

Appendix A

The Plat of Scene 4.2 of The Faithful Friends and its Realization
 (Reprinted from The Malone Society edition by G. R. Proudfoot and
 G. M. Pinciss of 1970/75)

2476–92 (fol. 32^b)

Enter in a Dumbe shewe: 2. Flamines *Act IV sc. ii.*
 After them one bearing an offering for
 the Kinge: then 4. Senators, after them
 Titus Martius talking to Rufinus:
 Learchus & Leontius following, Then 2480
 Philadelpha richly Attird, her Traine
 borne vpp by Virgins all carrying in
 there hands seuerall kindes of Sacrifice
 So passe ouer the Stage. Exeunt /

Softe Musicke A Banquett being sett forth, Enter Titus *Act IV sc. iii.*
 Strikes and Philadelpha who sitt downe at each
 end of one Table, Then at an other side
 Table sits downe certaine Senators
 ould Tullius, and Marcellanus
 then Rufinus Learchus, and Leontius 2490
 who waite on the Kinge /

King

2815–35 (fol. 36^b-37^b)

[The Plott of a Scene of mirth. *Act IV sc. v.*
 to conclude this fourth Acte.]
 Enter Sr Pergamus the foolish knight like a
 Bridegroome leading Flauia his Bride, Bellario
 the singing souldier, Black Snout the Smith,
 Snipp Snapp the Tayler and Cauleskin the 2820
 Shomaker.
 An Altar to be sett forth with the Image of
 Mars. Dindimus the Dwarfe bearing Sr
 Per: launce and sheild w^{ch} are hung vp for
 trophees, and Sr Perg. Vowes for the loue
 of Flauia neuer to beare Armes agen,
 the like dos Bla: Snout who hangs vp his
 sword and takes his hammer vowing to God
 Vulcan neuer to Vse other Weapon, The
 Taylor and the Shoomaker to vowe the like 2830
 to God Mercury Then Bellario [to] sings
 a songe how they will fall to there old
 Trades, a clapp of Thunder and

run of /

finis 4 Act

Per: there hange thou fatal engine of my wroth. *Act IV sc. v.*
 thou great diuorcer of the soule & bodie
 w^h threescore Princes, Emperors, & Kinges
 beside some 1000 Lords Captaines sanz number
 one lanspresado and a subtilers wife
 has sent to Erebus & dismal Lake
 hang there I say and this the world shal Grant
 None ere shall vse the like but Iohn of Gaunt.

Omnes o rare rare Pergamus

Per: Now giue mee that 10*
 com thou thou faythfull bulwarke to my brest
 that [t]hath keepst of the Cannon shot like haile
 Cutt through and through some four score ynces deepe
 with dirfull strokes and drerie hardiment
 whose widmouthed trenches keep imprisoned
 5000 Captiuies couthant to my mercy
 w^h must yeeld Pergamus a world for ransome.
 terror hang there noe Guild hall shewes the like
 bloody in peace but in warr politique.

Dyn: goe on braue Pergamus the son of fame, 20*
 the child of fortune all men knowe the same: Fl: [a ridel

Per: hange there yee instruments of blood, & rust [for a foobe]
 hence fightinge vaine my flauia must be bust
 yet thus far Mars I will thy souldier bee
 and valiantly in thy great quarrel strike
 when Flauia teaches mee to rayse the Pyke.

Smith blacksnout the like doeth vow, and in a woorde
 Into a hammer Ile conuert my sworde
 tho venus vulcan horne Ile wiue, our hall
 Increase by vs may growe a Capitall 30*
 I am for vulcan now for mars noe more
 if my wife scould my bouthammer shall rore.

A periphra
 se of a
 foole that's
 fortune
 fauorit ?

Snip: turne garment taylor [then] to and bee not bard
 Ile marry [too] and bee take mee to my yarde
 And if my trade then proue not worth a dodkin
 Curse, [then] curse o women both my yarde and bodkin.

Sho: then shomaker the last of all the route
 of Taylor, Pergamus, or fayre blacke Snoute
 by mercurie I swere it is my draft

Bell: to take a wife and vse the gentle craft 40*
 then far well the drum, Pike, gun and the fife
 if a man loves iarringe and plentie of strife
 to try his vallor let him take a wife

And to our ould trades agine
 And to our ould trades agine
 Come Pergamus, taylor, & blacksonout too
 the shomaker will teach your wiues all what to doe
 for if you tread a wry they'l vnder lay yow

then to our et.
 Soe furious Mars wee bid the adew 50*
 wee care not for killinge its a life for a Iew
 So let vs bee iogging with our iouial crew
 And to our ould trads agin↵
 &.
 o the gods are angry lets be gon:
 Omnes. oh, oh, oh,

Appendix B: Plat of Bonduca

Argument

Bonduca, the Queen of the Iceni (Britains), and her cousin Caratach conquer the Roman invaders' army. The Roman general Swetonius returns to Britain and defeats the Britains in the end. Penyus who refused to join in with his regiment is dishonoured and kills himself. So do Bonduca and her two Daughters to escape Roman disgrace. The British prince Hengo is killed and Caratach is taken prisoner. (2334 lines)

Plat

1.1 **A:** *Bonduca* (Queen of Britain), *Daughters*, *Hengo* (nephew to Bonduca), *Nennius* (leader of the British army), *Soldiers*. *To them Caratach* (Bonduca's cousin). The British army has just defeated the Romans; Bonduca is exuberant and boastful. Caratach rebukes her and professes a way of honour in dealing with Romans. (l. 174)

B: A close relation between him and his nephew Hengo is established. Hengo portrayed as hope of Britain. (186 lines)

1.2 **A:** *Junius and Petillius, two Roman captains*. Julius is in love, which becomes gradually clear. Petillius tries to make him give up love for other, less harmful 'vices'. When he fails, he decides to expose Junius to mockery. (l. 71)

B: *Enter* Corporal Judas and four soldiers complaining of hunger. Petillius rebukes their fastidiousness and uses Junius as a butt for mockery (he does not eat nor drink; he is in love). Junius *exit* in anger. *Drum afar off*. *Exeunt* Judas and soldiers. (l. 156)

C: *Enter* to Petillius: Swetonius (the Roman general), Demetrius, Decius, Drum and Colours. Penyus refuses to join with his regiment. Roman army is weak in victuals and numbers. The Britains are stronger, but mainly by number; in military prowess there is only Caratach who is outstanding. Junius is reported to be in love. Another battle will be fought. (282 lines)

2.1 **A:** *Penyus, Regulus, Macer, Drusus*. Macer repeats Swetonius's command to Penyus to join in. He refuses, offended by being ordered by Swetonius, who is in office his junior. (l. 20) *To them* Curius from Swetonius. Penyus professes the Romans' defeat. (l. 68)

B: *Drum softly within: then enter Soldiers with Drum and Colours*. Penyus orders Drusus and Regulus to suppress their disobedience; they *exeunt*. Penyus acts being insulted. (l. 101)

C: *Enter* Drusus and Regulus, announcing soldiers' obedience. Penyus relents and commands to 'beat homeward'; Macer is told to inform general Swetonius that Penyus will not join in. *Exit* Penyus. (l. 116) Curius, Regulus and Drusus hope for a happy outcome of the conflict. Farewell before battle. (129 lines)

- 2.2 **A:** *Junius. Unobserved to him Petillius and a Herald.* Junius has a dilemmatic soliloquy (love to an enemy). Petillius comments on it aside. *Music.* (l. 52) *Song* (lost), by Junius, and Petillius after him in *mockage*. Junius is dismayed. Herald reads out a proclamation which mocks lovers. Junius *exit* in anger. Petillius pays Herald and wants to keep it private. *Exit Herald.* (l. 72)
- B:** *Enter Demetrius;* the army is getting ready, only Junius's soldiers are not. A half of them are foraging for food. Junius is desperately in love. Demetrius and Petillius lay a bet on Penysus if he would come or not. They expect a fierce and bloody battle. (110 lines)
- 2.3 **A:** *Enter Judas and his four Companions (halters about their necks); Bonduca, her Daughters, Nennius following.* Judas et al were caught foraging for food; Bonduca orders them to be hanged; *exit.* (l. 16) Daughters taunt them; Judas et al clownishly retort. (l. 33)
- B:** *Enter Caratach;* intercepts for the Romans and releases them. *Exit Nennius. Exeunt Daughters.* (l. 57) *Enter Hengo.* Caratach gives the Romans food and obliges them to pay it back in soldierly terms. *Enter Servant with wine and meate.* Hengo dislikes Judas and they have an exchange. The Romans drink. (l. 91)
- C:** *Enter Daughters above.* Judas mentions Junius's love for Bonduca's younger daughter; Daughters overhear it and *exeunt.* (l. 116) Judas et al are drunk. *Enter 2nd Daughter and a Servant;* she gives him a letter for Judas to deliver to Junius. *Enter a Guide;* leads the Romans away. (139 lines)
- 2.4 **A:** *Swetonius, Petillius, Demetrius, Decius, Macer.* Swetonius is angry at Penysus's refusal to come. Petillius whets the conflict. They leave to lead on to battle; Decius remains. (l. 41)
- B:** *To him Judas and his company.* Clownery: Judas is enthusiastic and boasts of having been entertained by the fearful Caratach. Judas announces he has delivered the letter to Junius. Decius orders them to sober quickly and get ready for fight. (94 lines)
- 3.1 *A Messenger;* announces the sacrifice. (l. 1) *Music. Enter in Solemnity, the Druids singing, the second Daughter strewing flowers: then Bonduca, Caratach, Nennius, and others.* Bonduca, Nennius, 1st Daughter, 2nd Daughter and Caratach in turn give their supplications to gods while an incense is burnt on the altar. *A smoke and then a flame from the altar* (l. 77). *Music; song* (lost) by druids. The flame dies out. They interpret the signs. (86 lines)
- 3.2 **A:** *Junius, Curius and Decius.* Junius asks them to join him in taking Bonduca's younger daughter as she asks him to in her letter; he reads it out. They will venture it secretly with some forty soldiers. (l. 48)
- B:** *To them Swetonius, Petillius, and Demetrius, Macer.* They prepare for the battle. Swetonius admonishes them to courage. *March.* Swetonius gives orders. (90 lines)
- 3.3 *Caratach and Nennius* expect the Romans and go to a brow of a hill. (l. 2) *A March. Drums within at one place afar off.* They observe the Romans and comment on them. Caratach orders Nennius to charge. *Exit Nennius.* (l. 18) *March.* Caratach comments on the armies. (l. 22) *Drums in another place afar off.* He leaves to join his troops. (27 lines)
- 3.4 *Junius, Curius, and Decius,* approaching the place denoted by the younger daughter. Junius is hopeful; Curius and Decius are suspicious. Junius swears. *Exeunt.* (14 lines) *Alarms, Drums and Trumpets in severall places afar off, as at a main Battell.*
- 3.5 **A:** *Drusus and Penysus above,* on a hill. They observe the 'multitudes' below. *Loud Shouts.* They describe the procedure of the battle: the battlefield is covered by dust. Elsewhere they observe some forty Roman soldiers (presumably Junius et al), captured by four hundred Britains. Meanwhile 'Loud' (shouts? drums?). Penysus falls asleep. (l. 27)
- B:** *Enter below the two Daughters, with Junius, Curius, Decius, and Soldiers.* Junius disenchanted; the Daughters deride them and want to shoot at them with bows. (l. 52) *Enter Caratach;* rebukes the Daughters severely for their trick, and releases the Romans, ask-

ing them to pay it back to him in battle. *Exeunt Daughters. Exit Caratach.* (l. 86) Romans return to join their army; *exeunt. Drums loud again.* (l. 89)

C: Drusus awakes Penusus and see the victorious Roman army. (l. 107)

D: *Enter Swetonius, Petillius, Demetrius, Macer*; they have won the day. No note of Junius, Curius and Decius; presumably dead (Petillius suggests). (l. 115)

E: *To them Junius, Decius, Curius*; full of enthusiasm. Back to fight then. *Exeunt Romans.* (l. 125)

F: *Enter Bonduca, Caratach, Daughters, Nennius*; Caratach rebukes Bonduca harshly and sends her away. *Exeunt Queen, &c. Shouts within. Victoria within. Exeunt Britons.* (l. 138)

G: Drusus announces Roman victory to Penusus. *Victoria* (l. 141)

H: *Enter Swetonius, Soldiers, and Captains.* They will pursue the Britains. *Exeunt.* (l. 146)

I: *Enter Bonduca, Daughters, and Britains*; they are taking flight. *To them Caratach and Hengo.* The Britons fly. *Exeunt Bonduca, &c.* (l. 154)

J: *To Caratach and Hengo: Petillius, Junius, Decius. Fight. Drums.* (Exeunt Caratach and Hengo.) They talk and sit down. Above, Penusus regrets his not having joined Swetonius; Drusus pacifies him. *Retreat. Exit Penusus & Drusus.* (l. 172)

K: *Enter Swetonius, Demetrius, Souldiers, Drum and Colours.* Swetonius proclaims victory. Bonduca and her Daughters are in a fort; tomorrow morning they will attack them. (182 lines)

4.1 **A:** *Petillius, Junius, Decius, Demetrius* singing a song mocking Junius's past love-affair. They expand on their hatred to love and to women; Petillius in particular. (l. 50)

B: *Enter Swetonius, Curius and Macer.* Petillius is sent to Penusus to allay his dangerous self-hatred, sprung from disgrace. Aside, Petillius hopes to gain Penusus's position. The rest go to besiege Bonduca in her fort. (71 lines)

4.2 **A:** *Caratach and Hengo*; in flight, tired, Caratach speaks of the death of his little brother. Caratach gives him support; Hengo shows courage. (l. 30) *Drum.*

B: *Enter Judas and his people to the door*; they see Caratach and Hengo but are afraid to attack. Caratach sees them. *They retire.* (l. 39) Caratach promises to beat them; *exit.* (l. 48)

C: *Enter Judas [and Soldiers].* Hengo makes Judas afraid. (l. 70) *Enter two Souldiers, running*; they announce that Caratach pursues them. [*Exeunt Romans in fear.*] (l. 74)

D: *Enter Caratach, with a head*; gives it to Hengo as a present. Hengo tells about Judas. They carry on with their flight. (89 lines)

4.3 **A:** *Penusus, Drusus, and Regulus.* Penusus is remorseful and desperate; he refuses all comfort; the soldiers are rioting for not having joined in the battle. [*Throws himself upon the ground.*] (l. 29) *Enter Petillius*; bringing comfort from the general. *Exeunt Drusus and Regulus.* (l. 35)

B: Petillius comforts Penusus, yet at elaborates on his disgrace at the same time. In pursuit of his honour Penusus kills himself. (l. 174) *Noise within. Exit Petillius.* (l. 178)

C: *Enter Drusus and Regulus, with Souldiers*; Soldiers want to kill Penusus. They find him dead. *Exeunt with a dead march.* (215 lines)

4.4 **A:** *Enter Swetonius, Junius, Decius, Demetrius, Curius, and Souldiers: Bonduca, two Daughters, and Nennius, above. Drum and Colours.* Romans besiege them. *Exit Nennius* to defend the fort. *Exit Decius* to bring up the catapults. Bonduca defies them; 2nd Daughter, afraid, hopes for pity. (l. 29) *Enter Petillius.* Bonduca orates. Petillius announces Penusus's death. (l. 47)

B: *Enter Decius:* there is a breach. Bonduca and 1st Daughter refuse contemptuously the offered mercy. *Exit Decius* to charge the breach. (l. 79) *Enter Nennius:* announces the breach. *Exit* to secure it as long as possible. (l. 84)

C: *Enter one [Servant] with swords, and a great cup* of poison. 2nd Daughter is afraid; but

- then stabs herself to escape Roman rape. (l. 113) 1st Daughter derides Romans and kills herself. Petillius falls in love with her. (l. 133) Bonduca refuses all Roman proffers and poisons herself. (l. 153)
- D:** *Enter Decius*: announces the defeat of the Britains. Swetonius orders a ‘fair Funeral’ for Bonduca. Junius finds out Petillius’s love. (159 lines)
- 5.1 *Enter Caratach upon a rock, and Hengo by him, sleeping*. Caratach pities Britain’s and Hengo’s fate, caused by Bonduca. Hengo awakes. (l. 18) *A soft dead march within*. They see Penysus’s funeral procession. (l. 27) *Enter Drusus, Regulus, and Souldiers, with Penysus Herse, Drums and Colours*. Caratach pays homage to Penysus. Hengo weeps. *Exeunt Romans. A dead march*. (l. 90) Caratach plans their rescue. (97 lines)
- 5.2 **A:** *Enter Petillius*; soliloquising on his unwished-for love. (l. 15) *Enter Junius*; sings a mocking song. Petillius is angry. (l. 58) *Enter Decius, Demetrius, Curius*; they mock at Petillius. *Exit Petillius* in anger. (l. 86) They comment on him. (l. 97)
- B:** *Enter Macer. Enter Judas*: he has lost many men pursuing Caratach. Judas is given orders to continue; they will join him soon. (l. 131) *A sad noise within*; the Penysus procession. *Exeunt Macer and Judas*. (l. 135)
- C:** *Enter Swetonius, Drusus, Regulus, Petillius*. Petillius is suspected of being guilty of Penysus’s death; he will be deposed from his office in favour of Junius. *Exeunt all but Petillius* to burn Penysus’s corpse. (l. 143)
- D:** Petillius’s soliloquy on his disgrace. (161 lines)
- 5.3 **A:** *Enter Macer and Judas, with meat and a bottle*; they hang it on the rock on which Caratach is. *Exeunt*. (l. 9) *Enter Caratach [on the Rock, above.]*. Hengo is asleep; they suffer from hunger. [*Exit above.*] (l. 18)
- B:** *Enter Junius, Decius, Petillius, Guide*; coming close to the place. *Exit [Decius and Guide]*. (l. 27)
- C:** Petillius wants Junius to kill him. Junius exorcises him and cures him from love. *Exeunt*. (l. 98)
- D:** *Enter Caratach and Hengo on the Rock*; Hengo hallucinates from hunger; they see the food. (l. 106) *Enter Macer and Judas*; watching them. Caratach ties Hengo to his belt and lets him down the rock. *Judas shoots Hengo. Caratach kills Judas with a stone from the Rock*. (l. 127) Hengo takes farewell of Caratach and dies. (l. 160) Caratach gives a farewell speech. (l. 167)
- E:** *Enter Petillius and Junius on the rock. Fight with Caratach*. (l.171) *Enter Swetonius, and all the Roman Captains*; he offers Caratach mercy. Caratach accepts it. *Flourish*. (l. 190)
- F:** Caratach will be sent to Rome. Petillius is cleared of accusation by his deserts. (203 lines)

Appendix C: Bonduca in the Sources

I Hector Boece, *Chronicles of Scotland* (1531)

Hector Boece’s *The Chronicles of Scotland* (1531) contain another account of Bonduca. I quote Boece from the 1531 John Bellednen Scots translation, *The Chronicles of Scotland: Compiled by Hector Boece*, ed. R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho, vol. I, Edinburgh and London 1938. She is called here Voada and is a ‘sister to Caratak ... the King of Scottis’ (113, 115) and the wife of Aruiragus, king of Britain and Wales; ‘scho had born to him two dochteris and ane son’ (113). Boece gives a longer story of her life; it begins with Aruiragus, who ‘repudiat his lauchfull qwene Voada ... and put hir in presoun ...; syne marijt ane Romane lady, namyt Genissa’ (113). The gentility of Wales sought means to redress the wrong done to Voada and her children and decided to send petitioners

to Caratak, the King of Scottis, quhilk is maist cruell inimy to Romanis, desyring him to concur *witb* [them] to vindicatt þe contempcioun done to his sister Voada, and to defend his nevo [called Gyderius, p. 117], quhom þe Romanis intendis to defraude of the croun; praying him ... to tak the gouernance of thair realme, quhill his nevo war of perfite aige (115).

While Britons and Romans, led by Plancius, took Aruiragus's side and supported his ends, Caratak and Congestus, the king of Picts, levied their armies. Plancius and Aruiragus

concludit erar [rather] to irk thame with lang tary, walking, laboꝝr, and penurite of vittalis, than to iupperd thame aganis sa grete multitude ... [It] happymit that þe Albanis ... mycht *nocht* be sustenit *witb* vittalis. Sone raifs ane huge derth in þair army, with sik hungir that sindry of thame departit fra the camp to seyk vittalis, quhilkis wer eftir takin and brocht to Plancius, schewand in quhat estait the Britonis wer in till. (116).

The battle came to a stalemate when in the night after the first open fight both the armies dispersed and 'fle quhair thai thocht maist refuge' (116). Later Aruiragus rebelled against the Romans, repelling Genyssa and taking Voada and the children. He joins in with Caratak and Congestus against Vespasiane (117–9), and their army is defeated. Aruiragus 'wes resauit agane be Vespasiane to his mercy, and his landis maid tributar to the Romane Empire' (119).

Eventually Caratak, who escaped, gathered a new army and was defeated; he fled to Car-tumandia, 'Qwene of Scottis, his gude moder [stepmother], ... [who] seyng him destitute of all frendis ... tresonably randrit him in þe Romane handis' (129). He was brought to Rome to swear allegiance before Claudius, and then sent back to Scotland (130–1). After him, his (and Voada's) youngest brother Corbreid became the king of Scots.

Paulus Suetonius was invested with the commandership of the Roman army; he led a campaign to conquer the Isle of Man and then to suppress a rebellion in France (141).

'[At his death] Aruiragus ... had left be testament þe Emprioꝝr & his twa dochteris to be aire to his croun, riches, and mobillis... Bot zite na thing succedit to his opinioun; for his realme wes gouernit be Romane capitannis, his hous put to seruitude, his wyiff Voada daly iniurit with insufferabill strakis, and his twa dochteris deflorit. The Britonis, movit with this iniuris ... maid plane rebelloun aganis Romanis[.] ... Petus Cerealis, quhilk was luftennent to Paulus Suetonius, desyrin this agit capitannis [i.e. Roman veterans in Camelon and other places] to be supportit, come with ane legioun of Romanis and ane band of horsf men, bot he was put to flycht, and all his cunpany disconnfist.' (141–2)

Voada then complained to her brother Corbreid. Corbreid and the 'confideratt kingis come in Britan' (145) and oppose Cattus and his 'huge army'; 'at last þe Romanis were put to flycht' (146). Boece says the 'Albanis [were] proude of þis victory'. Suetonius returned to Britain and eventually vanquished them.

Quene Voada, knawing na place to eschew hir inimies, slew hir self. Hir dochteris wer brocht armyt, as þai faucht, to Paulus Suetonius; of the quhilk þe eldest was gevin in mariage to ane wailseant Roman namyt Marius, quhilk bereft hir virginite afoir, and wes maid king of Britonis, that the Romanis & Britonis be affinite suld haif the moir sikkir peace. (147–8)

II Holinshed, Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (1587)

vol. I, London 1807

From *Book III, Chapter 13*

The same historie [*Caesar de bello Gallico*, lib.4.] also maketh mention of one Belinus that was generall of Cassibellanes armie, and likewise of Nenius brother to Cassibelane, who in fight happened to get Caesars sword fastened in his shield by a blow that Cesar stroke at him. Androgens also and Tenantius were in the battell in aid of Cassibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Cesars hand, although after he was so hurt, he slue Labienus one of the Romane tribunes: all which may well be true, sith Cesar either maketh the best of things for his owne honour, or else coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the needeles circumstances, or anie more of the matter, than the chief points of his dealing.

From *Book IV, Chapter 1*

Now Plautius had much adoo to find out the Britains in the lurking holes and couerts; howbeit when he had traced them out, first he vanquished Cataratacus [*sic*], and after Togodumnus the sonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before.

From *Book IV, Chapter 2*

In the British historie we find other report thus, that Claudius at his coming aland at Porchester, besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the woorse, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans side, changed his shield and armour, apparelling himself like a Britaine, and so entring into the thickest prease of the British host, came at length where the king was, and there slue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this mischiefe, to the end the Britains should not be discouraged therewith, caused himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armor, and other

From *Book IV, Chapter 6*

The coniectures of writers touching the situation of Camelodunum supposed to be Colchester, of the Silures a people spoken of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene Caratacus the British prince, and Ostorius the Romaine, in the confines of Shropshire; the Britains go miserablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken prisoners, his brethren yeeld themselues to their enemies.

¹ ...the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, against whome (trusting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but also vpon the high prowesse & valiance of Caratacus) Ostorius set forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentoures and manie prosperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: so in power of soldiers he was ouermatched. ² And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, which people together with other that misliked of the Romane government, he ioined in one, and chose a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermost hazard of battell.

³The place which he thus chose was such, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole situation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as inclosed among high hills. And if there were anie easie passage to enter it vpon one side, the same was shut vp with mightie huge stones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuier without anie certiene foord to passe ouer it. ⁴This place is supposed to lie in the confines of Shropshire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing thrée entries into it, not diuertlie one against an other, but aslope. It is also (they saie) compassed about ith two riuers, o wit, on the left hand with the riuier called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On thrée sides thereof the clime is verie steepe and headlong, and no waie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

⁵Caratac hauing thus fortified himselfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to shew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the same wherein should appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or else of perpetuall bondage for euer to be susteined. ⁶He rehersed also speciallie by name those their elders, which had resisted Iulius Cesar, by whose high valiancie they liued freefrom the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, enioied their wiues and children safe and vndefiled. ⁷Thus discoursing of manie things with them, in such a hope of assured victorie, that they began to raise their cries, each on for him selfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he ought to the gods of his countrie, not to shrink for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

⁸This chéerefulness of the Britains greatlie astonished the Romane Lieutenant. The hideous course also of the riuier before his face, the fortifications and craggie hight of the hills, all set full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he saw afore him, but that which séemed dreadfull to those that should assaile. ⁹But the souldiers yet séemed to be verie desirous of battell, requesting him to bring them to it, protesting that nothing was able to resist the force of noble prowess. Herewith the capteins and tribunes discoursing the like, pricked forward the earnest willes which their souldiers had to fight.

¹⁰Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as capteins, began to bestirre himselfe, and left nothing vndone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire to battell. ¹¹And hauing aduisedlie considered which waies were hard and vnpossible to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he led them foorth, being most earnestlie bent to cope with the enimie.

¹²Now hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, but coming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselues with their targets, came once close together, and approached vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched together, and so came to ioine with them at handblowes. ¹³The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other wih heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, so as the Britains could not turne them anie way to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, sought to make slaughter and wracke of them on ech side, so that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains. ¹⁴The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yéelded themselues. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person

vnto the assurance & trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered int othe hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, the maner how he and his alies were led captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius, whereby he and his obtaine mercie and pardon: the Britains undertake a new reuenge against the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

THE SEUENTH CHAPTER.

¹THE name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was already spred ouer the prouinces adjoining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yeres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. ²For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilest he went about to preferre his owne honour, advanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. ³The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratacus shuld come. ⁴Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had bene gotten in those warres, were borne forward, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

⁵After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. ⁶For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewd anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunal seat, he vttered this speach as followeth.

⁷“If there had bene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a capteine* [*Sic.]: neither should I haue thought scorne, being of most noble parents, and ruling ouer manie people, to haue accepted peace by waie of ioining with you in league. ⁸My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horses, men, armor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall looke to gouerne all men, it must néeds follow that all men must be your slaues. ⁹If I had at the first yielded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had bene set fourth to the world, & vpon mine execution I should straight haue bene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I shall be a wnesse for euer of your mercifull clemencie.”

¹⁰The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratacus, and also to his wife and brethren, who being loosed from their bands, went also to the place where the emperesse Agrippina sat (not farre off) in a chaire of state, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had doone before to the emperour. ¹¹After this the senat was called together, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchiued by the taking of Caratacus, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane capteins anie such king whom they had vanquished.

...

¹² At one time the Britains surprised two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and sent forth to forreie abroad vnaduisedlie, through couetousnesse of the capteins.

A. Didius is sent to supplie Ostorius his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and lecherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius keepeth the kingdome in spite of the Romans, by what meanes their confines in the Ile were enlarged; the error of Hector Boetius and others touching the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a shamefull ouerthron.

THE EIGHT CHAPTER.

¹ AFTER the deceasse of Ostorius Scapula, one A Didius was sent to supplie his roome, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquished the legion whereof Manlius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was set forth by the Britains to the vttermost, that with the bruit thereof they might strike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his first coming ouer. ² And he himself reported it by letters to the emperour after the largest manner, to the end that if he appeased the matter, he might win the more praise; or if he were put to the woorst, and should not preuaille, that then his excuse might séeme the ore resonable and woorthie of pardon. ³ The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a fowle stur ouer all the countries about them, till by the coming of Didius against them, they were driuen back and repelled.

⁴ But héerewith began trouble to be raised in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefest and most skillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Iugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda queene of the Brigants or Yorkshire men. ⁵ This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Roman hands, thereby ministring matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleasure shewed to the Romans, she increased thorough their friendship in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous lust to satisfie hir wanton appetite, so as she falling at square with hir husband, married Velloctatus, one of his esquires, to whom she gaue hir kingdome, and so dishonoured hir selfe. ⁶ Héerevpon insued cruell warre, in so much that in the end Venutius became enemie also to the Romans. ⁷ But first they tugged together betwixt themselues, & the quéene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and coosens of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therewith discouraged, but kindled the more in wrath against hir, ceased not to go forward with their purpose.

⁸ Manie of the Brigants disdaining to be subiect vnto a womans rule that had so reiected hir husband, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet the quéenes sensuall lust mixed with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. ⁹ Venutius therefore calling to him such aid as he could get, and strengthened now by the reuolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to such a narrow point, that she was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enimies: ¹⁰ which the Romans forseeing, vpon suit made, the enimies at the first, with doubtfull successe: but at length they preuailed, and so deliuered the quéene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: against whom the Romans were constrained still to mainteine warre.

... ¹¹ Veranius, beating and forreieng the woods, could atchiue anie further enterprise [in subduing Britain fully], for he was by death preuented, so as he could not procéed forward with his purpose touching the warres which he had meant to haue folowed, whose last words (in his testament expressed) detected him of manifest ambition: ¹² for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wished to haue liued but two yéeres longer, in which space he maight haue subdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning

therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, sauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

The government of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Anglesey, and winneth it, a strange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miserie and seruitude, and take aduise by weapon to redresse it against Romans their enimies.

THE NINTH CHAPTER.

¹ BUT now when this great losse chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man most plentifulle furnished with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right skilfull warrior. ²This Suetonius therefore wishing to tame such of the Britains as kept out, prepared to assaile the Ile of Anglesey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlaws and rebels. ³He builded certeine brigantins with flat kéeles to serue for the ebbes and shallow shelues here and there, lieng vncerteinlie in the straits which he had to passe. The footmen ferried ouer in those vessels, the horssemen following by the foords and swimming when they came into the deepe, got likewise to the shore, where stood in order of battell and huge number of armed men close together, redie to beat backe the Romans, and staie them from coming to land. ⁴Amongst the men, a number of women were also running vp and downe as they had béene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their shoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. ⁵There was also a companie of their priests or philosophers called Druides, who with stretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out cursings against the Romans in most bitter wise.

⁶The souldiers were so amazed with the strangenesse of this sight, that (as men benumbed of their lims and senses) they suffred themselues to be wounded and slaine like senseless creatures, till by the calling vpon by their generall, and ech one encouraging other in no wise to feare a sort of mad & distract women, they preassed forward vnder their ensignes, bearing downe such as stood in their way, and with their owne fire smouldered and burnt them to ashes.

⁷To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got possession of the whole Ile, wherein he placed garisons of men of warre to kéepe the people there in subiection. ⁸He also caused their woods to be cut downe, that were consecrated to their gods, within the which theu were accustomed to sacrifice such as they tooke prisoners, and by the view of their intrailles, in dismembring them, to learne of their gods some oracles and such other things as should come to passe. ⁹But now in the meane time, whilst Paulinus was abroad about this enterprise, the Britains began to conferre together of their great and importable miseries, of their grieuous state of seruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they dailie sustained: how that by sufferance they profited nothing, but still were oppressed with more heauie burthens. ¹⁰Ech countrie in times past had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two the lieutenant by his capteins and souldiers spilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and substance. ¹¹The concord and discord betwixt those that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the subiects, the lieutenant oppressing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by insufferable exactions.

¹²There was nothing frée from the couetous extortion and filthie concupiscence of these vnstiatable persons, for in these daies (say they) the greatest spoiler is the valiantest man, and most commonlie our houses are robbed and ransacked by a sort of cowardlie raskals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. ¹³Our children are taken away from us,

we are forced to go to the musters, and are set fourth to serue in forren parties, as those that are ignorant which way to spend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. ¹⁴What a number of souldiers haue bene transported ouer from hence to serue in other lands, if a iust account were taken thereof: The Germans by manhood haue cast (said they) from their shoulders the heauiue yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean sea, but onelie with a riuier. ¹⁵Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wines and parents, as iust causes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a couetous desire to gaine by rapine, and to satisfie their excessiue lusts.

¹⁶They might easilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Iulius Caesar was, if the Britains would shew some prooue of the noble prowess that was euidentlie found in their woorthie ancestors, and not shrinke or quail in courage for the misaduenture that should happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. ¹⁷Greatest force and constancie alwaies remaineth with those that seek to deliuer themselues from miserie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken some pitie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were banished in an other Iland. ¹⁸Let vs then (said they) take the opportunitie of time and good occasion offered, and fourthwith procéed in our business: for lesse danger it is manfullie to aduenture, and to go forward with our purpose, than to be bewraied and taken in these our consultations. Thus hauing taken aduise together, and wholie misliking their present state, they determined to take weapon in hand, and so by force to seeke for reformation.

A catalog of causes and greouances inciting the Britains to rebell against the Romans, wherein is shewed what iniuries they sustained: of diuers strange wonders and apparitions; the chiefe cause of the Britains insurging against the Romans, they admitted as well women as men to publike government. A description of queene Voadicia, hir personage and maner of attire.

THE TENTH CHAPTER.

¹THE Britains indeed occasioned to doo as they purposed, thorough manie euill parts practised by the Romans greatlie to their griefs and displeasures. ²For whereas Prasuagus (who is supposed by Hector Boetius to be Aruiragus, king of the people called Icen) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, supposing that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preserued from all iniurie it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. ³For his kingdome was spoiled by the Romane capteins, his wife named Voadicea beaten by the souldiers, his daughters rauished, the péeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondslaues.

⁴There was also an other great cause that stirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiscating of their goods: for whereas Claudius himselfe had pardoned the chiefest persons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile maintained that the same ought to be renewed againe. ⁵To this an other grief was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred sestercies, ech hundred being 500000 pouns starling, or thereabout, vpon great interest, he required the whole summe together by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the first to take this monie to vsurie.

⁶Also such old souldiers as were placed by waie of colonie, to inhabit the towne of Cam-elodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houses, droue them out of their possessions and lands, and accounted the Britains as slaues, and as though they had bene captiue prisoners or bondmen. ⁷Besides this, the temple there that was built in honor of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and government, was serued with préests, the which vnder colour of religion did spoile, consume and deuoure the goods of all men.

⁸ Moreouer, such strange sights and woonders as chanced about the same time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddesse Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, slippinge downe, turned hir backe (as who should saie she gaue place as vanquished) to the enimies. ⁹ Also in the hall where the courts of iustice were kept, there was a maruellous great noise heard, with much laughing, and a sturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at such time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noise. The sea at a spring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were séene on the sands the shapes & figures of mens bodies. ¹⁰ Women also rauished of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophesied that destruction was at hand, so that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

¹¹ But those things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illusion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of some naturall cause, which the common people oftentimes taketh superstitiouslie, in place of strange woonders signifeing things to follow, we would let passe, least we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be doone by the prouidence of God, despiseth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an historie (saith Polydor Virgil) would so permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to passe.

¹² But the Britains were chieflie mooued to rebellion by the iust complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnséemelic she had bene vsed and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and because she was most earnestlie bent to séeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans most of all other, they chose hir to be capteine (for they in rule and gouernment made no difference then of sex, whether they committed the same to man or woman) and so by a generall conspiracie, the more part of the people hauing also allured the Essex men vnto rebellion, rose and assembled themselues together to make warre against the Romans. ¹³ There were of them a hundred and twentie thousand got together in one armie vnder the leading of the said Voadicia, or Bunduica (as some name hir.)

¹⁴ She therefore to encourage hir people against hir enimies, mounted vp into a high place raised vp of turfes & sods made for the nonce, out of which she made a long & verie pithie oration. ¹⁵ Hir mightie tall peronage, comelic shape, seuer countenance, and sharpe voice, with hir long and yellow tresses of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell also caused the people to haue hir in great reuerence. ¹⁶ She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie massie, and was clad in a lose kirtle of sundrie colours, and aloft therevpon she had a thicke Irish mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir custome was) she bare a speare, to shew hirselfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of prudence and spirit to the Britains, for their encouragement against the Romans, wherein she rippeth vp the vile seruitude and shamefull wronge which their enimies inflicted vpon them, with other matters verie motiue, both concerning themselues and their enimies, hir supplication and praier for victorie.

THE ELEUENTH CHAPTER.

¹ NOW Voadicia being prepare (as you heare) set fourth with such maesticie, that she greatlie encouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, she vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

² "I doo suppose (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but dooth well vnderstand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thraldome and bondage.

³ But if there haue bene anie of you so deceiued with the Romane persuasions, that ye did not for a time see a difference betwéene them, and iudged whether of both is most to be desired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes already taken, acknowledge your ouersight, and forsake your former error. ⁴ Againe, in that a number of you haue rashlie preferred an externall souereigntie before the customes and lawes of your owne countrie, you doo at this time (I doubt not) perfectlie vnderstand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, wherevnto seruitude is annexed; and much free wealth in respect of captiuitie vnder forren magistrats, wherevpon slauerie attendeth. ⁵ For what thing (I beséech you) can there be so vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, sithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?

⁶ “Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & possessions? Doo not we (beside other things that we giue, and the land we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs, yea for our carcasses? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and false title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption of a frédome? ⁷ How much is it more commendable to lose our liues in defense of our countie, than to carie about not so much as our heads toll frée, but daillie oppressed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end doo I remember and speake of these things, since they will not suffer by death to become frée? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he dooth well vnderstand. ⁸ Among other nations such as are brought into seruitude, are alwaies by death discharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead doo still liue, and all to increase their commoditie and gaine.

⁹ “If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we should come by anie) then are we left naked, & spoiled of that which remaineth in our homes, & we our selues as men left desolate & dead. ¹⁰ How shall we looke for better dealing at their hand hereafter, that in the beginning deale so vncourteouslie with vs: since there is no man that taketh so much as a wild beast, but at the first he will cherish it, and with some gentlenesse win it to familiaritie? ¹¹ But we ourselues (to saie the trueth) are authors of our owne mischief, which suffered them at the first to set foot within our Iland, and did not by and by driue them backe as we did Cesar, or slue them with our swords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did sometime to Augustus and Caligula.

¹² “We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean sea, diuiding vs from other nations, so that we séeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a seuerall heauen: ¹³ we, euen we (I saie) whose name hath béene long kept hid from the wisest of them all, are now contemned and trodden vnder foot, of them who studie nothings else but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. ¹⁴ Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinsfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, since we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I saie, because we haue not doone it heretofore, and whilst the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) sticke together, and performe that thing which dooth pertaine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we maie inioue, not onelie the name of libertie, but also frédome it selfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our posteritie: ¹⁵ for if we which haue béene liberallie and in honest maner brought vp, should vtterlie forget our pristiniate felicitie: what may we hope for in those that shall succéd vs, and are like to be brought vp in miserie and thralldome?

¹⁶ “I doo not make rehearsall of these things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to mislike of this present estate of things (for well I know you abhorre it sufficientlie already) neither to put you to feare of those things that are likelie to fall hereafter (because you doo feare and see them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thanks and woorthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine so well to prouide for things necessarie (thereby to helpe both me and your selues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puissance.

¹⁷ “If you consider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their strength, they are no stronger than you: and all this doth easilie appere by the bassenets, habergeons, & grieues wherewith you be armed; ¹⁸ and also by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your owne defense, to keepe off their excursions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand strokes, as our custome of the warres and martiall discipline dooth require. ¹⁹ Wherefore we doe so farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more strong than stone walls, and one of our targets woorth all the armour that they doo beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we shall soone make them captiues: or if we lose the field, we shall easilie escape the danger.

²⁰ “Furthermore, if after the flight we shall indeuour to meet anie where, we haue the marshes here beneath to hide vs in, and the hills round about to keepe them off, so that by no meanes they shall haue their purpose of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with heauie armour, shall neither be able to follow, if we flee; ²¹ nor escape out of our danger, if they be put to flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as desirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to their appointed places, where we maie take them as birds already in cage. ²² In all which things, as they are farre inferior to vs, so most of all in this, that they can not indure hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and sunneshine, as we can doe.

²³ “In their houses also and tents, they make much account of their baked meats, wine, oile, and abroad of the shadow, that if anie of those doo faile them, they either die forthwith, or else in time they languish and consume: whereas to vs euerie hearbe and root is meat, euerie iuce an oile, all water pleasant wine, and euerie tree an house. ²⁴ Beside this, there is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet vnfriendlie to succour vs at need; whereas to the Romans they are for the most part vnknowne and altogether dangerous, if they should stand in need: we can with ease swim ouer euerie riuer both naked and clad, which they with great ships are scarce able to performe. ²⁵ Wherefore with hope and good lucke let vs set vpon them couragiously, and teach them to vnderstand, that since they are no better than hares and foxes, they attempt a wrong match, when they indeuour to subdue the greyhounds and the woolues.” ²⁶ With which words the queene let an hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue prognostication of hir successe, which coming well to passe, all the companie showed, and cried out vpon such as not long before had doone such violence to so noble a personage. ²⁷ Presentlie vpon this action, Voadicia calling them together againe, proceeded forward with hir praier, which she made before them all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

²⁸ “I giue thee thanks O Adraste, and call vpon thee thou woman of women, which reignest not ouer the burthen-bearing Aegyptians, as Nitocris; neither ouer their merchants, as dooth Semiramis, for these trifles we haue learned lately of the Romans: neither ouer the people of Rome, as a little here before Messalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is called by the name of a man, but is in deed a verie woman, as dooth appere by his voice, his harpe, and his womans attire: ²⁹ but I call vpon thee as a goddess which gouernest the Britains, that haue learned not to till the field, nor to be handicrafts men, but to

lead their liues in the warres after the best manner: who also as they haue all other things, so haue they likewise their wiues and children common, whereby the women haue the like audacitie with the men, and no lesse boldnesse in the warres than they.

³⁰ “Therefore sithens I haue obtained a kingdome among such a mightie people, I beséech thée to grant them victorie, health, and libertie, against these contentious, wicked, and vnsatiable men (if they maie be called men, which vse warme bathings, delicate fare, hot wines, swéet oiles, soft beds, fine musicke, and so vnkindlie lusts) who are altogether giuen to couetousnesse and crueltie, as their dooings doo declare. ³¹ Let not I beséech thée, the Neronian or Domitian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, or (to saie truth) vpon thée, but let them rather serue thée, whose heaue oppression thou hast borne withall a long season, and that thou wilt still be our helper onelie, our defender, our faouurer, and our furtherer, O noble ladie, I hartilie beséech thee.”

Queene Voadicia marcheth against the Romans, to whom she giueth a shamefull and bloudie ouerthrow without anie motion of mercie, dredfull examples of the Britains crueltie indifferentlie executed without exception of age or sex.

THE TWELFE CHAPTER.

¹ WHEN Voadicia had made an end of hir praier, she set forward against hir enimies, who at that time were destitute in déed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Anglesey (as before ye haue heard.) ² Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum sent for aid vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treasurer, or receiuer, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romanes) there was no great garrison of able men. ³ Wherevpon the procurator sent them such aid as he thought he might well spare, which was not past two hundred men, and those not sufficientlie furnished either with weapon or armour.

⁴ The citie was not compassed with anie rampire or ditch for defense, such as happilie were priuie to the conspiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification néeded: neither were the aged men nor women sent awaie, wherebye the yong able personages might without trouble of them better attend to the defense of the citie: ⁵ but euen as they had béene in all suertie of peace, and frée from suspicion of anie warre, they were suddenlie beset with the huge armie of the Britains, and so all went to spoile and fire that could be found without the inclosure of the temple, into the which the Romane souldiers (stricken with sudden feare by this sudden coming of the enimies) had thronged themselues. ⁶ Where being assieged by the Britains, within the space of two daies the place was woonne, and they that were found within it, slaine euerie mothers sonne.

⁷ After this, the Britains encouraged with this victorie, went to méet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, surnamed the ninth, and boldlie incountring with the same legion, gaue the Romans the ouerthrow and slue all the footmen, so that Cerealis with much adoe escaped with his horssemen, and got him backe to the campe, and saued himselfe within the trenches. ⁸ Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetousnesse thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

⁹ But Suetonius aduertised of these dooings, came backe out of Anglesey, and with maruelous constancie marched through the middest of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prouided of vittels: ¹⁰ he was in great doubt at his coming thither, whether he

might best staie there as in a place most conuenient, or rather séeke some other more easie to be defended. ¹¹ At length considering the small number of his men of warre, and remembering how Cerealis had sped by his too much rashnesse, he thought better with losing of one towne to saue the whole, than to put all in danger or irrecouerable losse. ¹² And therewith nothing mooued at the praier & teares of them which besought him aid and succour, he departed, and those that would gow ith him he receiued into his armie, those that taried behind were oppressed by the enimies: ¹³ and the like destruction happened to them of Verolanium, a towne in those daies of great fame, situat néere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now standeth.

¹⁴The Britains leauing the castels and fortresses vnassaulted, followed their gaine in spoiling of those places which were easie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, vsing their victorie with such crueltie, that they slue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thousand Romans, and such as tooke their part in the said places by the Britains thus woon and conquered. ¹⁵ For there was nothing with the Britains but slaughter, fire, gallowes, and such like, so earnestlie they set on reuenge. They spared neither age nor sex: women of great nobilitie and woorthie fame they tooke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, sowed them to their mouthes, that they might séeme as if they sucked and fed on them, and some of their bodies they stretched out in length, and thrust them on sharpe stakes. ¹⁶ All these things they did in great despite whilst they sacrificed in their temples, and made feasts, namelie in the wood consecrated to the honour of Andates, for so they called the goddesse of victorie whom they worshipped most reuerentlie.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a fresh power assalteth the Britains, whose armie consisted as well of women as men: queene Voadicia encourageth hir souldiers, as dooth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a sharpe conflict, the Britains are discomfited and miserablie slaine, the queene dieth, Penius Posthumus killeth himself; the Britains are persecuted with fire, sword, and famine, the grudge betweene Cassicianus and Suetonius, whome Polyctetus is sent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

THE XIIJ. CHAPTER.

¹ IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion surnamed the 14, and other bands of souldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thousand in the whole, wherevpon (chieflie bicause vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and chose out a plot of ground verie strong within straits and backed with a wood, so that the enimies could not assault his campe but on the front: ² yet by reason of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceiued by the late prosperous successe, the Britains vnder the conduct of quéene Voadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witnesses of the victorie, whome they placed on charrets at the vttermost side of their field.

³ Voadicia, or Boudicia (for so we find hir written by some copies, and Bonuica also by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as she passed by the souldiers of ech sundrie countrie, told them “it was a thing accustomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of woman; ⁴ but she was not now come foorth as one borne of such nobel ancestors as she was descended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meaner sort, rather to defend hir lost libertie, and to reuenge hir selfe of the enimie, for their crueltie shewed in scourging hir like a vagabond, and shamefull deflouring of hir daughters: ⁵ for the licentious lust of the Romans was so farre spred and increased, that they spared neither the bodies of old nor yoong, but were readie most shamefullie to abuse

them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to satisfie their filthie concupiscence: but (saith she) the gods are at hand readie to take iust reuenge.

⁶ “The legion that presumed to incounter with vs is slaine and beaten downe. The residue kéepe them close within their holds, or else séeke waies how to fée out of the countrie: they shall not be once able so much as to abide the noise and clamor of so manie thousands as we are héere assembled, much lesse the force of our hrat puissance and dreadfull hands. ⁷ If ye therefore (said she) would wey and consider with your huge numbers of men of warre, and the causes why ye haue mooued this warre, ye would surelie determine either in this battell to die with honour, or else to vanquish the enimie by plaine force, for so (quoth she) I being a woman am fullie resolved, as for you men ye maie (if ye list) liue and be brought into bondage.”

⁸ “Neither did Suetonius ceasse to exhort his people: for though he trusted them in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battells, so did he make vnto ech of them a seuerall oration, willing them not to feare the shrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, sith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no skill in warrelike discipline, and heereto being naked without furniture of armour, would foorthwith giue place when they should féele the sharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had so often béene put to flight. ⁹ In manie legions (saith he) the number is small of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore should be the more, for that they being a small number should win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (thronging together) bestow their weapons fréelie, and with their swords and targets forward vpon their enimies, confirming the slaughter without regard to the spoile, they might assure themselues when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleasures.”

¹⁰ Such forwardnesse in the souldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himselfe so readilie to doo his dutie, and that with such a shew of skill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an assured hope of good lucke to follow, caused the trumpets to sound to the battell. ¹¹ The onset was giuen in the straits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in comparison to their enimies. ¹² The fight in the beginning was verie sharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reason of the narrowness of the place) were not able to susteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, so that they were constreind to giue backe, and so being disordered were put to flight, and vtterlie discomfited.

¹³ There were slaine of the Britains that day few less than 80000 thousand, as Tacitus writeth. For the straits being stopped with the charrets, staid the flight of the Romans, so as they could not easilie escape: ¹⁴ and the Romans were so set on reuenge, that they spared neither man nor woman, so that manie were slaine in the battell, manie amongst the charrets, and a great number at the woods side, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken prisoners. ¹⁵ Those that escaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceased of a natural infirmitie, as Dion Cassius writeth, but other say that she poisoned hir selfe, and so died, because she would not come into the hands of hir bloodthirstie enimies. ¹⁶ There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grieuouslie hurt and most pitifullie wounded.

¹⁷ Penius Posthumous maister of the campe of the second legion, vnderstanding the prosperous successe of the other Romane capteins, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obeie the commandments of the generall, contrarie to the vse of warre, slue himselfe.

¹⁸ After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperour caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with horssemen, by whose coming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, ¹⁹ and those bands and wings of horssemen were appointed to places where they might winter, and such people of the Britains as were either enimies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies in déed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

²⁰ But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilest euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the prouision of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themselues to tillage, nor to anie husbanding of the ground, ²¹ and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that Ilius Cassicianus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. ²² He sticked not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succéed in the roome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. ²³ Herevpon one Polyclctus, which sometime had béene a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie troubles within the Ile.

²⁴ The port which Polyclctus bare was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended vpon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scorne to see such honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were, to submit themselues to the order of such a one as has béene a bondslaue.

In what state the Iland stood whiles Aruiragus reigned; the dissolute and loose gouernment of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontius who vanquished the Silures.

THE XIIIJ. CHAPTER.

... ¹ NEITHER Victius Volanus that succéeded Maximus whilest the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vsing the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had vsued before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: so that he purchased fauour, although authoritie wanted.

² But after that the emperour Vespasianus had subdued his aduersaries, and attained the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent hither tight noble capteins, with diuers notable bands of souldiers, ³ and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by inuading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland: and fighting manie battels, and some right bloudie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last. ...

The state of this Iland vnder Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, the coming in of the Picts with Rodericke their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall aliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie ouer the Picts, his death and interrement.

THE XV. CHAPTER.

¹ AFTER the decease of Aruiragus, his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is foundlie called Westmer, & was verie wise man, governing the Britains in great prosperitie, honour and wealth.

Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland (1587)

vol. V, *The Description of Scotland*, London 1807

[From *Metellanus*]

¹ [Metellanus] left no issue alieue behind him to succéed in the gouernment of the kingdome: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by means whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephue to king Metellan by his sister Europeia, was proclaimed king; ² as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the péeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litle to doo in administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vnclé Metallane.

CARATAKE.

¹ THE first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Iles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there.

... ² Aruiragus being established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon some priuat displeasure forsooke his wife named Voada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scotchmen, and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act manie of the Britains disallowed; ³ the more in deed, because he had faire issue by Voada, as a son and two daughters. ⁴ But this was doone, as all men iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Planctius, thereby to breake all friendship and aliance betwixt the Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of rebellion they should ioine their powers together. ⁵ Neither did he onelie refuse Voada, whome all men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where she was kept. And conueid hir into Wales together with hir children. ...

⁶ [Aruiragus' and the Romans' adversaries] accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake the king of Scotland, requiring him to aid them in their right and iust quarell against Aruiragus and the Romans, ⁷ whereby he might reuenge the iniurie doone to his sister quéene Voada and hir issue, whome the father through counsell of the Romans purposed to disherit to the end, such children as he had by Genissa (for that they were of the Roman blood) might inioy the kingdome. ...

... ⁸ the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the fields on ech side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched vp, ⁹ so that through hunger, lacke of sléepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conueie themselues from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enimies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and sore inféebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they inforced vnto in the campe.

...¹⁰ Caratake answered [to the Roman ambassadors], that he had iust cause to doo that which he did [i.e. join with the Britains against Aruiragus and the Romans], considering the iniuries which his sister Voada with hir sonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes...

¹¹ Aruiragus séeing the slaughter of his people, would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his seruants caried him by force out of the field, that hée might be reserued yet vnto some better fortune. ¹² Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie [Scotland], but Tharan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue after such losse of his people, threw away his armor with all his kingly ornaments, and sitting downe vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there slaine by such as followed in the chase. ...

¹³ Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose foorth a strong place to lodge in, fensed on the one side with the course of a déepe foordlesse riuier, and on the other sides it might not be approached vnto for the stéepnesse of the crags and such fensing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any way to enter. ¹⁴ All such women as were somewhat stept in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battells, both as well to incourage the men to doo valiantlie with shouting and hallowing vnto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. ¹⁵ Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to kéepe armie amongst the men to fight in the battell.

¹⁶ Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Ostorius was come to giue battell, exhorted his people to sticke to it like men, and so in semblance wise did all his capteins and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiors, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for euer...

...¹⁷ Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. ¹⁸ He himselfe fled for succor vnto his mother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered vnto Ostorius. This was in the ninth yeare of the warres. ¹⁹ Ostorius vsed him verie honorable, according to the degré of a king: finallie he sent him vnto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. ²⁰ His fame was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance. ...

...²¹ He liued not passing two yéeres after his returne into Scotland, studeing most chieffie (during that time) how to preserue his people in peace and quietuesse. ²² He departed this world one and twentie yeares after the deceasse of his vnclé Metellan, in the yéere of our Lord 54.

²³ A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights seene in Albion, as fighting of horsmen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as séemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaie, that no appéerance of them could any where be perceiued. ²⁴ Also a sort of woolues in the night season set vpon such as were kéeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and caried awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffred him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreouer, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims, sauing the head, which was like vnto a rauens. ²⁵ These vnketh signes and monsters put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

CORBREID.

¹ AFTER Caratekes decease, his yoongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succeed in his place, in fiftie and eighth yéere after Christ...

² Paulinus Suetonius succéded in his [Verannius'] place, a man of excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Corbreid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries doone on euerie part. ³ After this (as Hector Beothius hath gathered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much as by probable reasons it is apparent enough, that it was not Man, but the Ile of Angleseie which the Britains name Môn, and ⁴ at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken sufficientlie after what sort Suetonius both attempted & atchiued this enterprise, which being brought to end, he was sent for into Gallia, to repressse certeine tumults raised among the people there. ⁵ In whose absence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpose, moooued a new rebellion. ⁶ But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced while Suetonius was busie in requiring the Ile of Angleseie, as in the English chronicle it likewise appeareth, with the strange sights and woonders which happened about the same time, wherevpon the southsaiers (as Hector Boethius saith) declared that the Romans should receiue a great ouerthrow. ⁷ Vpon trust of whose words the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereabouts, set vpon such Romans as inhabited there, and slue a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of anie rebellion. The residue which escaped, got them into an old church, where they were slaine ech mothers sonne.

⁸ Also Petillius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horssemen to their succours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, lost all his footmen, hardlie escaping himselfe with the horssemen to the campe. ⁹ Shortlie after he tooke vp his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then soiourned, who vnderstanding how the whole Ile was on ech side in an vprore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. ¹⁰ This mean while quéene Voada sent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid against the Romans, who had so vilie vsed hir and hir daughters, to the great dishonor of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of such iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couetous dealing of the procurator Catus, being risen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

¹¹ Corbreid being highlie displeased towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his sister, determined either to see hir satisfied by woorthie recompense, or else to be reuenged on them that had misvsed hir: and hereof gaue signification vnto Catus the procurator that was then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. ¹² Corbreid receiuing but a scornefull answere from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other, pursued the Romans and their associats, slaieng downe a woonderfull number of them. ¹³ He also burned and destroyed diuers townes, such as in kéeping their allegiance to the Romans stood earnestlie to their defense, as Berwike and Carleill with others. ¹⁴ About the same season there arriued in the firth a number of Dutch ships, fraught with people of Merherne or Morauia, a region in Germanie situat betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, assembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came down to the mouth of the Rhene, where making shift for vessels, they tooke the seas to seeke them some new habitations; ¹⁵ and thus arriuing in Pictland, were ioifullie receued

of the Picts and Scots, for they wer reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries against the Romans. Namelie with the Picts they were much estéemed, for that they came forth of the same countrie from whence their ancestors were descended.

¹⁶ Their huge bodies and mightie lims did greatlie commend them in the sight of all men before whome they mustered, so that coming to the place where the kings of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march foorth towards the enimies, they were highlie welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aide of quéene Voada against the Romans. ¹⁷ With this Voada assembled a mightie host of the Britains, amongst whom were fue thousand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies doone to their persones by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpose were they come well appointed with armours and weapons, to be the first that should giue the onset. ¹⁸ Voada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great ioy and triumph.

¹⁹ After taking aduise how to behaue themselues in their enterprise, they thought it good to make hast to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. ²⁰ Wherevpon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was striken a right fierce and cruell battell; ²¹ but in the end the horssemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech side; Catus himselve being wounded, escaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortlie after got him ouer into France. ²² The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchiued this victorie, pursued their enimies from place to place, so that ²³ there died by the sword, what in the battell and elsewhere in the chase, seuentie thousand Romans and other strangers, which serued amongst them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were slaine thirtie thousand.

²⁴ The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things stood in Britaine, by reason of the same, came ouer with two legions of souldiers, and ten thousand of other Brigants as aiders to those legions. ²⁵ Voada the quéene vnderstanding of his arriuall, assembled againe hir people, and sent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Morauians came with all spéed vnto hir. ²⁶ When they wer thus assembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Morauians on one part, and Romans with their aids on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of sword, being earnestlie exhorted thereto by their gouernors on either side. ²⁷ So that ioining puissance against puissance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being slaine and borne downe on both sides. ²⁸ But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other Albans were chased out of the field. ²⁹ There were slaine of them at the point of foure score thousand persons, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Morauians, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. ³⁰ Voada the quéene, doubting to come into the hands of hir enimies, slue hir selfe. Two of hir daughters were taken prisoners, and brought armed, euen as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

³¹ The eldest of them within a few moneths after was married vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had defloured hir before time. ³² He was also created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereby the state of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. ³³ He vsed to lie most an end in the parties of Kendale, and named a part thereof (where he passed the most part of his time altogether hunting) Westmerland, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same

adjoining next vnto the Scots was called Cumberland. ³⁴The Morauians which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth vnto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the riuers of Torne and Speie, called euen vnto this day Murrey land.

[From *Dardan*]

...¹ For the said Cobreid had three sons in all, Corbreid, Tulcane, and Bréeke. The eldest had beene brought vp with Voadia, quéene of the Britains, whereby he had learned the maners and vsages of the British nation...

[From *Corbreid Gald*]

...¹ the chiefest captains amongst the Scots... weiang the great force of the Romane armie... counselled that they should in no wise be fought withall, but rather to suffer them wearie themselues, till vittels and other prouision should faile them, and then take aduantage of them, as occasion serued. ...

...² In the meane time then, whilest Petilius was occupied... in the conquest of Galloway, Voadicia the daughter of Aruiragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partlie touched) gathered together a crew of souldiors within the Ile of Man, ...³ with these ... she set vpon their [the Roman] tents in the night season... the Romans... defended the entries of their campe, till the day was sproong, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enimies, they put them quite to flight.

⁴ [Later Voadicia] was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought aliue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir bold enterprises, shée was presentlie slaine by the souldiors.

III From Jonson's The masque of Queens (2 Feb 1609)

Taken from the Chadwyck-Healey *Literature Online* electronic version of the 1616 edition (at <http://collections.chadwyck.co.uk/>).

The eight, our owne honour, Voadicea, or Boodicea; By some Bvndvica, and Bvndvca: queene of the Icenii. A people, that inhabited that part of our Iland which was called East-anglia, and comprehended, Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridge, and Hunting-ton shires. Since shee was borne here at home, we will first honour her with a home-borne testimony; from the graue and diligent [Side note: *Ruines of Time.*] Spenser.

---Bvndvca Britonesse,

Bvndvca, that victorious conqueresse,

That lifting vp her braue Heroique thought

'Boue womans weaknesse, with the Romans fought;

Fought, and in field against them thrice preuail'd, &c.

To which, see her orations in storie, made by [Side note: *Annal. lib.14.*] Tacitvs, & [Side note: *Epit. Ioan. Xiphilon. in Ner.*] Dion: wherein is expressed all magnitude of a spirit, breathing to the libertie and redemption of her Countrey. The later of whom, doth honest her beside, with a particular description. Bvndvica, Britanica foemina, orta stirpe Re-

gia, quæ non solum eis cum magna dignitate præfuit, sed etiam bellum omne administravit; cuius animas virilis potius quam muliebris erat. And afterwards, Foemina, forma honestissima, vultu seuero, &c. All which doth waigh the more to her true praise, in coming from the mouthes of Romanes, and enemies. She liu'd in the time of Nero.