered in houses Germans they-had-slaughtered whence
metus et iustae preces invocantium, antequam hostes
fear and just prayers of-those-invoking-help before the-enemy
reparatis viribus ad spem vel ad ultionem accingerentur.
with-restored strength to hope or to vengeance should-gird-themselves
namque et Civilis illuc intenderat, non invalidus, flagrantissima
for both Civilis thither had-aimed not weak the-most-ardent
cohortium suarum integra, quae e Chaucis Frisiisque
of-cohorts his-own intact which from Chauci and-Frisians
composita Tolbiaci in finibus Agrippinensium agebat:
composed at-Tolbiacum in the-borders of-the-Agrippinenses was-stationed
sed tristis nuntius avertit, deletam cohortem dolo
but sad news turned-him-aside destroyed the-cohort by-the-guile
Agrippinensium, qui largis epulis vinoque sopitos Germanos,
of-the-Agrippinenses who with-lavish feasts and-wine the-drowsy Germans
clausis foribus, igne iniecto cremavere; simul Cerialis
with-shut doors with-fire thrown-in burned at-the-same-time Cerialis

propero agmine subvenit. circumsteterat Civilem et alius metus,
in-hurried column came-to-help had-surrounded Civilis also another fear
ne quarta decima legio adiuncta Britannica classe adflictaret
lest the-fourth tenth legion with-joined British fleet should-harass
Batavos, qua Oceano ambiuntur. sed legionem terrestri
the-Batavians where by-Ocean they-are-girt but the-legion by-the-land
itinere Fabius Priscus legatus in Nervios Tungrosque duxit,
route Fabius Priscus the-legate into the-Nervii and-Tungrians led
eaeque civitates in deditionem acceptae: classem ultro
and-these states into surrender were-received the-fleet of-their-own-accord
Canninefates adgressi sunt maiorque pars navium depressa
the-Canninefates attacked have and-the-greater part of-the-ships sunk
aut capta. et Nerviorum multitudinem, sponte commotam
or captured and of-the-Nervii the-multitude of-its-own-accord roused
ut pro Romanis bellum capesseret, idem Canninefates
that for the-Romans war it-might-take-up the-same Canninefates
fudere. Classicus quoque adversus equites Novaesium a
routed Classicus also against the-horsemen to-Novaesium by
Ceriale praemissos secundum proelium fecit: quae modica
Cerialis sent-ahead a-successful battle made which moderate
sed crebra damna famam victoriae nuper partae lacerabant.
but frequent losses the-fame of-the-victory lately won tore
80 Isdem diebus Mucianus Vitellii filium interfici iubet,
in-the-same days Mucianus of-Vitellius the-son to-be-killed orders
mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restinxisset.
going-to-last discord pleading unless the-seeds of-war he-quenched
neque Antonium Primum adsciri inter comites a
nor Antonius Primus to-be-taken-on among the-companions by
Domitiano passus est, favore militum anxius et
Domitian allowed he-has about-the-favor of-the-soldiers anxious and
superbia viri aequalium quoque, adeo superiorum
the-arrogance of-the-man of-equals even so-much-more of-superiors

intolerantis. profectus ad Vespasianum Antonius ut non
intolerant having-set-out to Vespasian Antonius though not
pro spe sua excipitur, ita neque averso imperatoris
according-to hope his-own is-received so nor with-averse of-the-emperor
animo. trahebatur in diversa, hinc meritis Antonii,
mind he-was-drawn into different-directions on-this-side by-the-services of-Antonius
cuius ductu confectum haud dubie bellum erat,
whose under-leadership finished not doubtfully the-war was
inde Muciani epistulis: simul ceteri ut infestum
on-that-side of-Mucianus by-the-letters at-the-same-time the-rest as hostile
tumidumque insectabantur, adiunctis prioris vitae criminibus.
and-swollen attacked-him with-added of-former life charges
neque ipse deerat adrogantia vocare offensas, nimius
nor himself was-wanting by-arrogance to-provoke offenses excessive
commemorandis quae meruisset: alios ut imbellis, Caecinam
in-recounting what he-had-earned others as unwarlike Caecina
ut captivum ac dediticium increpat. unde paulatim levior
as a-captive and surrendered-man he-reviles whence gradually lighter
viliorque haberi, manente tamen in speciem amicitia.
and-cheaper he-was-held with-remaining yet in appearance friendship

At Alexandria a blind man and a man with a crippled hand beg Vespasian to heal them, by command of the god Serapis; he does what they ask, and both are healed, as witnesses still affirm. In the temple he sees Basilides, who was eighty miles away, and Tacitus tells how Ptolemy brought the god's image from Sinope. Valentinus is executed, and Domitian is believed to sound out Cerialis, then feigns modesty and a love of poetry.

81 Per eos mensis quibus Vespasianus Alexandriae statos
through those months in-which Vespasian at-Alexandria the-set
aestivis flatibus dies et certa maris opperiebatur,
for-the-summer winds days and the-sure-season of-the-sea awaited
multa miracula evenere, quis caelestis favor et quaedam
many miracles happened by-which heaven's favor and a-certain
in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. e plebe
toward Vespasian inclination of-the-divinities might-be-shown of the-plebs
Alexandrina quidam oculorum tabe notus genua eius
Alexandrian a-certain-man of-the-eyes for-wasting known at-the-knees his
advolvitur, remedium caecitatis exposcens gemitu, monitu
falls-down a-remedy for-blindness demanding with-groaning by-the-prompting
Serapidis dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios
of-Serapis the-god whom devoted to-superstitions a-people above others
colit; precabaturque principem ut genas et oculorum orbis
worships and-he-begged the-emperor that his-cheeks and of-the-eyes the-orbs
dignaretur respergere oris excremento. alius manum
he-would-deign to-sprinkle of-his-mouth with-the-spittle another his-hand
aeger eodem deo auctore ut pede ac vestigio Caesaris
sick with-the-same god as-author that by-the-foot and sole of-Caesar
calcaretur orabat. Vespasianus primo inridere, aspernari;
it-should-be-trodden begged Vespasian at-first laughed spurned
atque illis instantibus modo famam vanitatis metuere,
and with-those pressing now the-reputation of-folly feared

modo obsecratione ipsorum et vocibus adulantium in
now by-the-entreaty of-themselves and by-the-voices of-flatterers into
spem induci: postremo aestimari a medicis iubet an
hope was-led at-last to-be-judged by physicians he-orders whether
talis caecitas ac debilitas ope humana superabiles forent.
such blindness and infirmity by-help human conquerable were
medici varie disserere: huic non exesam vim luminis
the-physicians variously discoursed in-this-one not eaten-away the-power of-sight
et redituram si pellerentur obstantia; illi elapsos in
and going-to-return if should-be-driven-off the-obstacles in-that-one slipped into
pravum artus, si salubris vis adhibeatur, posse integrari. id
crookedness the-joints if healthful force were-applied to-be-able to-be-restored this
fortasse cordi deis et divino ministerio principem electum;
perhaps at-heart to-the-gods and for-divine ministry the-emperor chosen
denique patrati remedii gloriam penes Caesarem, inriti
finally of-the-accomplished remedy the-glory with Caesar of-the-vain
ludibrium penes miseros fore. igitur Vespasianus cuncta
the-mockery with the-wretched going-to-be therefore Vespasian all-things
fortunae suae patere ratus nec quicquam ultra incredibile,
to-fortune his-own to-lie-open thinking nor anything further incredible
laeto ipse vultu, erecta quae adstabat multitudine, iussa
with-glad himself face with-intent which stood-by multitude the-orders
exequitur. statim conversa ad usum manus, ac caeco
carries-out at-once turned to use the-hand and for-the-blind
reluxit dies. utrumque qui interfuere nunc quoque
shone-again the-day each those-who were-present now also
memorant, postquam nullum mendacio pretium.
recount after no for-a-lie reward
Altior inde Vespasiano cupido adeundi sacram sedem ut 82
deeper thence in-Vespasian the-desire of-visiting the-sacred seat that
super rebus imperii consuleret: arceri templo cunctos
about the-affairs of-the-empire he-might-consult to-be-kept-from the-temple all

iubet. atque ingressus intentusque numini respexit pone
he-orders and having-entered and-intent on-the-divinity he-looked-back behind
tergum e primoribus Aegyptiorum nomine Basiliden, quem
his-back from the-chief-men of-the-Egyptians by-name Basilides whom
procul Alexandria plurium dierum itinere et aegro corpore
far-off from-Alexandria of-several days by-a-journey and by-sick body
detineri haud ignorabat. percontatur sacerdotes num illo
to-be-detained not he-was-unaware he-questions the-priests whether on-that
die Basilides templum inisset, percontatur obvios num in
day Basilides the-temple had-entered he-questions those-he-met whether in
urbe visus sit; denique missis equitibus explorat illo
the-city seen he-had-been finally with-sent horsemen he-finds-out at-that
temporis momento octoginta milibus passuum afuisse:
of-time moment eighty thousands of-paces to-have-been-distant
tunc divinam speciem et vim responsi ex nomine
then the-divine apparition and the-force of-the-response from the-name
Basilidis interpretatus est.
of-Basilides interpreted he-has

83 Origo dei nondum nostris auctoribus celebrata:
the-origin of-the-god not-yet by-our authorities celebrated
Aegyptiorum antistites sic memorant, Ptolemaeo regi, qui
of-the-Egyptians the-priests thus recount to-Ptolemy the-king who
Macedonum primus Aegypti opes firmavit, cum Alexandriae
of-the-Macedonians first of-Egypt the-power established when to-Alexandria
recens conditae moenia templaque et religiones adderet,
recently founded walls and-temples and religions he-was-adding
oblatum per quietem decore eximio et maiore quam
to-have-appeared in sleep of-beauty exceptional and greater than
humana specie iuvenem, qui moneret ut fidissimis
human in-form a-youth who should-warn that with-the-most-loyal
amicorum in Pontum missis effigiem suam acciret; laetum
of-friends into Pontus sent statue his-own he-should-fetch joyful

id regno magnamque et inclutam sedem fore quae
that for-the-kingdom and-great and famous the-seat going-to-be which
excepisset: simul visum eundem iuvenem in
should-have-received-it at-the-same-time to-have-seemed the-same youth into
caelum igne plurimo attolli. Ptolemaeus omine et miraculo
heaven by-fire very-much to-be-lifted Ptolemy by-the-omen and miracle
excitus sacerdotibus Aegyptiorum, quibus mos talia
roused to-the-priests of-the-Egyptians whose custom such-things
intellegere, nocturnos visus aperit. atque illis Ponti et
to-understand his-nightly visions opens and with-them of-Pontus and
externorum parum gnaris, Timotheum Atheniensem e gente
of-foreigners too-little knowing Timotheus the-Athenian of the-family
Eumolpidarum, quem ut antistitem caerimoniarum Eleusine
of-the-Eumolpidae whom as the-high-priest of-the-ceremonies from-Eleusis
exciverat, quaenam illa superstitio, quod numen, interrogat.
he-had-summoned what that cult what divinity he-asks
Timotheus quaesitis qui in Pontum meassent, cognoscit
Timotheus with-questioned those-who into Pontus had-traveled learns
urbem illic Sinopen, nec procul templum vetere inter accolas
a-city there Sinope nor far-off a-temple of-old among the-neighbors
fama Iovis Ditis: namque et muliebrem effigiem adsistere
repute of-Jupiter Dis for also a-womanly image to-stand-beside
quam plerique Proserpinam vocent. sed Ptolemaeus, ut sunt
which most Proserpina call but Ptolemy as are
ingenia regum, pronus ad formidinem, ubi securitas rediit,
the-natures of-kings inclined to dread when security returned
voluptatum quam religionum adpetens neglegere paulatim
of-pleasures than of-religions desirous neglected gradually
aliasque ad curas animum vertere, donec eadem species terribilior
and-other to cares his-mind turned until the-same apparition more-terrible
iam et instantior exitium ipsi regnoque denuntiaret
now and more-pressing destruction to-himself and-the-kingdom announced

ni iussa patrarentur. tum legatos et dona Scydrothemidi
unless the-orders were-carried-out then envoys and gifts to-Scydrothemis
regi (is tunc Sinopensibus imperitabat) expediri iubet
the-king he then over-the-Sinopians ruled to-be-made-ready he-orders
praecepitque navigaturis ut Pythicum Apollinem adeant.
and-instructed those-about-to-sail that the-Pythian Apollo they-should-visit
illis mare secundum, sors oraculi haud ambigua: irent
to-them the-sea favorable the-lot of-the-oracle not ambiguous they-should-go
simulacrumque patris sui reveherent, sororis relinquerent.
and-the-statue of-father his bring-back of-his-sister leave
84 Ut Sinopen venere, munera preces mandata regis sui
when to-Sinope they-came the-gifts prayers instructions of-king their-own
Scydrothemidi adlegant. qui diversus animi modo numen
to-Scydrothemis they-present who divided in-mind now the-divinity
pavescere, modo minis adversantis populi terreri; saepe
dreaded now by-the-threats of-the-opposing people was-frightened often
donis promissisque legatorum flectebatur. atque interim
by-the-gifts and-promises of-the-envoys was-bent and meanwhile
triennio exacto Ptolemaeus non studium, non preces
with-three-years completed Ptolemy not zeal not prayers
omittere: dignitatem legatorum, numerum navium, auri
dropped the-rank of-the-envoys the-number of-ships of-gold
pondus augebat. tum minax facies Scydrothemidi offertur
the-weight increased then a-threatening apparition to-Scydrothemis appears
ne destinata deo ultra moraretur: cunctantem varia
that-not the-destined for-the-god further he-should-delay the-hesitating-man varied
pernicies morbique et manifesta caelestium ira graviorque
ruin and-diseases and manifest of-the-heavenly-ones wrath and-heavier
in dies fatigabat. advocata contione iussa numinis, suos
by the-day wore with-called assembly the-orders of-the-divinity his-own
Ptolemaeique visus, ingruentia mala exponit: vulgus aversari
and-of-Ptolemy visions the-impending evils he-sets-out the-crowd turned-from

regem, invidere Aegypto, sibi metuere templumque
the-king begrudged Egypt for-themselves feared and-the-temple
circumsedere. maior hinc fama tradidit deum ipsum
besieged greater thence the-report has-handed-down the-god himself
adpulsas litori navis sponte conscendisse: mirum
brought-to to-the-shore the-ships of-his-own-accord to-have-boarded wonderful
inde dictu, tertio die tantum maris emensi Alexandriam
thence to-tell on-the-third day so-much of-sea having-covered to-Alexandria
adpelluntur. templum pro magnitudine urbis extructum
they-land a-temple worthy-of the-greatness of-the-city built
loco cui nomen Rhacotis; fuerat illic sacellum Serapidi
in-a-place to-which the-name Rhacotis had-been there a-chapel to-Serapis
atque Isidi antiquitus sacratum. haec de origine et
and Isis anciently consecrated these-things about the-origin and
advectu dei celeberrima. nec sum ignarus esse quosdam
bringing of-the-god most-celebrated nor am-I unaware there-to-be some
qui Seleucia urbe Syriae accitum regnante Ptolemaeo,
who from-Seleucia a-city of-Syria fetched with-reigning Ptolemy
quem tertia aetas tulit; alii auctorem eundem Ptolemaeum,
whom the-third age bore others the-author the-same Ptolemy
sedem, ex qua transierit, Memphim perhibent, inclutam
the-seat from which he-passed Memphis assert famous
olim et veteris Aegypti columen. deum ipsum multi
once and of-old Egypt the-pillar the-god himself many
Aesculapium, quod medeatur aegris corporibus, quidam Osirin,
Aesculapius because he-heals sick bodies some Osiris
antiquissimum illis gentibus numen, plerique Iovem ut
the-most-ancient for-those peoples divinity most Jupiter as
rerum omnium potentem, plurimi Ditem patrem insignibus,
of-things all powerful the-most Dis father from-the-insignia
quae in ipso manifesta, aut per ambages coniectant.
which on him manifest or through riddles conjecture

85 At Domitianus Mucianusque antequam Alpibus propinquarent,
but Domitian and-Mucianus before to-the-Alps they-drew-near
prosperos rerum in Treviris gestarum nuntios accepere.
the-successful of-the-affairs in the-Treviri done news received
praecipua victoriae fides dux hostium Valentinus nequaquam
the-chief of-the-victory proof the-leader of-the-enemy Valentinus by-no-means
abiecto animo, quos spiritus gessisset, vultu ferebat. auditus
with-dejected spirit what pride he-had-borne on-his-face bore heard
ideo tantum ut nosceretur ingenium eius, damnatusque inter
for-that only that might-be-known the-character his and-condemned amid
ipsum supplicium exprobranti cuidam patriam eius captam
the-very execution to-one-reproaching a-certain-man fatherland his captured
accipere se solacium mortis respondit. sed Mucianus quod diu
to-accept himself as-solace of-death he-answered but Mucianus what long
occultaverat, ut recens exprompsit: quoniam benignitate deum
he-had-hidden as fresh brought-out since by-the-kindness of-the-gods
fractae hostium vires forent, parum decore Domitianum
broken of-the-enemy the-strength were too-little honorably Domitian
confecto prope bello alienae gloriae interventurum. si
with-finished almost war upon-another's glory going-to-intrude if
status imperii aut salus Galliarum in discrimine verteretur,
the-state of-the-empire or the-safety of-the-Gauls in danger were-turning
debuisse Caesarem in acie stare, Canninefatis Batavosque
to-have-been-bound Caesar in battle to-stand the-Canninefates and-Batavians
minoribus ducibus delegandos: ipse Luguduni vim
to-lesser generals to-be-delegated himself at-Lugdunum the-power
fortunamque principatus e proximo ostentaret, nec parvis
and-fortune of-the-principate from near-by should-display neither in-small
periculis immixtus et maioribus non defuturus.
dangers mixed and for-greater not going-to-be-lacking

Intellegebantur artes, sed pars obsequii in eo ne 86
were-understood the-arts but part of-deference in that that-not
deprehenderentur: ita Lugudunum ventum. unde creditur
they-be-detected so to-Lugdunum it-was-come whence it-is-believed
Domitianus occultis ad Cerialem nuntiis fidem eius temptavisse
Domitian by-secret to Cerialis messages the-loyalty his to-have-tested
an praesenti sibi exercitum imperiumque traditurus
whether to-him-present to-himself the-army and-command going-to-hand-over
foret. qua cogitatione bellum adversus patrem agitaverit an
he-were with-what thought war against his-father he-planned or
opes virisque adversus fratrem, in incerto fuit: nam Cerialis
resources and-strength against his-brother in doubt it-was for Cerialis
salubri temperamento elusit ut vana pueriliter cupientem.
by-a-healthy moderation evaded-him as vain-things childishly desiring
Domitianus sperni a senioribus iuventam suam cernens
Domitian to-be-spurned by the-elders youth his-own perceiving
modica quoque et usurpata antea munia imperii omittebat,
the-moderate also and exercised before duties of-empire dropped
simplicitatis ac modestiae imagine in altitudinem conditus
of-simplicity and of-modesty under-an-image into depth hidden
studiumque litterarum et amorem carminum simulans, quo
and-a-zeal for-letters and a-love of-poems feigning by-which
velaret animum et fratris se aemulationi subduceret,
he-might-veil his-mind and of-his-brother himself from-the-rivalry withdraw
cuius disparem mitioremque naturam contra interpretabatur.
whose unlike and-milder nature contrariwise he-interpreted

LXIII · TITUS BEFORE JERUSALEM

At the start of the year Titus, chosen by his father to subdue Judaea, takes over three legions waiting in Judaea and adds the twelfth from Syria and two more from Alexandria, with allied cohorts, cavalry, kings' troops, and Arabs who hate the Jews. Courteous with his men, he marches with them in his column, and many who hope to win the favor of a prince not yet bound to anyone come from Rome and Italy. He encamps near Jerusalem.

Eiusdem anni principio Caesar Titus, perdomandae Iudaeae 1
of-the-same year at-the-beginning Caesar Titus for-subduing Judaea
delectus a patre et privatis utriusque rebus militia
chosen by his-father and in-the-private of-each circumstances in-soldiering
clarus, maiore tum vi famaque agebat, certantibus
famous with-greater then power and-fame acted with-vying
provinciarum et exercituum studiis. atque ipse, ut super
of-the-provinces and of-the-armies zeal and himself that above
fortunam crederetur, decorum se promptumque in
his-fortune he-might-be-believed handsome himself and-ready in
armis ostendebat, comitate et adloquiis officia provocans ac
arms he-showed by-courtesy and by-addresses services calling-forth and
plerumque in opere, in agmine gregario militi mixtus,
mostly at work on the-march with-the-common soldiery mingled
incorrupto ducis honore. tres eum in Iudaea legiones,
with-unimpaired of-general honor three him in Judaea legions
quinta et decima et quinta decima, vetus Vespasiani
the-fifth and tenth and the-fifth tenth old of-Vespasian
miles, excepere. addidit e Syria duodecimam et adductos
soldiery received he-added from Syria the-twelfth and brought
Alexandria duoetvicensimanos tertianosque; comitabantur
from-Alexandria the-twenty-second-men and-third-men accompanied

viginti sociae cohortes, octo equitum alae, simul
twenty allied cohorts eight of-cavalry squadrons at-the-same-time
Agrippa Sohaemusque reges et auxilia regis Antiochi
Agrippa and-Sohaemus kings and the-auxiliaries of-king Antiochus
validaque et solito inter accolas odio infensa Iudaeis Arabum
and-a-strong and with-usual among neighbors hatred hostile to-the-Jews of-Arabs
manus, multi quos urbe atque Italia sua quemque spes
band many whom from-the-city and Italy his-own each hope
acciverat occupandi principem adhuc vacuum. his cum copiis
had-summoned of-securing the-emperor still unoccupied these with forces
finis hostium ingressus composito agmine, cuncta explorans
the-borders of-the-enemy having-entered with-ordered column all-things reconnoitering
paratusque decernere, haud procul Hierosolymis castra facit.
and-ready to-fight-it-out not far from-Jerusalem camp makes

LXIV · THE ORIGINS OF THE JEWS

About to tell of the city's last day, Tacitus reports what he has heard of the Jews' origins: refugees from Crete named for Mount Ida, an overflow from Egypt, Ethiopians, Assyrians, or Homer's Solymi. Most say that a plague in Egypt led King Bocchoris to expel them; Moses led them through the desert, following wild asses to water, and seized a land. To bind them, he gave them rites contrary to all others, which Tacitus describes with hostility, from the seventh day's rest and unleavened bread to their single god and imageless temple.

2 Sed quoniam famosae urbis supremum diem tradituri sumus,
but since of-a-famous city the-last day going-to-relate we-are
congruens videtur primordia eius aperire. Iudaeos Creta
fitting it-seems the-beginnings its to-lay-open the-Jews from-Crete
insula profugos novissima Libyae insedisse memorant, qua
the-island fugitives the-farthest-parts of-Libya to-have-settled they-recount at-what

tempestate Saturnus vi Iovis pulsus cesserit regnis.
time Saturn by-the-force of-Jupiter driven had-yielded his-realms
argumentum e nomine petitur: inclutum in Creta Idam
the-proof from the-name is-sought famous in Crete Ida
montem, accolas Idaeos aucto in barbarum cognomento
a-mountain the-dwellers Idaei with-lengthened into the-barbarian surname
Iudaeos vocitari. quidam regnante Iside exundantem per
Iudaei to-be-called some with-reigning Isis overflowing through
Aegyptum multitudinem ducibus Hierosolymo ac Iuda
Egypt a-multitude with-leaders Hierosolymus and Juda
proximas in terras exoneratam; plerique Aethiopum prolem,
nearest into lands discharged most of-the-Ethiopians the-offspring
quos rege Cepheo metus atque odium mutare sedis
whom with-king Cepheus fear and hatred to-change their-seats
perpulerit. sunt qui tradant Assyrios convenas, indigum
drove there-are those-who relate Assyrian refugees in-need
agrorum populum, parte Aegypti potitos, mox proprias urbis
of-lands a-people part of-Egypt having-seized soon their-own cities
Hebraeasque terras et propiora Syriae coluisse. clara alii
and-Hebrew lands and the-nearer-parts of-Syria to-have-inhabited famous others
Iudaeorum initia, Solymos, carminibus Homeri celebratam
of-the-Jews the-beginnings the-Solymi in-the-poems of-Homer celebrated
gentem, conditae urbi Hierosolyma nomen e suo fecisse.
a-people to-the-founded city Hierosolyma as-name from their-own to-have-made
Plurimi auctores consentiunt orta per Aegyptum tabe 3
very-many authorities agree with-arisen through Egypt a-plague
quae corpora foedaret, regem Bocchorim adito Hammonis
which bodies disfigured king Bocchoris with-visited of-Hammon
oraculo remedium petentem purgare regnum et id genus
the-oracle a-remedy seeking to-purge his-kingdom and that kind
hominum ut invisum deis alias in terras avehere iussum. sic
of-men as hated by-the-gods other into lands to-carry-off ordered thus

conquisitum collectumque vulgus, postquam vastis locis relictum
searched-out and-gathered the-crowd after in-vast places left
sit, ceteris per lacrimas torpentibus, Moysen unum exulum
it-was with-the-rest in tears lying-numb Moses one of-the-exiles
monuisse ne quam deorum hominumve opem expectarent
to-have-warned that-not any of-gods or-men help they-should-expect
utrisque deserti, sed sibimet duce caelesti crederent, primo
by-both deserted but in-themselves as-a-leader heavenly they-should-trust first
cuius auxilio praesentis miserias pepulissent. adsensere atque
whose by-help the-present miseries they-had-driven-off they-assented and
omnium ignari fortuitum iter incipiunt. sed nihil aeque quam
of-all-things ignorant a-random journey they-begin but nothing so-much as
inopia aquae fatigabat, iamque haud procul exitio totis
the-want of-water wore and-already not far from-death over-the-whole
campis procubuerant, cum grex asinorum agrestium e pastu in
plains they-had-lain-down when a-herd of-asses wild from pasture to
rupem nemore opacam concessit. secutus Moyses coniectura
a-rock with-a-grove shaded withdrew having-followed Moses by-conjecture
herbidi soli largas aquarum venas aperit. id levamen; et
of-a-grassy soil abundant of-waters veins opens that a-relief and
continuum sex dierum iter emensi septimo pulsis
a-continuous of-six days journey having-covered on-the-seventh with-driven-out
cultoribus obtinuere terras, in quis urbs et templum dicata.
tillers they-occupied lands in which a-city and temple dedicated
4 Moyses quo sibi in posterum gentem firmaret, novos
Moses that to-himself for the-future the-people he-might-bind new
ritus contrariosque ceteris mortalibus indidit. profana illic
rites and-contrary to-the-other mortals introduced profane there
omnia quae apud nos sacra, rursum concessa apud illos quae
all-things which among us sacred again allowed among them what
nobis incesta. effigiem animalis, quo monstrante errorem
to-us unclean the-image of-the-animal by-whose guidance their-wandering

sitimque depulerant, penetrali sacravere, caeso ariete
and-thirst they-had-driven-off in-the-sanctuary they-consecrated with-slain ram
velut in contumeliam Hammonis; bos quoque immolatur,
as-if in insult of-Hammon the-ox also is-sacrificed
quoniam Aegyptii Apin colunt. sue abstinent memoria
since the-Egyptians Apis worship from-the-pig they-abstain in-memory
cladis, quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat, cui id
of-the-disaster that them the-mange once had-befouled to-which that
animal obnoxium. longam olim famem crebris adhuc ieiuniis
animal liable long once famine by-frequent still fasts
fatentur, et raptarum frugum argumentum panis Iudaicus
they-confess and of-seized crops as-proof the-bread Jewish
nullo fermento detinetur. septimo die otium placuisse
with-no leaven is-kept on-the-seventh day rest to-have-pleased
ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit; dein blandiente inertia
they-say because it an-end of-toils brought then with-coaxing indolence
septimum quoque annum ignaviae datum. alii honorem
the-seventh also year to-sloth to-have-been-given others honor
eum Saturno haberi, seu principia religionis tradentibus
that to-Saturn to-be-paid whether the-principles of-religion with-handing-down
Idaeis, quos cum Saturno pulsos et conditores gentis
the-Idaei whom with Saturn driven-out and as-founders of-the-race
accepimus, seu quod de septem sideribus, quis mortales
we-have-received or because of the-seven stars by-which mortals
reguntur, altissimo orbe et praecipua potentia stella Saturni
are-ruled in-the-highest orbit and with-special power the-star of-Saturn
feratur, ac pleraque caelestium viam suam et cursus
moves and most of-the-heavenly-bodies course their-own and their-runs
septenos per numeros commeare.
sevenfold through numbers to-travel

Hi ritus quoquo modo inducti antiquitate defenduntur:
these rites in-whatever way introduced by-antiquity are-defended
cetera instituta, sinistra foeda, pravitate valuere. nam pessimus
the-other institutions sinister foul by-perversity prevailed for the-worst
quisque spretis religionibus patriis tributa et stipes illuc
each with-spurned religions ancestral tributes and contributions thither
congerebant, unde auctae Iudaeorum res, et quia apud
heaped whence increased of-the-Jews the-wealth and because among
ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, sed adversus
themselves loyalty obstinate pity at hand but against
omnis alios hostile odium. separati epulis, discreti cubilibus,
all others hostile hatred separated at-meals apart in-beds
proiectissima ad libidinem gens, alienarum concubitu
most-abandoned to lust a-race of-foreign-women from-intercourse
abstinent; inter se nihil inlicitum. circumcidere genitalia
they-abstain among themselves nothing unlawful to-circumcise the-genitals
instituerunt ut diversitate noscantur. transgressi in morem
they-established that by-difference they-may-be-known those-crossed-over into the-custom
eorum idem usurpant, nec quicquam prius imbuuntur quam
their the-same practice nor anything sooner are-they-taught than
contemnere deos, exuere patriam, parentes liberos fratres
to-despise the-gods to-put-off their-fatherland parents children brothers
vilia habere. augendae tamen multitudini consulitur; nam et
as-cheap to-hold for-increasing yet the-multitude it-is-provided for both
necare quemquam ex agnatis nefas, animosque proelio aut
to-kill anyone of the-later-born sinful and-the-souls in-battle or
suppliciis peremptorum aeternos putant: hinc generandi amor
by-executions of-the-killed eternal they-think hence of-begetting love
et moriendi contemptus. corpora condere quam cremare
and of-dying contempt bodies to-bury rather-than to-burn
e more Aegyptio, eademque cura et de infernis
after the-custom Egyptian and-the-same care and about the-underworld

persuasio, caelestium contra. Aegyptii pleraque animalia
belief of-heavenly-things on-the-contrary the-Egyptians most animals
effigiesque compositas venerantur, Iudaei mente sola unumque
and-images composite venerate the-Jews in-mind alone and-one
numen intellegunt: profanos qui deum imagines mortalibus
divinity conceive profane those-who of-gods images of-mortal
materiis in species hominum effingant; summum illud et
materials into the-forms of-men fashion supreme that and
aeternum neque imitabile neque interiturum. igitur nulla
eternal neither imitable nor going-to-perish therefore no
simulacra urbibus suis, nedum templis sistunt; non regibus
statues in-cities their-own much-less in-temples they-set not to-kings
haec adulatio, non Caesaribus honor. sed quia sacerdotes
this flattery not to-the-Caesars honor but because the-priests
eorum tibia tympanisque concinebant, hedera vinciebantur
their with-flute and-drums played with-ivy were-wreathed
vitisque aurea templo reperta, Liberum patrem coli,
and-a-vine golden in-the-temple was-found Liber father to-be-worshiped
domitorem Orientis, quidam arbitrati sunt, nequaquam
the-tamer of-the-East some judged have by-no-means
congruentibus institutis. quippe Liber festos laetosque ritus
with-agreeing institutions for Liber festal and-joyful rites
posuit, Iudaeorum mos absurdus sordidusque.
established of-the-Jews the-custom absurd and-mean

Tacitus describes Judaea: its healthy people, balsam and palms, Lebanon, the Jordan, a lake whose heavy waters float everything and yield bitumen, and the plains once burned by lightning; Jerusalem's temple stands behind successive walls. He sketches its history, from the eastern empires and Antiochus through its priest-kings, Pompey's entry into the empty sanctuary, and Herod, until under Gessius Florus the war broke out.

6 Terra finesque qua ad Orientem vergunt Arabia terminantur,
the-land and-borders where toward the-East they-incline by-Arabia are-bounded
a meridie Aegyptus obiacet, ab occasu Phoenices et mare,
from the-south Egypt lies-opposite from the-west the-Phoenicians and the-sea
septentrionem e latere Syriae longe prospectant. corpora
the-north from the-side of-Syria far-off they-look-out the-bodies
hominum salubria et ferentia laborum. rari imbres, uber solum:
of-the-men healthy and enduring of-toils rare rains fertile the-soil
fruges nostrum ad morem praeterque eas balsamum et palmae.
crops our after fashion and-besides them balsam and palms
palmetis proceritas et decor, balsamum modica arbor: ut
to-the-palm-groves height and beauty the-balsam a-modest tree as
quisque ramus intumuit, si vim ferri adhibeas, pavent venae;
each branch has-swelled if the-force of-iron you-apply shudder the-veins
fragmine lapidis aut testa aperiuntur; umor in usu
with-a-fragment of-stone or a-potsherd they-are-opened the-sap in the-use
medentium est. praecipuum montium Libanum erigit, mirum
of-physicians is the-chief of-the-mountains Lebanon it-raises wonderful
dictu, tantos inter ardores opacum fidumque nivibus; idem
to-tell so-great amid heats shady and-faithful to-snows the-same
amnem Iordanen alit funditque. nec Iordanes pelago accipitur,
the-river Jordan feeds and-pours-out nor the-Jordan by-the-sea is-received
sed unum atque alterum lacum integer perfluit, tertio
but one and another lake whole it-flows-through in-the-third

retinetur. lacus immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore
is-retained a-lake of-immense circuit in-appearance of-a-sea in-taste
corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento
more-corrupt by-the-heaviness of-its-odor to-the-dwellers pestilent neither by-wind
impellitur neque piscis aut suetas aquis volucris patitur.
is-it-driven nor fish or accustomed to-waters birds does-it-suffer
inertes undae superiacta ut solido ferunt; periti imperitique
sluggish the-waves things-thrown-on as-if on-solid bear skilled and-unskilled
nandi perinde attolluntur. certo anni bitumen egerit,
in-swimming alike are-buoyed-up at-a-fixed time-of-year bitumen it-discharges
cuius legendi usum, ut ceteras artis, experientia docuit. ater
whose of-gathering the-practice as the-other arts experience has-taught black
suapte natura liquor et sparso aceto concretus innatat;
by-its-own nature the-liquid and with-sprinkled vinegar thickened it-floats
hunc manu captum, quibus ea cura, in summa navis
this by-hand caught those-for-whom that the-concern onto the-top of-the-boat
trahunt: inde nullo iuvante influit oneratque, donec
drag thence with-no-one helping it-flows-in and-loads-it until
abscindas. nec abscindere aere ferrove possis: fugit cruorem
you-cut-it-off nor to-cut-off by-bronze or-iron can-you it-flees from-gore
vestemque infectam sanguine, quo feminae per mensis
and-clothing stained with-the-blood with-which women through the-months
exolvuntur. sic veteres auctores, sed gnari locorum tradunt
are-relieved so the-old authorities but those-knowing the-places relate
undantis bitumine moles pelli manuque trahi ad
floating on-the-bitumen masses to-be-driven and-by-hand to-be-dragged to
litus, mox, ubi vapore terrae, vi solis inaruerint,
the-shore soon when by-the-steam of-the-earth by-the-force of-the-sun they-have-dried
securibus cuneisque ut trabes aut saxa discindi.
with-axes and-wedges like beams or rocks to-be-split

7 Haud procul inde campi quos ferunt olim uberes magnisque
not far thence the-plains which they-say once fertile and-by-great
urbibus habitatos fulminum iactu arsisse; et manere
cities inhabited of-thunderbolts by-the-hurling to-have-burned and to-remain
vestigia, terramque ipsam, specie torridam, vim frugiferam
the-traces and-the-land itself in-appearance scorched its-force fruit-bearing
perdidisse. nam cuncta sponte edita aut manu sata,
to-have-lost for all-things of-their-own-accord produced or by-hand sown
sive herba tenus aut flore seu solitam in speciem
whether to-the-blade only or to-flower or the-usual into form
adolevere, atra et inania velut in cinerem vanescunt.
they-have-grown black and empty as-if into ash vanish
ego sicut inclitas quondam urbis igne caelesti flagrasse
I as famous once cities by-fire heavenly to-have-burned
concesserim, ita halitu lacus infici terram,
should-grant so by-the-exhalation of-the-lake to-be-infected the-land
corrumpi superfusum spiritum, eoque fetus segetum
to-be-corrupted the-overspread air and-thereby the-produce of-the-crops
et autumni putrescere reor, solo caeloque iuxta gravi.
and of-autumn to-rot I-think with-soil and-climate alike unhealthy
et Belius amnis Iudaico mari inlabitur, circa cuius
also the-Belius river into-the-Jewish sea glides around whose
os lectae harenae admixto nitro in vitrum excoquuntur.
mouth gathered sands with-mixed natron into glass are-fused
modicum id litus et egerentibus inexhaustum.
small that shore and for-those-carrying-off inexhaustible

8 Magna pars Iudaeae vicis dispergitur, habent et oppida;
a-great part of-Judaea in-villages is-scattered they-have also towns
Hierosolyma genti caput. illic immensae opulentiae
Jerusalem for-the-race the-capital there of-immense wealth
templum, et primis munimentis urbs, dein regia, templum
a-temple and by-the-first fortifications the-city then the-palace the-temple

intimis clausum. ad fores tantum Iudaeo aditus,
by-the-innermost enclosed to the-doors only for-a-Jew access
limine praeter sacerdotes arcebantur. dum Assyrios
from-the-threshold except the-priests they-were-kept while the-Assyrians
penes Medosque et Persas Oriens fuit, despectissima
with and-Medes and Persians the-East was the-most-despised
pars servientium: postquam Macedones praepolluere, rex
part of-the-subjects after the-Macedonians prevailed king
Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Graecorum
Antiochus to-take-away the-superstition and the-manners of-the-Greeks
dare adnisus, quo minus taeterrimam gentem in melius
to-give having-striven by-which less the-most-loathsome race into the-better
mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est; nam ea
he-might-change of-the-Parthians by-war prevented was for at-that
tempestate Arsaces desciverat. tum Iudaei Macedonibus
time Arsaces had-revolted then the-Jews with-the-Macedonians
invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul
weak with-the-Parthians not-yet grown and the-Romans far-off
erant), sibi ipsi reges imposuere; qui mobilitate
were for-themselves themselves kings set-over who by-the-fickleness
vulgi expulsi, resumpta per arma dominatione fugas
of-the-crowd expelled with-resumed through arms despotism flights
civium, urbium eversiones, fratrum coniugum parentum neces
of-citizens of-cities overthrows of-brothers wives parents murders
aliaque solita regibus ausi superstitionem fovebant,
and-other-things customary to-kings having-dared the-superstition fostered
quia honor sacerdotii firmamentum potentiae adsumebatur.
because the-honor of-the-priesthood as-a-prop of-power was-assumed
Romanorum primus Cn. Pompeius Iudaeos domuit 9
of-the-Romans first Gnaeus Pompey the-Jews subdued
templumque iure victoriae ingressus est: inde vulgatum
and-the-temple by-the-right of-victory entered has thence it-was-spread-abroad

nulla intus deum effigie vacuam sedem et inania arcana.
with-no inside of-gods image empty the-seat and empty the-secrets
muri Hierosolymorum diruti, delubrum mansit. mox
the-walls of-Jerusalem pulled-down the-shrine remained soon
civili inter nos bello, postquam in dicionem M. Antonii
in-civil among us war after into the-control of-Mark Antony
provinciae cesserant, rex Parthorum Pacorus Iudaea potitus
the-provinces had-passed the-king of-the-Parthians Pacorus of-Judaea got-possession
interfectusque a P. Ventidio, et Parthi trans Euphraten
and-was-killed by Publius Ventidius and the-Parthians across the-Euphrates
redacti: Iudaeos C. Sosius subegit. regnum ab Antonio
driven-back the-Jews Gaius Sosius subdued the-kingdom by Antony
Herodi datum victor Augustus auxit. post mortem Herodis,
to-Herod given the-victor Augustus increased after the-death of-Herod
nihil expectato Caesare, Simo quidam regium nomen
with-not-at-all waited-for Caesar Simon a-certain-man the-royal name
invaserat. is a Quintilio Varo obtinente Syriam punitus, et
had-usurped he by Quintilius Varus holding Syria punished and
gentem coercitam liberi Herodis tripertito rexere. sub
the-race restrained the-children of-Herod in-three-parts ruled under
Tiberio quies. dein iussi a C. Caesare effigiem eius in templo
Tiberius quiet then ordered by Gaius Caesar the-statue his in the-temple
locare arma potius sumpsere, quem motum Caesaris mors
to-place arms rather they-took-up which commotion of-Caesar the-death
diremit. Claudius, defunctis regibus aut ad modicum redactis,
broke-off Claudius with-dead kings or to small reduced
Iudaeam provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit,
Judaea the-province to-knights Roman or freedmen entrusted
e quibus Antonius Felix per omnem saevitiam ac libidinem
of whom Antonius Felix through every savagery and lust
ius regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatrae
the-right of-a-king with-a-slave's character exercised with-Drusilla of-Cleopatra

et Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut
and Antony the-granddaughter into marriage taken so-that
eiusdem Antonii Felix progener, Claudius nepos esset.
of-the-same Antony Felix the-grandson-in-law Claudius the-grandson should-be
Duravit tamen patientia Iudaeis usque ad Gessium Florum
lasted yet endurance for-the-Jews right to Gessius Florus
procuratorem: sub eo bellum ortum. et comprimere
the-procurator under him war arose and to-suppress
coeptantem Cestium Gallum Syriae legatum varia proelia
beginning Cestius Gallus of-Syria the-legate various battles
ac saepius adversa excepere. qui ubi fato aut taedio
and more-often adverse met who when by-fate or weariness
occidit, missu Neronis Vespasianus fortuna famaque et
he-died by-the-sending of-Nero Vespasian by-fortune and-fame and
egregiis ministris intra duas aestates cuncta camporum
excellent subordinates within two summers all of-the-plains
omnisque praeter Hierosolyma urbis victore exercitu
and-every except Jerusalem city with-the-victorious army
tenebat. proximus annus civili bello intentus quantum ad
held the-next year in-civil war intent as-far-as to
Iudaeos per otium transiit. pace per Italiam parta
the-Jews in leisure passed with-peace throughout Italy won
et externae curae rediere: augebat iras quod soli Iudaei
also foreign cares returned increased the-angers that alone the-Jews
non cessissent; simul manere apud exercitus Titum
had-not yielded at-the-same-time to-remain with the-armies Titus
ad omnis principatus novi eventus casusve utile videbatur.
for all of-a-principate new outcomes or-mischances useful it-seemed

Titus shows his legions before the walls, and the Jews are driven inside. The soldiers want a quick assault, but the city stands on two hills, its temple fortified like a citadel. Three leaders, Simon, John, and Eleazar, hold its parts until John seizes the temple. Portents appear, read as foretelling rulers from Judaea. The besieged, said to number six hundred thousand, fear exile more than death, and Titus prepares siege works.

11 Igitur castris, uti diximus, ante moenia Hierosolymorum
therefore with-the-camp as we-said before the-walls of-Jerusalem
positis instructas legiones ostentavit: Iudaei sub ipsos muros
pitched the-drawn-up legions he-displayed the-Jews under the-very walls
struxere aciem, rebus secundis longius ausuri et, si
drew-up their-line in-affairs prosperous farther going-to-dare and if
pellerentur, parato perfugio. missus in eos eques
they-should-be-driven-back with-ready refuge sent against them the-cavalry
cum expeditis cohortibus ambigue certavit; mox cessere
with unencumbered cohorts doubtfully fought soon gave-way
hostes et sequentibus diebus crebra pro portis proelia
the-enemy and on-the-following days frequent before the-gates battles
serebant, donec adsiduis damnis intra moenia pellerentur.
they-joined until by-constant losses within the-walls they-were-driven
Romani ad obpugnandum versi; neque enim dignum videbatur
the-Romans to assaulting turned nor for worthy it-seemed
famem hostium opperiri, poscebantque pericula, pars virtute,
the-famine of-the-enemy to-wait-for and-they-demanded dangers part from-valor
multi ferocia et cupidine praemiorum. ipsi Tito Roma
many from-ferocity and from-desire of-rewards to-himself Titus Rome
et opes voluptatesque ante oculos; ac ni statim Hierosolyma
and wealth and-pleasures before his-eyes and unless at-once Jerusalem
conciderent, morari videbantur. sed urbem arduam situ opera
should-fall to-be-delaying they-seemed but the-city steep in-site works

molesque firmaverant, quis vel plana satis munirentur. nam
and-masses had-strengthened by-which even level-places enough would-be-fortified for
duos collis in immensum editos claudebant muri per artem
two hills to immensity raised enclosed walls by art
obliqui aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera obpugnantium ad ictus
oblique or inward curved that the-flanks of-the-attackers to blows
patescerent. extrema rupis abrupta, et turres, ubi mons
might-lie-open the-edges of-the-rock sheer and towers where the-mountain
iuvisset, in sexagenos pedes, inter devexa in centenos vicenosque
had-helped to sixty feet among the-slopes to a-hundred and-twenty
attollebantur, mira specie ac procul intuentibus pares.
rose of-wonderful appearance and to-those-far-off viewing equal
alia intus moenia regiae circumiecta, conspicuoque fastigio
other inside walls to-the-palace thrown-around and-with-conspicuous height
turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellata.
the-tower Antonia in honor of-Mark Antony by Herod named
Templum in modum arcis propriique muri, labore et 12
the-temple in the-manner of-a-citadel and-its-own walls in-labor and
opere ante alios; ipsae porticus, quis templum ambibatur,
work beyond others the-very porticoes by-which the-temple was-surrounded
egregium propugnaculum. fons perennis aquae, cavati sub
an-excellent bulwark a-spring perennial of-water hollowed under
terra montes et piscinae cisternaeque servandis imbribus.
the-earth the-mountains and pools and-cisterns for-keeping rains
providerant conditores ex diversitate morum crebra bella: inde
had-provided the-founders from the-difference of-customs frequent wars thence
cuncta quamvis adversus longum obsidium; et a Pompeio
all-things however against long siege and by Pompey
expugnatis metus atque usus pleraque monstravere. atque per
to-the-stormed fear and experience most-things showed and through
avaritiam Claudianorum temporum empto iure muniendi
the-greed of-the-Claudian times with-bought the-right of-fortifying

struxere muros in pace tamquam ad bellum, magna conluvie et
they-built walls in peace as-if for war by-a-great dregs and
ceterarum urbium clade aucti; nam pervicacissimus quisque
of-the-other cities by-the-disaster increased for the-most-obstinate each
illuc perfugerat eoque seditiosius agebant. tres duces, totidem
thither had-fled and-therefore more-seditiously they-acted three leaders as-many
exercitus: extrema et latissima moenium Simo, mediam
armies the-outermost and widest of-the-walls Simon the-middle
urbem Ioannes, templum Eleazarus firmaverat. multitudine
city John the-temple Eleazar had-fortified in-multitude
et armis Ioannes ac Simo, Eleazarus loco pollebat: sed
and arms John and Simon Eleazar in-position was-strong but
proelia dolus incendia inter ipsos, et magna vis frumenti
battles guile burnings among themselves and a-great quantity of-grain
ambusta. mox Ioannes, missis per speciem sacrificandi qui
burned soon John with-sent through the-pretext of-sacrificing men-who
Eleazarum manumque eius obtruncarent, templo potitur.
Eleazar and-the-band his should-cut-down of-the-temple gets-possession
ita in duas factiones civitas discessit, donec propinquantibus
so into two factions the-state divided until with-approaching
Romanis bellum externum concordiam pareret.
Romans war foreign concord should-produce

13 Evenerant prodigia, quae neque hostiis neque votis piare
there-had-happened prodigies which neither by-victims nor by-vows to-expiate
fas habet gens superstitioni obnoxia, religionibus adversa.
lawful holds a-race to-superstition subject to-religious-rites opposed
visae per caelum concurrere acies, rutilantia arma et subito
were-seen in the-sky to-clash battle-lines red-glowing arms and suddenly
nubium igne conlucere templum. apertae repente delubri
of-the-clouds by-the-fire to-shine the-temple were-opened suddenly of-the-shrine
fores et audita maior humana vox excedere deos; simul
the-doors and was-heard greater than-human a-voice to-depart the-gods at-the-same-time

ingens motus excedentium. quae pauci in metum trahebant:
a-great movement of-the-departing which a-few into fear drew
pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum litteris contineri
in-the-more conviction was in-the-ancient of-the-priests writings to-be-contained
eo ipso tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique
at-that very time going-to-be that should-grow-strong the-East and-setting-out
Iudaea rerum potirentur. quae ambages Vespasianum
from-Judaea of-affairs men-should-get-possession which riddles Vespasian
ac Titum praedixerat, sed vulgus more humanae
and Titus had-foretold but the-crowd in-the-manner of-human
cupidinis sibi tantam fatorum magnitudinem interpretati
desire to-themselves such-great of-the-fates greatness having-interpreted
ne adversis quidem ad vera mutabantur. multitudinem
not by-adversity even to the-truth were-changed the-multitude
obsessorum omnis aetatis, virile ac muliebre secus, sexcenta
of-the-besieged of-every age male and female sex six-hundred
milia fuisse accepimus: arma cunctis, qui ferre possent,
thousands to-have-been we-have-heard arms for-all who to-bear-them could
et plures quam pro numero audebant. obstinatio viris
and more than in-proportion-to the-number dared obstinacy in-men
feminisque par; ac si transferre sedis cogerentur, maior vitae
and-women equal and if to-move their-seats they-were-compelled greater of-life
metus quam mortis. hanc adversus urbem gentemque Caesar
the-fear than of-death this against city and-people Caesar
Titus, quando impetus et subita belli locus abnueret,
Titus since assault and the-sudden-strokes of-war the-place refused
aggeribus vineisque certare statuit: dividuntur legionibus
with-mounds and-sheds to-contend decided are-divided among-the-legions
munia et quies proeliorum fuit, donec cuncta expugnandis
the-duties and a-rest from-battles there-was until all-things for-storming
urbibus reperta apud veteres aut novis ingeniis struerentur.
cities devised among the-ancients or by-new ingenuity were-constructed

Civilis rebuilds his army and camps at Vetera, where he has built a dam to flood the plain. Cerialis, reinforced, follows. The first fight is in marsh and deep water, where the Germans' height and light arms favor them; on the next day Cerialis and Civilis exhort their men. A Batavian deserter leads two cavalry wings round the end of the marsh to the enemy's rear, and the Germans are routed toward the Rhine; the war would have ended that day had the fleet hurried after them, and rain and nightfall stop even the cavalry.

14 At Civilis post malam in Treviris pugnam reparato
but Civilis after the-bad among the-Treviri battle with-restored
per Germaniam exercitu apud Vetera castra consedit, tutus
through Germany army at Vetera camp encamped safe
loco, et ut memoria prosperarum illic rerum augescerent
in-position and that by-the-memory of-successful there affairs might-grow
barbarorum animi. secutus est eodem Cerialis, duplicatis
of-the-barbarians the-spirits followed has to-the-same-place Cerialis with-doubled
copiis adventu secundae et tertiae decimae et quartae
forces by-the-arrival of-the-second and third tenth and fourth
decimae legionum; cohortesque et alae iam pridem
tenth legions and-the-cohorts and squadrons already long-since
accitae post victoriam properaverant. neuter ducum
summoned after the-victory had-hurried neither of-the-generals
cunctator, sed arcebat latitudo camporum suopte ingenio
a-delayer but kept-them-off the-breadth of-the-plains by-their-own nature
umentium; addiderat Civilis obliquam in Rhenum molem,
wet had-added Civilis an-oblique into the-Rhine dam
cuius obiectu revolutus amnis adiacentibus superfunderetur.
whose by-barrier thrown-back the-river over-the-adjacent-lands might-pour
ea loci forma, incertis vadis subdola et nobis adversa:
that of-the-place form with-uncertain shallows treacherous and to-us adverse

quippe miles Romanus armis gravis et nandi pavidus,
for the-soldiery Roman in-arms heavy and of-swimming fearful
Germanos fluminibus suetos levitas armorum et proceritas
the-Germans to-rivers accustomed the-lightness of-their-arms and the-tallness
corporum attollit.
of-their-bodies lifts-up
Igitur lacessentibus Batavis ferocissimo cuique nostrorum 15
therefore with-provoking Batavians by-the-fiercest each of-our-men
coeptum certamen, deinde orta trepidatio, cum praealtis
begun the-contest then arose panic when in-very-deep
paludibus arma equi haurirentur. Germani notis vadis
marshes arms horses were-swallowed the-Germans the-known shallows
persultabant, omissa plerumque fronte latera ac terga
bounded-over with-dropped mostly the-front the-flanks and rear
circumvenientes. neque ut in pedestri acie comminus
surrounding nor as in an-infantry battle at-close-quarters
certabatur, sed tamquam navali pugna vagi inter undas
was-it-fought but as-if in-a-naval fight wandering amid the-waves
aut, si quid stabile occurrebat, totis illic corporibus
or if anything stable met-them with-the-whole there bodies
nitentes, vulnerati cum integris, periti nandi cum
straining the-wounded with the-unhurt the-skilled in-swimming with
ignaris in mutuam perniciem implicabantur. minor tamen
the-ignorant into mutual destruction were-entangled smaller yet
quam pro tumultu caedes, quia non ausi
than in-proportion-to the-uproar the-slaughter because not having-dared
egredi paludem Germani in castra rediere. eius proelii
to-go-out-of the-marsh the-Germans into the-camp returned of-that battle
eventus utrumque ducem diversis animi motibus ad
the-outcome each general with-different of-mind movements to
maturandum summae rei discrimen erexit. Civilis instare
hastening of-the-whole cause the-decision roused Civilis was-pressing-on

fortunae, Cerialis abolere ignominiam: Germani prosperis
his-fortune Cerialis was-wiping-out the-disgrace the-Germans by-success
feroces, Romanos pudor excitaverat. nox apud barbaros
fierce the-Romans shame had-roused the-night among the-barbarians
cantu aut clamore, nostris per iram et minas acta.
in-chanting or shouting by-our-men in anger and threats was-spent
16 Postera luce Cerialis equite et auxiliariis cohortibus
at-the-next light Cerialis with-cavalry and auxiliary cohorts
frontem explet, in secunda acie legiones locatae, dux
the-front fills in the-second line the-legions were-placed the-general
sibi delectos retinuerat ad improvisa. Civilis haud porrecto
for-himself picked-men had-kept for emergencies Civilis with-not extended
agmine, sed cuneis adstitit: Batavi Cugernique in dextro,
column but in-wedges stood the-Batavians and-Cugerni on the-right
laeva ac propiora flumini Transrhenani tenuere. exhortatio
the-left and nearer-parts to-the-river the-trans-Rhenanes held the-exhortation
ducum non more contionis apud universos, sed ut
of-the-generals not in-the-manner of-an-assembly before all but as
quosque suorum advehebantur. Cerialis veterem Romani
each of-their-own they-rode-up-to Cerialis the-old of-the-Roman
nominis gloriam, antiquas recentisque victorias; ut perfidum
name glory ancient and-recent victories that the-treacherous
ignavum victum hostem in aeternum exciderent, ultione
cowardly beaten enemy for ever they-should-destroy of-vengeance
magis quam proelio opus esse. pauciores nuper cum pluribus
rather than of-battle need to-be fewer lately with more
certasse, ac tamen fusos Germanos, quod roboris
to-have-contended and yet to-have-been-routed the-Germans what of-strength
fuerit: superesse qui fugam animis, qui vulnera tergo
there-had-been to-remain who flight in-their-minds who wounds on-the-back
ferant. proprios inde stimulos legionibus admovebat, domitores
bear particular thence goads to-the-legions he-applied the-tamers

Britanniae quartadecimanos appellans; principem Galbam sextae
of-Britain the-fourteenth-men calling the-emperor Galba of-the-sixth
legionis auctoritate factum; illa primum acie secundanos
legion by-the-authority made in-that first battle the-second-men
nova signa novamque aquilam dicaturos. hinc praevectus
new standards and-a-new eagle going-to-dedicate hence having-ridden-on
ad Germanicum exercitum manus tendebat, ut suam ripam,
to the-German army his-hands he-stretched-out that their-own bank
sua castra sanguine hostium reciperarent. alacrior omnium
their-own camp with-the-blood of-the-enemy they-should-recover more-eager of-all
clamor, quis vel ex longa pace proelii cupido vel fessis
the-shout in-whom either from long peace of-battle desire or for-the-wearied
bello pacis amor, praemiaque et quies in posterum sperabatur.
by-war of-peace love and-rewards and rest for the-future was-hoped
Nec Civilis silentem struxit aciem, locum pugnae testem 17
nor Civilis a-silent drew-up line the-place of-battle as-witness
virtutis ciens: stare Germanos Batavosque super vestigia
of-valor calling to-stand the-Germans and-Batavians upon the-traces
gloriae, cineres ossaque legionum calcantis. quocumque oculos
of-glory the-ashes and-bones of-the-legions treading wherever his-eyes
Romanus intenderet, captivitatem clademque et dira omnia
the-Roman should-turn captivity and-disaster and dire all-things
obversari. ne terrerentur vario Trevirici proelii
to-confront-him that-not they-should-be-frightened by-the-varied of-the-Treviran battle
eventu: suam illic victoriam Germanis obstitisse, dum
outcome their-own there victory to-the-Germans to-have-stood-in-the-way while
omissis telis praeda manus impediunt: sed cuncta mox
with-dropped weapons with-plunder their-hands they-hamper but all-things soon
prospera et hosti contraria evenisse. quae provideri
successful and for-the-enemy contrary to-have-turned-out which to-be-foreseen
astu ducis oportuerit, providisse, campos madentis
by-the-craft of-a-general it-was-proper to-have-foreseen plains soaking

et ipsis gnaros, paludes hostibus noxias. Rhenum et
and to-themselves known marshes to-the-enemy harmful the-Rhine and
Germaniae deos in aspectu: quorum numine capesserent
of-Germany the-gods in sight whose by-divinity they-should-take-up
pugnam, coniugum parentum patriae memores: illum diem
the-fight of-wives of-parents of-the-fatherland mindful that day
aut gloriosissimum inter maiores aut ignominiosum apud
either most-glorious among the-ancestors or disgraceful among
posteros fore. ubi sono armorum tripudiisque (ita illis
posterity going-to-be when by-the-clash of-arms and-war-dances so for-them
mos) adprobata sunt dicta, saxis glandibusque et ceteris
the-custom approved were the-words with-stones and-bullets and the-other
missilibus proelium incipitur, neque nostro milite paludem
missiles the-battle is-begun nor with-our soldiery the-marsh
ingrediente et Germanis, ut elicerent, lacessentibus.
entering and with-the-Germans that they-might-draw-them-out provoking
18 Absumptis quae iaciuntur et ardescente pugna procursum
with-used-up what-things are-hurled and with-blazing-up fight a-charge-was-made
ab hoste infestius: immensis corporibus et praelongis
by the-enemy more-hostilely with-huge bodies and very-long
hastis fluitantem labantemque militem eminus fodiebant;
spears the-floundering and-slipping soldiery from-afar they-stabbed
simul e mole, quam eductam in Rhenum rettulimus,
at-the-same-time from the-dam which built-out into the-Rhine we-reported
Bructerorum cuneus transnatavit. turbata ibi res
of-the-Bructeri a-wedge swam-across thrown-into-confusion there the-situation
et pellebatur sociarum cohortium acies, cum legiones
and was-being-driven-back of-the-allied cohorts the-line when the-legions
pugnam excipiunt suppressaque hostium ferocia proelium
the-fight take-up and-with-checked of-the-enemy ferocity the-battle
aequatur. inter quae perfuga Batavus adiit Cerialem,
is-equalized amid which a-deserter Batavian approached Cerialis

terga hostium promittens, si extremo paludis eques
the-rear of-the-enemy promising if along-the-edge of-the-marsh cavalry
mitteretur: solidum illa et Cugernos, quibus custodia
should-be-sent solid that-ground and the-Cugerni to-whom the-guard
obvenisset, parum intentos. duae alae cum perfuga missae
had-fallen too-little alert two squadrons with the-deserter sent
incauto hosti circumfunduntur. quod ubi clamore
around-the-incautious enemy are-poured which when by-the-shout
cognitum, legiones a fronte incubuere, pulsique Germani
learned the-legions from the-front pressed and-routed the-Germans
Rhenum fuga petebant. debellatum eo die foret,
the-Rhine in-flight sought finished-the-war on-that day it-would-have-been
si Romana classis sequi maturasset: ne eques quidem
if the-Roman fleet to-follow had-hastened not the-cavalry even
institit, repente fusis imbribus et propinqua nocte.
pressed-on with-suddenly poured-down rains and near night

LXVIII · THE END OF THE REVOLT

Civilis retreats to the island, breaking the dam to divert the Rhine. He attacks four Roman posts in one day; Briganticus falls, and the Germans take Cerialis's flagship by night while he is away, most believed, with a woman. Cerialis ravages the island while sparing Civilis's estates, and through secret messages offers peace. The Batavians begin to blame Civilis, and he seeks a parley; the text breaks off as he pleads his loyalty to Vespasian.

Postera die quartadecima legio in superiorem provinciam 19
on-the-next day the-fourteenth legion into the-upper province
Gallo Annio missa: Cerialis exercitum decima ex
to-Gallus Annius sent of-Cerialis the-army the-tenth from
Hispania legio supplevit: Civili Chaucorum auxilia
Spain legion filled-up to-Civilis of-the-Chauci auxiliaries

venere. non tamen ausus oppidum Batavorum armis
came not yet having-dared the-town of-the-Batavians by-arms
tueri, raptis quae ferri poterant, ceteris iniecto
to-defend with-seized what to-be-carried could on-the-rest with-thrown
igni, in insulam concessit, gnarus deesse navis
fire to the-island he-withdrew knowing to-be-lacking ships
efficiendo ponti, neque exercitum Romanum aliter
for-making a-bridge nor the-army Roman otherwise
transmissurum: quin et diruit molem a Druso
going-to-cross indeed even he-demolished the-dam by Drusus
Germanico factam Rhenumque prono alveo in
Germanicus made and-the-Rhine in-a-downward bed into
Galliam ruentem, disiectis quae morabantur, effudit.
Gaul rushing with-scattered what-things delayed-it poured-out
sic velut abacto amne tenuis alveus insulam inter
so as-if with-driven-off river a-thin channel the-island between
Germanosque continentium terrarum speciem fecerat.
and-the-Germans of-continuous lands the-appearance had-made
transiere Rhenum Tutor quoque et Classicus et
crossed the-Rhine Tutor also and Classicus and
centum tredecim Trevirorum senatores, in quis fuit
a-hundred thirteen of-the-Treviri senators among whom was
Alpinius Montanus, quem a Primo Antonio missum
Alpinius Montanus whom by Primus Antonius sent
in Gallias superius memoravimus. comitabatur eum
into the-Gauls above we-recounted accompanied him
frater D. Alpinius; simul ceteri miseratione
his-brother Decimus Alpinius at-the-same-time the-rest by-pity
ac donis auxilia concibant inter gentis periculorum
and gifts auxiliaries roused among peoples for-dangers
avidas.
greedy

Tantumque belli superfuit ut praesidia cohortium alarum 20
and-so-much of-war remained that the-garrisons of-cohorts squadrons
legionum uno die Civilis quadripertito invaserit,
legions on-one day Civilis in-four-divisions attacked
decimam legionem Arenaci, secundam Batavoduri
the-tenth legion at-Arenacum the-second at-Batavodurum
et Grinnes Vadamque, cohortium alarumque castra,
and Grinnes and-Vada of-the-cohorts and-squadrons the-camps
ita divisis copiis ut ipse et Verax, sorore
so with-divided forces that himself and Verax from-the-sister
eius genitus, Classicusque ac Tutor suam quisque
his born and-Classicus and Tutor his-own each
manum traherent, nec omnia patrandi fiducia,
band should-lead nor of-all-things accomplishing confidence
sed multa ausis aliqua in parte fortunam
but many-things for-those-having-dared some in part fortune
adfore: simul Cerialem neque satis cautum
to-be-going-to-be-present at-the-same-time Cerialis neither enough cautious
et pluribus nuntiis huc illuc cursantem posse medio
and at-several messages hither thither running to-be-able in-the-middle
intercipi. quibus obvenerant castra decimanorum,
to-be-intercepted those-to-whom had-fallen the-camp of-the-tenth-men
obpugnationem legionis arduam rati egressum militem
the-assault of-a-legion hard thinking gone-out the-soldiery
et caedendis materiis operatum turbavere, occiso
and in-cutting timber busied threw-into-confusion with-killed
praefecto castrorum et quinque primoribus centurionum
the-prefect of-the-camp and five of-the-chief centurions
paucisque militibus: ceteri se munimentis defendere.
and-a-few soldiers the-rest themselves by-the-fortifications defended
interim Germanorum manus Batavoduri interrumpere
meanwhile of-Germans a-band at-Batavodurum to-break-down

inchoatum pontem nitebantur: ambiguum proelium nox
the-begun bridge strove a-doubtful battle night
diremit.
broke-off

21 Plus discriminis apud Grinnes Vadamque. Vadam Civilis,
more of-danger at Grinnes and-Vada Vada Civilis
Grinnes Classicus obpugnabant: nec sisti poterant
Grinnes Classicus assaulted nor to-be-checked could-they
interfecto fortissimo quoque, in quis Briganticus
with-killed the-bravest each among whom Briganticus
praefectus alae ceciderat, quem fidum Romanis
prefect of-a-squadron had-fallen whom loyal to-the-Romans
et Civili avunculo infensum diximus. sed ubi Cerialis
and to-Civilis his-uncle hostile we-said but when Cerialis
cum delecta equitum manu subvenit, versa fortuna;
with a-picked of-cavalry band came-to-help turned fortune
praecipites Germani in amnem aguntur. Civilis dum
headlong the-Germans into the-river are-driven Civilis while
fugientis retentat, agnitus petitusque telis relicto
the-fleeing he-holds-back recognized and-aimed-at with-missiles with-left
equo transnatavit; idem Veraci effugium: Tutorem
horse swam-across the-same for-Verax escape Tutor
Classicumque adpulsae luntres vexere. ne tum quidem
and-Classicus brought-up skiffs carried not then even
Romana classis pugnae adfuit, et iussum erat, sed
the-Roman fleet at-the-battle was-present and ordered had-been but
obstitit formido et remiges per alia militiae munia
stood-in-the-way dread and the-rowers through other of-service duties
dispersi. sane Cerialis parum temporis ad exequenda
scattered certainly Cerialis too-little of-time for carrying-out
imperia dabat, subitus consiliis set eventu clarus:
orders gave sudden in-counsels but in-outcome famous

aderat fortuna, etiam ubi artes defuissent; hinc ipsi
was-present fortune even where arts had-been-lacking hence to-himself
exercituique minor cura disciplinae. et paucos post dies,
and-to-the-army less care of-discipline and a-few after days
quamquam periculum captivitatis evasisset, infamiam non
although the-danger of-captivity he-had-escaped the-infamy not
vitavit.
he-avoided

Profectus Novaesium Bonnamque ad visenda castra, quae 22
having-set-out to-Novaesium and-Bonna for viewing the-camps which
hiematuris legionibus erigebantur, navibus remeabat
for-going-to-winter legions were-being-raised with-the-ships he-was-returning
disiecto agmine, incuriosis vigiliis. animadversum id
with-straggling column with-careless watches noticed that-was
Germanis et insidias composuere: electa nox atra
by-the-Germans and an-ambush they-arranged was-chosen a-night black
nubibus, et prono amne rapti nullo prohibente
with-clouds and on-the-downward stream carried with-no-one preventing
vallum ineunt. prima caedes astu adiuta: incisis
the-rampart they-enter the-first slaughter by-craft aided with-cut
tabernaculorum funibus suismet tentoriis coopertos
of-the-tents the-ropes by-their-own tents covered
trucidabant. aliud agmen turbare classem, inicere
they-slaughtered another column threw-into-confusion the-fleet threw-on
vincla, trahere puppis; utque ad fallendum silentio,
chains dragged the-sterns and-as for deceiving in-silence
ita coepta caede, quo plus terroris adderent, cuncta
so with-begun slaughter that more of-terror they-might-add all-things
clamoribus miscebant. Romani vulneribus exciti quaerunt
with-shouts they-confounded the-Romans by-wounds roused seek
arma, ruunt per vias, pauci ornatu militari, plerique
arms rush through the-streets few in-attire military most

circum brachia torta veste et strictis mucronibus.
around their-arms with-twisted clothing and with-drawn swords
dux semisomnus ac prope intectus errore
the-general half-asleep and almost unclothed by-the-mistake
hostium servatur: namque praetoriam navem vexillo
of-the-enemy is-saved for the-praetorian ship by-its-banner
insignem, illic ducem rati, abripiunt. Cerialis alibi
distinguished there the-general thinking they-carry-off Cerialis elsewhere
noctem egerat, ut plerique credidere, ob stuprum
the-night had-spent as most believed on-account-of debauchery
Claudiae Sacratae mulieris Ubiae. vigiles flagitium
of-Claudia Sacrata a-woman Ubian the-watches disgrace
suum ducis dedecore excusabant, tamquam iussi
their-own of-the-general by-the-disgrace excused as-if ordered
silere ne quietem eius turbarent; ita intermisso
to-be-silent lest the-rest his they-should-disturb so with-intermitted
signo et vocibus se quoque in somnum lapsos.
signal and calls themselves also into sleep to-have-slipped
multa luce revecti hostes captivis navibus,
in-broad daylight having-ridden-back the-enemy with-captured ships
praetoriam triremem flumine Lupia donum Veledae
the-praetorian trireme on-the-river Lupia as-a-gift to-Veleda
traxere.
dragged

23 Civilem cupido incessit navalem aciem ostentandi: complet
Civilis desire came-over of-a-naval line displaying he-fills
quod biremium quaeque simplici ordine agebantur;
what of-biremes and-what-ships with-single bank were-driven
adiecta ingens luntrium vis, tricenos quadragenosque
was-added a-huge of-skiffs quantity thirty-each and-forty-each
ferunt, armamenta Liburnicis solita; et simul
they-carry the-tackle for-Liburnians usual and at-the-same-time

captae luntres sagulis versicoloribus haud indecore
the-captured skiffs with-cloaks many-colored not unbecomingly
pro velis iuvabantur. spatium velut aequoris electum
instead-of sails were-helped a-space as-if of-sea was-chosen
quo Mosae fluminis os amnem Rhenum Oceano
where of-the-Meuse river the-mouth the-river Rhine into-Ocean
adfundit. causa instruendae classis super insitam genti
pours the-cause of-equipping a-fleet besides implanted in-the-race
vanitatem ut eo terrore commeatus Gallia adventantes
vanity that by-that terror the-supplies from-Gaul approaching
interciperentur. Cerialis miraculo magis quam metu
might-be-intercepted Cerialis from-wonder more than from-fear
derexit classem, numero imparem, usu remigum,
drew-up his-fleet in-number unequal in-the-practice of-the-rowers
gubernatorum arte, navium magnitudine potiorem. his
of-the-helmsmen in-the-skill of-the-ships in-size superior for-these
flumen secundum, illi vento agebantur: sic praevecti
the-stream favorable those by-wind were-driven so having-sailed-past
temptato levium telorum iactu dirimuntur. Civilis nihil
with-tried of-light missiles a-throw they-are-parted Civilis nothing
ultra ausus trans Rhenum concessit: Cerialis insulam
further having-dared across the-Rhine withdrew Cerialis the-island
Batavorum hostiliter populatus agros villasque Civilis
of-the-Batavians hostilely having-ravaged the-fields and-farmhouses of-Civilis
intactas nota arte ducum sinebat, cum interim
untouched by-the-known artifice of-generals allowed when meanwhile
flexu autumni et crebris per aequinoctium imbribus
at-the-turn of-autumn and with-frequent through the-equinox rains
superfusus amnis palustrem humilemque insulam in
the-overflowing river the-marshy and-low island into
faciem stagni opplevit. nec classis aut commeatus
the-appearance of-a-pool filled nor fleet or supplies

aderant, castraque in plano sita vi fluminis
were-present and-the-camp on the-plain situated by-the-force of-the-river
differebantur.
were-torn-apart

24 Potuisse tunc opprimi legiones et voluisse
to-have-been-able then to-be-crushed the-legions and to-have-wished
Germanos, sed dolo a se flexos imputavit
the-Germans but by-guile by himself turned-aside claimed-credit-for
Civilis; neque abhorret vero, quando paucis post
Civilis nor is-it-far from-the-truth since a-few after
diebus deditio insecuta est. nam Cerialis per
days the-surrender followed has for Cerialis through
occultos nuntios Batavis pacem, Civili veniam
secret messengers to-the-Batavians peace to-Civilis pardon
ostentans, Veledam propinquosque monebat fortunam
holding-out Veleda and-her-kinsmen advised the-fortune
belli, tot cladibus adversam, opportuno erga
of-the-war by-so-many disasters adverse by-a-timely toward
populum Romanum merito mutare: caesos Treviros,
the-people Roman service to-change slaughtered the-Treviri
receptos Ubios, ereptam Batavis patriam; neque
recovered the-Ubii snatched from-the-Batavians their-fatherland nor
aliud Civilis amicitia partum quam vulnera
anything-else of-Civilis by-the-friendship won than wounds
fugas luctus. exulem eum et extorrem recipientibus
flights griefs an-exile him and banished to-those-receiving-him
oneri, et satis peccavisse quod totiens Rhenum
a-burden and enough to-have-sinned that so-often the-Rhine
transcenderint. si quid ultra moliantur, inde
they-had-crossed if anything further they-should-attempt on-that-side

iniuriam et culpam, hinc ultionem et deos
the-wrong and guilt on-this-side vengeance and the-gods
fore.
going-to-be
Miscebantur minis promissa; et concussa Transrhenanorum
were-mixed with-threats promises and with-shaken of-the-trans-Rhenanes
fide inter Batavos quoque sermones orti: non prorogandam
loyalty among the-Batavians also talks arose not to-be-prolonged
ultra ruinam, nec posse ab una natione totius
further the-ruin nor to-be-able by one nation of-the-whole
orbis servitium depelli. quid profectum caede
world servitude to-be-driven-off what achieved by-the-slaughter
et incendiis legionum nisi ut plures validioresque
and burnings of-legions except that more and-stronger
accirentur? si Vespasiano bellum navaverint, Vespasianum
should-be-summoned if for-Vespasian war they-had-waged Vespasian
rerum potiri: sin populum Romanum armis vocent,
of-affairs to-be-master but-if the-people Roman to-arms they-challenge
quotam partem generis humani Batavos esse? respicerent
what-fraction part of-the-race human the-Batavians to-be let-them-consider
Raetos Noricosque et ceterorum onera sociorum:
the-Raeti and-Norici and of-the-other the-burdens allies
sibi non tributa, sed virtutem et viros indici.
on-themselves not tributes but valor and men to-be-imposed
proximum id libertati; et si dominorum electio sit,
nearest that to-liberty and if of-masters a-choice there-be
honestius principes Romanorum quam Germanorum
more-honorably the-emperors of-the-Romans than of-the-Germans
feminas tolerari. haec vulgus, proceres atrociora:
the-women to-be-endured these-things the-crowd the-chief-men fiercer-things
Civilis rabie semet in arma trusos; illum
of-Civilis by-the-madness themselves into arms thrust him

domesticis malis excidium gentis opposuisse. tunc
to-domestic evils the-destruction of-the-race to-have-opposed then
infensos Batavis deos, cum obsiderentur legiones,
hostile to-the-Batavians the-gods when were-besieged the-legions
interficerentur legati, bellum uni necessarium, ferale
were-killed the-legates a-war for-one necessary deadly
ipsis sumeretur. ventum ad extrema, ni resipiscere
for-themselves was-undertaken it-was-come to the-extremes unless to-come-to-their-senses
incipiant et noxii capitis poena paenitentiam
they-begin and of-the-guilty head by-the-punishment repentance
fateantur.
confess

26 Non fefellit Civilem ea inclinatio et praevenire statuit,
not escaped Civilis that inclination and to-forestall he-decided
super taedium malorum etiam spe vitae, quae plerumque
besides weariness of-evils also by-hope of-life which mostly
magnos animos infringit. petito conloquio scinditur
great spirits breaks with-sought a-parley is-cut
Nabaliae fluminis pons, in cuius abrupta progressi
of-the-Nabalia river the-bridge onto whose broken-ends having-advanced
duces, et Civilis ita coepit: ‘si apud Vitellii legatum
the-leaders and Civilis thus began if before of-Vitellius a-legate
defenderer, neque facto meo venia neque dictis
I-were-defending-myself neither to-deed my pardon nor to-words
fides debebatur; cuncta inter nos inimica: hostilia ab
belief would-be-owed all-things between us hostile hostilities by
illo coepta, a me aucta erant: erga Vespasianum
him begun by me increased had-been toward Vespasian
vetus mihi observantia, et cum privatus esset,
old to-me respect and when a-private-man he-was
amici vocabamur. hoc Primo Antonio notum, cuius
friends we-were-called this to-Primus Antonius known whose

epistulis ad bellum actus sum, ne Germanicae
by-letters to war I-was-driven has that-not the-German
legiones et Gallica iuventus Alpis transcenderent.
legions and the-Gallic youth the-Alps should-cross
quae Antonius epistulis, Hordeonius Flaccus praesens
what Antonius by-letters Hordeonius Flaccus in-person
monebat: arma in Germania movi, quae Mucianus
advised arms in Germany I-moved which Mucianus
in Syria, Aponius in Moesia, Flavianus in Pannonia
in Syria Aponius in Moesia Flavianus in Pannonia

* * *

(lacuna)