



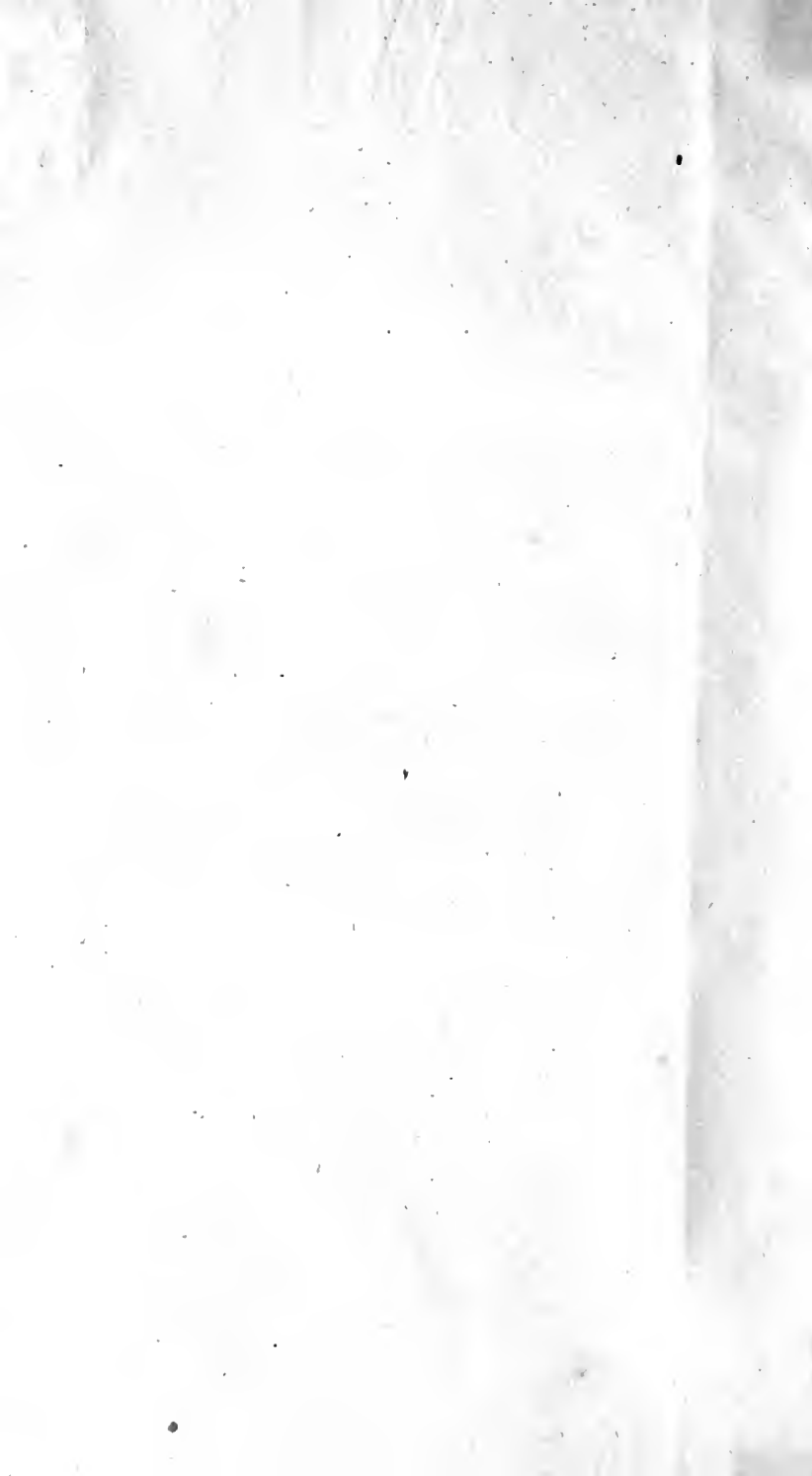
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THE  
ANNALS AND HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.

OXFORD: PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS.

THE  
ANNALS AND HISTORY  
OF  
TACITUS.

A NEW  
AND LITERAL ENGLISH VERSION.



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M DCCC XXXIX.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REVOLUTION

OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



BY JOHN ADAMS

Author of the Declaration of Independence

and the Constitution



THE  
ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK I.

*Book IV 60*

KINGS held dominion in the city of Rome from its foundation: Lucius Brutus instituted liberty and the consulate. Dictatorships were resorted to in temporary emergencies: neither the power of the decemvirs continued in force beyond two years, nor the consular authority of the military tribunes for any length of time. The domination of Cinna did not continue long, nor that of Sylla: the influence of Pompey and Crassus quickly merged in Cæsar: the arms of Lepidus and Antony in Augustus, who, with the title of prince, took under his command the commonwealth, exhausted with civil dissensions. But the affairs of the ancient Roman people, whether prosperous or adverse, have been recorded by writers of renown. Nor were there wanting authors of distinguished genius to have composed the history of the times of Augustus, till by the spirit of flattery, which became prevalent, they were deterred. As to Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, whilst they yet reigned the history of their times were falsified through fear; and after they had fallen, they were written under the influence of recent detestation. Thence my own design of recounting a few incidents respecting Augustus, and those towards the latter part of his life; and after that of giving a history of the reign of Tiberius and the rest; uninfluenced by resentment and partiality, as I stand aloof from the causes of them.

2. When, after the fall of Brutus and Cassius, there remained none to fight for the commonwealth; when Sextus Pompeius was utterly defeated at Sicily; and Lepidus being deprived of his command, and Mark Antony slain, there remained no leader even to the Julian party but Octavius; having put off the name of triumvir, styling himself consul, and pretending that all he aimed at was the jurisdiction attached to the tribuneship for the protection of the commons; when he had cajoled the soldiery by donations, the people by distribution of corn, and men in general by

the charms of peace, he (Octavius) began by gradations to exalt himself over them; to draw to himself the functions of the senate and of the magistrate, and the framing of the laws; in which he was thwarted by no man: the boldest spirits having fallen in some or other of the regular battles, or by proscription; and the surviving nobility being distinguished by wealth and public honours, according to the measure of their promptness to bondage; and as these innovations had been the cause of aggrandisement to them, preferring the present state of things with safety, to the revival of ancient liberty with personal peril. Neither were the provinces averse to that condition of affairs; since they mistrusted the government of the senate and people, on account of the contentions among the great and the avarice of the magistrates: while the protection of the laws was enfeebled and borne down by violence, intrigue, and bribery.

3. Moreover, Augustus, as supports to his domination, raised his sister's son Claudius Marcellus, a mere youth, to the dignity of pontiff and curule ædile; aggrandised by two successive consulships Marcus Agrippa, a man meanly born but an accomplished soldier, and the companion of his victories; and soon, on the death of Marcellus, chose him for his son-in-law. The sons of his wife, Tiberius Nero and Claudius Drusus, he dignified with the title of emperor, though there had been no diminution in the members of his house. For into the family of the Cæsars he had already adopted Lucius and Caius, the sons of Agrippa; and though they had not yet laid aside the puerile garment, vehement had been his ambition to see them declared princes of the Roman youth, and even designed to the consulship; while he affected to decline the honours for them. Upon the decease of Agrippa, they were cut off, either by a death premature but natural, or by the arts of their stepmother Livia; Lucius on his journey to the armies in Spain, Caius on his return from Armenia, ill of a wound: and as Drusus had been long since dead, Tiberius Nero was the only survivor of his stepsons. On him every honour was accumulated; (to that quarter all things inclined;) he was by Augustus adopted for his son, assumed colleague in the empire, partner in the tribunitian authority, and presented to the several armies; not from the secret machinations of his mother as heretofore, but at her open suit. For over Augustus, now very aged, she had obtained such absolute sway, that he banished into the isle of Planasia his only surviving grandson, Agrippa Posthumus; a person destitute indeed of liberal accomplishments, and stupidly

conceited of his bodily strength, but convicted of no heinous offence. The emperor, strange to say, set Germanicus, the son of Drusus, over eight legions quartered upon the Rhine, and ordered that he should be engrafted into his family by Tiberius by adoption, though Tiberius had then a son of his own on the verge of manhood; but the object was that he might stand firm by having many to support and protect him. War at that time there remained none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to blot out the disgrace sustained by the loss of Quinctilius Varus, with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the empire, or for any advantage worth contending for. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. The magistrates retained their wonted names; of the Romans the younger sort had been born since the battle of Actium, and even most of the old during the civil wars: how few were then living who had seen the ancient free state!

4. The character of the government thus totally changed, no traces were to be found of the spirit of ancient institutions; the system by which every citizen shared in the government being thrown aside, all men regarded the orders of the prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience; nor felt they any anxiety for the present, while Augustus, yet in the vigour of life, maintained the credit of himself and house, and the peace of the state. But when old age had crept over him, and he was sinking under bodily infirmities; when his end was at hand, and thence a new source of hopes and views was presented, some few there were who began to talk idly about the blessings of liberty; many dreaded a civil war, others longed for one; while far the greatest part were occupied in circulating various surmises reflecting upon those who seemed likely to be their masters: "That Agrippa was naturally stern and savage, and exasperated by contumely; and neither in age nor experience equal to a task of such magnitude. Tiberius indeed had arrived at fulness of years, and was a distinguished captain, but possessed the inveterate and inherent pride of the Claudian family; and many indications of cruel nature escaped him, in spite of all his arts to disguise it; that even from his early infancy he had been trained up in an imperial house; that consulships and triumphs had been accumulated upon him while but a youth; not even during the years of his abode at Rhodes, where, under the plausible name of retirement, he was in fact an exile, did he employ himself otherwise than in meditating future vengeance, studying the

arts of simulation, and practising secret and abominable sensualities; that to these considerations was added, that of his mother, a woman with the ungovernable spirit peculiar to her sex; that the Romans must be under bondage to a woman, and moreover to two youths, who would meanwhile oppress the state, and at one time or other, rend it piecemeal."

5. While the public mind was agitated by these and similar discussions, the illness of Augustus grew daily more serious, and some suspected nefarious practices on the part of his wife. For some months before, a rumour had gone abroad that Augustus, having singled out a few to whom he communicated his purpose, and taken Fabius Maximus for his only companion, had sailed over to the island of Planasia, to visit Agrippa; that many tears were shed on both sides, many tokens of mutual tenderness shown, and hopes from thence conceived, that the youth would be restored to the household gods of his grandfather; that Maximus had disclosed this to Martia, she to Livia; and that the emperor was informed of it; and that Maximus, not long after, dying, (it is doubtful whether naturally or by means sought for the purpose,) Martia was observed, in her lamentations at his funeral, to upbraid herself as the cause of her husband's destruction. Howsoever that matter might have been, Tiberius was scarce entered Illyrium when he was summoned by a letter from his mother, forwarded with speed; nor is it fully known whether at his return to Nola he found Augustus yet breathing, or already lifeless. For Livia had carefully beset the palace and all the avenues to it, with vigilant guards; and favourable bulletins were from time to time given out, until the provisions which the conjuncture required being completed, in one and the same moment were published the departure of Augustus, and the accession of Tiberius.

6. The first atrocity of this new reign was the murder of Posthumus Agrippa: the assassin, a bold and determined centurion, found him destitute of arms, and little apprehending such a destiny, yet was scarce able to despatch him. Of this transaction Tiberius avoided any mention in the senate: he pretended that orders had been given by his father, in which he enjoined the tribune appointed to the custody of his person, "not to delay to slay Agrippa whensoever he himself had completed his last day." It is very true, that Augustus having made many and vehement complaints of the young man's demeanour, had obtained that his exile should be sanctioned by a de-

cree of the senate; but he never hardened himself to the extent of inflicting death upon any of his kindred; neither is it credible that he murdered his grandson for the security and establishment of his stepson. More probable it is that Tiberius and Livia, the former from motives of fear, the latter impelled by a stepmother's aversion, expedited the destruction of this young man, the object of their jealousy and hatred. When the centurion, according to the custom of the army, acquainted Tiberius, "that his commands were executed;" he answered, "he had commanded no such execution, and that he must appear before the senate, and be answerable to them for it." When this came to the knowledge of Sallustius Crispus, who shared in his secret counsels, and had sent the centurion the warrant, he dreaded that he should be arraigned on a false charge of the assassination, and perceiving it to be equally perilous to confess the truth or invent a falsehood, he warned Livia "that the secrets of the palace, the counsels of friends, and the ministerial acts of soldiers should not be divulged; that Tiberius should not enfeeble the force of princely authority by referring all things to the senate; that such were the conditions of sovereign authority, that an account should not stand good otherwise than if it were rendered to one alone."

7. Now at Rome, consuls, senators, and knights, were rapidly degenerating into a state of abject servitude; and the higher the quality of any, so much the more false and forward; all carefully framing their countenances so as not to appear overjoyed at the departure of the prince, nor over sorrowful in the commencement of a new reign, they intermingled tears with gladness, and wailings with adulation. Sextus Pompeius and Sextus Apuleius, at that time consuls, took first an oath of fidelity to Tiberius; then administered it to Seius Strabo and Caius Turranius; the former, captain of the prætorian guards, the other, intendant of the public stores; next, to the senate, to the people, and to the soldiery: for Tiberius began all things by the consuls, as if the ancient republic still subsisted, and he were yet unresolved about assuming the sovereign rule; even his edict for summoning the senate, he issued not but under the title of the tribunitian power, received by him under Augustus. The words of the edict, too, were few, and extremely modest. It imported that, "he should consult them on the funeral honours proper to be paid his father: for himself, he would not depart from the corpse; and that this alone of the public functions he took upon himself." Yet when Augustus was dead, he had given

the word to the prætorian cohorts, as imperator; sentinels were stationed about the palace; had soldiers under arms, and all the other appendages of a court; went guarded into the forum, guarded to the senate; wrote letters to the armies in the style of one who had obtained principedom; nor did he ever hesitate, but when he spoke to the senate; then he was all diffidence and hesitation. The chief cause proceeded from fear lest Germanicus, who was master of so many legions, numberless auxiliaries, of the allies, who was wonderfully in favour with the people, might wish rather to possess the empire than to wait for it: he likewise sacrificed somewhat to fame, that he might seem chosen and called to the empire by the voice of the people, rather than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a wife, and by adoption from a superannuated prince. It was afterwards found, that this irresolution was counterfeited, that he might also penetrate into the designs and inclinations of the great men: for, warping their words and their looks into crimes, he stored them up in his heart against a day of vengeance.

8. On the first day the senate met, he would suffer no other business to be transacted but that about the funeral of Augustus, whose last will, brought in by the vestal virgins, appointed Tiberius and Livia his heirs. Livia was adopted into the Julian family, and dignified with the name of Augusta: in the second degree of succession he appointed his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he had named the great men of Rome, most of them hated by him: but out of vainglory, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the measure of a Roman citizen; except that he left to the Roman people 435,000 great sesterces, part to them as a body and part to be distributed individually: to every soldier of the prætorian guards a thousand small sesterces, to every soldier of the Roman legions three hundred, and to every man in the cohorts of Roman citizens, five hundred. The funeral honours were next considered. Of these, the most signal appeared the following: Asinius Gallus moved, that "the funeral should pass through the triumphal gate:" Lucius Arruntius, "that the titles of all the laws which he had made, and the names of all the nations which he had conquered, should be carried before the corpse:" Valerius Messala added that, "the oath of allegiance to Tiberius should be renewed every year;" and being asked by Tiberius, "whether at his instigation he had made that motion?" Messala said "he spoke it of his own accord; nor would he ever be determined by any

but his own counsel, in things which concerned the commonweal; even though with the hazard of giving offence." This was the only form of flattery which was left to the age. The senators then concurred in a loud cry, "that upon their own shoulders they must bear the body to the pile." Tiberius granted the request with modest insolence, and cautioned the people by an edict, "that they would not insist that the corpse of Augustus should be burnt rather in the forum, than in the field of Mars, which was the place appointed, and act as they did on a former occasion, when from an excess of zeal they had disturbed the funeral solemnities of the god Julius." On the funeral day the soldiers were stationed as for a guard, a circumstance which excited deep derision in those who had either seen, or had received from their fathers, a description of that day of slavery yet crude and immature, and of liberty unsuccessfully reclaimed, when the assassination of the dictator Cæsar was regarded by some as a deed of unexampled atrocity, by others an achievement of superlative glory; "that now an aged prince, who had been long in possession of power, after having provided resources for his heirs, to be employed against the commonwealth,—that such an one, forsooth, must be protected by a guard of soldiers in order that his interment might be undisturbed!"

9. Much discourse concerning Augustus himself followed: the multitude expressing their wonderment at things of no importance; "that the last day of his life, and the first of his reign, was the same; that he died at Nola, in the same house, and in the same chamber, where his father Octavius died. Even the number of his consulships, equal to those of Valerius Corvinus and of Caius Marius together, was much talked of: that he had exercised the power of the tribuneship seven and thirty continued years: that he was one and twenty times proclaimed imperator; with other honours repeated to him, or created for him." On the other hand, by men of deeper discernment, his life was variously lauded or censured. His admirers said, "that by his filial piety to his father Cæsar, and the necessities of the republic, where the laws no longer governed, he had been driven into a civil war; which, whatever be the first cause, can never be begun or carried on by just and gentle means. Indeed, provided he might be revenged on the murderers of his father, he had made many sacrifices to Antony; many to Lepidus: but when Lepidus became torpid with sloth, and Antony was lost in sensuality, there was then no other remedy for his dis-

tracted country than the sovereignty of one: that the republic, however, had not been settled by him in the form of a kingdom or a dictatorship, but placed under the government of one with the title of prince; that by him the empire was fenced in by the ocean and rivers far remote; the legions, the provinces, the navy, and all things were systematically connected; justice was dispensed to the citizens, moderation observed towards the allies, and Rome herself was adorned with magnificent structures: in a very few instances had force been employed, and in those only to secure the peace of the whole."

10. In answer to this it was urged, that "his filial piety, and the exigencies of the republic, were laid hold of as a pretence; but that from an ardent lust of reigning, the veteran soldiers were worked upon by means of his largesses: and though a private youth, he had levied an army; had corrupted the legions of the consul; that his interest with the party of Pompey was simulated: that soon after, when, in virtue of a decree of the senate, he possessed himself of the fasces and the authority of the prætorship, when Hirtius and Pansa, the two consuls, were slain, he had seized both their armies: (whether it was that the consuls fell by the enemy, or whether Pansa was killed by pouring poison into his wounds; and Hirtius cut off by his own soldiers, and Cæsar the contriver of this treason;) that by terror he had extorted the consulship in spite of the senate; and turned against the commonwealth the very arms with which the commonwealth had intrusted him for her defence against Antony. To these were added his proscription of citizens; the divisions of lands; which were not commended even by the very persons on whom they were bestowed. But admitting that the deaths of Cassius and the Bruti were sacrifices offered to his father's hate of them (though eternal justice demanded that he should have made personal animosities yield to public good,) yet he betrayed Pompey by the phantom of a peace, Lepidus by a specious show of friendship. And afterwards that Antony, having been ensnared by treaties, those of Tarentum and Brundisium, and by the marriage of his sister, paid with his life the penalty of that insidious alliance. After these things no doubt there was peace, but it was a bloody peace. There was, too, the disasters of Lollius, and of Varus; and at Rome, the Varrones, the Egnatii, the Juli, put to death." Nor was his domestic life spared upon this occasion. "The abduction of Nero's wife—the pontiffs consulted in mockery as to whether she might marry him con-



sistently with religion, having conceived but not yet brought forth—the uxorious excesses of Quintus Tadius and Vidius Pollio; lastly, his wife Livia had proved a cruel mother to the commonwealth, and to the Julian house a more cruel stepmother: nothing was left by him for the honours of the gods, since it was his pleasure to have temples dedicated to himself, to be represented under the similitude of the powers above, and be ministered unto by flamens and priests: nor had he adopted Tiberius for his successor, either out of affection for him, or from concern for the public welfare; but having discovered in him a spirit proud and cruel, he sought glory for himself by the contrast of a character consummately base.” For, Augustus, when, a few years before, he solicited the senate to grant to Tiberius another term of the authority of the tribuneship, though in a laudatory speech, had thrown out some observations upon his personal peculiarities, his tastes and course of life, in order that under colour of apologising for them he might brand him with infamy.

11. However, as soon as the funeral of Augustus was over, a temple and divine worship were decreed him. The prayers of the senate were then turned to Tiberius, to fill his vacant place; but he replied evasively, descanting on the magnitude of the task of governing and his own un-aspiring disposition; he said that, “the divine genius of Augustus was alone capable of the mighty charge: that for himself, having been called by him to a participation of his cares, he had learnt by experience how difficult to bear was the burthen of government, and how subject to the caprices of fortune: that a number of persons would more easily discharge the functions of the public administration by sharing its toils amongst them: he therefore implored them that in a state supported by so many illustrious patriots they would not cast the whole administration upon one.” Such was his speech; but there was more dignity of sentiment in it than sincerity; and the words of Tiberius, which, even upon subjects on which he sought not disguises, were dark and cautious, whether from nature, or from habit, at this juncture indeed, as he laboured wholly to hide his heart, were more than ever involved in ambiguity and uncertainty: but the senators, whose sole fear was to seem to understand him, burst into tears, plaints, and vows: with extended arms they supplicated the gods, invoked the image of Augustus, and embraced the knees of Tiberius. He then commanded the imperial register to be produced and recited. It con-

tained a summary of the resources of the state, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in the armies, the amount of the navy, kingdoms, provinces, tributes, customs, the public expenditure, and largesses. This register was all written by the hand of Augustus; and he had added a recommendation to keep the empire within fixed limits; but whether from apprehension for its safety, or jealousy of future rivals, is uncertain.

12. Meanwhile, the senate, stooping to the most humiliating importunity and prostrations, Tiberius happened to say, that, "as he was unequal to the weight of the whole government; so if they intrusted him with any particular part, whatever it were, he would undertake it." Hereupon Asinius Gallus says: "I beg to know, Cæsar, what part of the government you desire to be committed to you?" He was confounded at the unlooked for question; for a short space he continued mute; but recovering himself, answered, that, "it ill became his modesty to choose or reject any particular branch of the administration, when he desired rather to be excused from the whole." Gallus rejoined, (for he concluded from his countenance that he had given offence,) "by this question he did not mean that he should divide things which were inseparable; but that he might be convinced out of his own mouth that the commonwealth is but one body, and can be governed only by the mind of one." He added an encomium upon Augustus, and reminded Tiberius himself of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and admirably sustained: nor even thus could he mollify his wrath, who had long hated him, from a suspicion that having married Vipsania, daughter of Marcus Agrippa, and formerly wife of Tiberius, he meant to soar above the rank of a subject, and inherited the haughty spirit of Asinius Pollio his father.

13. Lucius Arruntius incurred his displeasure next, by a speech not much unlike that of Gallus: though towards him Tiberius bore no inveterate rancour; but he regarded with jealousy Arruntius, as being rich, energetic, accomplished, and accordingly in repute with the people. Indeed Augustus, shortly before his decease, mentioning those who would be capable of obtaining the supreme power, but would not accept it; or unequal to it, yet wished for it; or who had both ambition and sufficiency; had said, that "Marcus Lepidus was qualified, but would reject it; Asinius would be aspiring, but had inferior talents; and that Lucius Arruntius was not unworthy of it, and upon a proper occasion, would attempt it." That he

spoke thus of Lepidus and Asinius, is agreed; but, instead of Arruntius, some writers have transmitted the name of Cneius Piso: and every one of these great men, except Lepidus, were afterwards cut off, under imputations of various crimes, all concocted by Tiberius. Quintus Haterius also, and Mamercus Scaurus excited his jealous spirit; the first by asking him, "How long, Cæsar, wilt thou suffer the commonwealth to remain destitute of a head?" Scaurus, because he had said, "There was room to hope that the prayers of the senate would not prove abortive, since he had not put his veto on the motion of the consuls as he might have done, according to the privilege of the tribunitian authority." He inveighed against Haterius on the instant; Scaurus, towards whom his resentment was more implacable, he passed over in profound silence. Wearied at last with the general importunity, and the expostulations of individuals, he relaxed by little and little; not so far as to declare openly that he would undertake the empire, but only to avoid the uneasiness of rejecting solicitation. It is well known that Haterius, when he went next day to the palace to implore pardon, and embraced the knees of Tiberius who was walking, narrowly escaped being slain by the soldiers, because Tiberius had fallen down, whether by chance or entangled in the arms of Haterius; his anger however was not appeased by the danger which threatened so great a man, until Haterius supplicated Augusta, whose most earnest entreaties obtained protection for him.

14. Towards Livia too, extravagant was the adulation of the senate. Some were for decreeing her the appellation of Parent, others of Mother of her Country; and almost all were of opinion, that to the name of Tiberius should be added, The son of Julia. Tiberius urged impatiently, that "Public honours to women ought to be cautiously adjudged; and that with the same moderation he would receive such as were presented to himself." But, torn with jealousy, and regarding the elevation of a woman as the depression of himself, he suffered not so much as a lictor to be decreed her, and even forbade the raising an altar upon her late adoption, and other similar honours. But, for Germanicus he asked the proconsular power; and deputies were sent to present it to him, and at the same time to condole with him on the death of Augustus. The same honour was not solicited for Drusus, because he was present and already consul elect. He then named twelve candidates for the prætorship; the number settled

by Augustus; and though the senate requested him to increase it, he bound himself by an oath never to exceed it.

15. The assemblies for electing magistrates were now first transferred from the Campus Martius to the senate: for though the emperor had conducted all affairs of moment at his pleasure, yet till that day, some were still transacted according to the inclination of the tribes. Neither did the regret of the people for the seizure of these their ancient rights, rise higher than some impotent grumbling: the senate too, released from the charge of buying votes, and from the shame of begging them, willingly acquiesced in the regulation, by which Tiberius contented himself with the recommendation of four candidates only, to be accepted without opposition or canvassing. At the same time, the tribunes of the people asked leave to celebrate at their own expense certain games in honour of Augustus, which were called after his name, and which were now inserted in the calendar. But it was decreed that the charge should be defrayed out of the exchequer, and that the tribunes should in the circus wear the triumphal robe; but to be carried in chariots was denied them. The annual celebration of these plays was, for the future, transferred to the prætors, to whom should fall the jurisdiction of deciding suits between citizens and strangers.

16. Thus stood affairs at Rome when a sedition made its appearance in the legions in Pannonia; without any fresh grounds, save that the accession of a new prince promised impunity to tumult, and held out the hope of advantages to be derived from a civil war. Three legions occupied a summer camp together, commanded by Junius Blæsus, who, upon notice of the death of Augustus and accession of Tiberius, had granted the soldiers a recess from their wonted duties for some days, as a time either of public mourning or festivity. From this beginning they waxed wanton and quarrelsome, lent their ears to the discourses of every profligate; and at last they longed for a life of dissipation and idleness, and spurned all military discipline and labour. In the camp was one Percennius; formerly a busy leader of theatrical factions, after that a common soldier; of a petulant tongue, and from his experience in theatrical party zeal well qualified to stir up the bad passions of a crowd. Upon minds uninformed and agitated with doubts as to what might be the condition of military service now that Augustus was dead, he wrought gradually by confabulations by night, or when day verged towards its close; and when all the better-disposed had

retired to their respective quarters, he would congregate all the most depraved about him.

17. Lastly, when now also other ministers of sedition were at hand to second his designs, in imitation of a general solemnly haranguing his men he, asked them: "Why did they obey, like slaves, a few centurions and a fewer tribunes? when would they be bold enough to demand redress, unless they approached the prince, yet a novice and tottering on his throne, either with entreaties or arms? Enough had they erred in remaining passive through so many years, since decrepid with age and maimed with wounds, after a course of service of thirty or forty years, they were still doomed to carry arms: nor even to those who were discharged, was there any end of service; but they were still kept to the colours, and under another name endured the same hardships. And if any of them survived so many dangers, still were they dragged into countries far remote, where, under the name of lands, they are presented with swampy fens, or mountain wastes. But surely burthensome and ungainful of itself was the occupation of war: ten asses a day the poor price of their persons and lives; out of this they must buy clothes, and tents, and arms—out of this the cruelty of centurions must be redeemed, and occasional exemptions from duty; but, by Hercules, stripes, wounds, hard winters, and laborious summers, bloody wars and barren peace, were miseries eternally to be endured; nor remained there other remedy than to enter the service upon certain conditions, as that their pay should be a denarius a-day, sixteen years be the utmost term of serving; beyond that period to be no longer obliged to follow the colours, but have their reward in money, paid them in the camp where they earned it. Did the prætorian guards, who had double pay, they who after sixteen years' service were sent home, undergo more dangers? This was not said in disparagement of the city guards; their own lot however was, serving among uncivilised nations, to have the enemy in view from their tents."

-18. The general body received this harangue with shouts of applause; but stimulated by various motives; some showing, in all the bitterness of reproach, the marks of stripes, others their hoary heads, many their tattered vestments and naked bodies. At length to such an excess of fury did they proceed, that they proposed to incorporate the three legions into one; frustrated in this by jealousy, for every man claimed that honour for his own legion, they took another method, and placed the three eagles and the standards of the cohorts together; at the

same time they heap up pieces of turf and rear a tribunal, to form a more conspicuous seat. While engaged in this hurried work, Blæsus came up to them, rebuked them, held them back individually, passionately exclaiming, "Nay; dip your hands rather in my blood: to murder your general will be a crime less heinous than to revolt from your prince; either I will live to preserve the legions in their faith and obedience, or by my death I will accelerate your remorse."

19. For all this the turf continued to be accumulated, and the work had already risen breast-high, when, at last, overcome by his perseverance, they desisted from their undertaking. Blæsus, with the tact of a consummate speaker, told them, "That sedition and mutiny were not the methods of conveying to the emperor the demands of his soldiers; that neither the soldiers of old had ever made to the ancient generals, nor they themselves to the deified Augustus, requests so novel; that it was most inopportune to add to the load of cares which pressed upon a prince in the commencement of his reign. If however they meant to try to gain in peace those concessions, which, even after a civil war, the conquerors never claimed, why did they meditate violence, trampling upon the laws of respect and obedience, violating the solemn obligations of military discipline? They might appoint deputies; and in his presence intrust them with their pretensions." Approving his suggestion, they cried out, "That the son of Blæsus, one of their tribunes, should execute that deputation; and demand in their name, that after sixteen years' service they should be discharged; they would commit to him the other points, after the successful issue of the first." After the departure of the young officer, all was quiet for a time; the soldiers however exulted to have carried such a point; the sending the son of their general as the advocate of the public cause, was a satisfactory indication that they had extorted by force what by gentle means they would never have gained.

20. In the mean time those companies, which, before the sedition began, were sent to Nauportum, to repair roads and bridges, and see to other requisites, no sooner heard of the uproar in the camp, than they tore up their ensigns and plundered the neighbouring villages, even Nauportum itself, which resembled a municipal town. The centurions, who sought to restrain them, they first assailed with mockery and contumelies, at last with blows. Their vengeance was chiefly directed against the præfect of the

camp, Aufdienenus Rufus; whom they drag from his chariot, load with baggage, and drive in the van of the moving body, repeatedly asking him in scorn, "Whether he liked carrying such enormous burthens such immense distances?" This they did because Rufus who had been long a common soldier, then a centurion, and afterwards præfect of the camp, had restored the primitive strictness of discipline; was inured to service and toil; and therefore a more rigid exactor of them because he had endured them himself.

21. By their arrival the sedition was renewed; the seditious roaming about ravaged the country on every side. Blæsus, for an example of terror to the rest, ordered those who were most laden with plunder, to be scourged and incarcerated; for the general was still obeyed by the centurions, and by all the best disposed soldiers; but the others struggled with those who were carrying them off; clasped the knees of the bystanders; now called upon individuals by name; then cried out to the century, the cohort, the legion, to which each belonged, that the same ignominy awaited upon them all: with the same breath they heaped invectives their general, and called heaven and the gods to witness; nor left they ought unattempted to excite hatred, commiseration, fear, resentment. The whole body rushed to their relief, burst open the prison, and loosed their bonds; and now even united with deserters, and men convicted of capital crimes.

22. After this the flame of discord burst forth with increased fury, and the sedition found more leaders. One Vibulenus, a common soldier, exalted on the shoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of Blæsus, even thus declaimed in the ears of a multitude already outrageous, and eager to hear what he had to say; "To these unoffending men, these abject sufferers, you have indeed restored light and breath; but, who will restore life to my brother; my brother to me? Sent hither by the German army, with propositions for our common good, he was last night butchered by the gladiators of Blæsus, men whom he entertains and arms for the destruction of his soldiers. Answer me, Blæsus, where hast thou thrown away his corpse? Even the enemy do not grudge burial to the slain: when I have satiated my sorrow with kisses and tears, command me also to be murdered, provided that these may bury us; the heinous crime for which we were slain being none other than that of studying the common interest of the legions."

23. He added to the effect of these expostulations by tears, and by beating his breast and face. Then disengaging himself from those on whose shoulders he was borne, and throwing himself headlong at the feet of individuals, he raised such a spirit of frenzy and vengeance, that one party of them bound the gladiators that formed a portion of the slaves of Blæsus; another, the rest of his slave-band; while others hurried away to search for the corpse; and, had it not been quickly manifest that there was no corpse to be found, that the slaves had upon the rack denied the murder, and that Vibulenus never had any brother, they had gone nigh to sacrifice the general; as it was, they thrust out the præfect of the camp and tribunes, and as they fled, plundered their baggage: they likewise put to death Lucilius the centurion, on whom, with the drollery characteristic of soldiers, they had fixed the appellation of 'Cedo alteram' ('Give me another,') because when upon the back of a soldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call aloud for another, and then another. The other centurions sought safety in concealment; one only, Julius Clemens, being retained, who for his prompt capacity was deemed a fit person to be intrusted with the conveyance of the soldiers' demands; nay, even two of the legions, the eighth and fifteenth, were preparing to turn their swords upon each other; the eighth demanding that a centurion nicknamed Sirpicus should be put to death, and the fifteenth protecting him; and blood would have flowed had not the soldiers of the ninth interposed with entreaties and with threats to those who would not listen to prayers.

24. Intelligence of these things compelled Tiberius, though close, and ever labouring to smother all events of a disastrous nature, to despatch his son Drusus thither, with the principal men of the state and two prætorian cohorts; without any precise instructions, but to adapt his measures to the exigencies of the case: the cohorts were strengthened with an extraordinary force of chosen men. To these were added great part of the prætorian horse, and the flower of the German troops, then serving as the emperor's guards. Elius Sejanus, lately joined with his father Strabo in the command of the prætorian bands, was also appointed, not only as governor to the young prince, but, as his credit with the emperor was known to be great, as a fit instrument to inspire the fear of punishment and the hope of reward. When Drusus approached, the legions, for show of respect, marched out to meet him; not, as usual, with joy, and glittering with gay trappings,



but in a state of such hideous uncouthness, and with such looks as indicated contumacy rather than the sadness they affected.

25. As soon as he was within the entrenchment, they secured the entrances with guards, and ordered parties of armed men to wait in certain quarters of the camp: the rest surrounded the tribunal of Drusus in an immense mass; Drusus stood beckoning with his hand for silence: as often as they looked back upon their own numbers, they spoke loud, and in terms of furious insolence: again, when they beheld Cæsar, awe and trembling seized them: a hollow and inarticulate murmur was heard; next, a furious clamour; then, suddenly, a dead silence: according to the different passions which agitated their minds, they were either timorous or terrible. At length, during a quiet interval, he read his father's letter, in which it was recorded, "that he would take an especial care of the invincible legions, with whom he had shared the hardships of so many wars; and, as soon as his mind had recovered the effects of grief, negotiate with the senate about their demands; in the meantime he had sent them his son, to make them the concessions without delay which could immediately be granted: the rest must be reserved for the senate, who could not reasonably be supposed destitute of mercy any more than of justice."

26. The assembly answered that, to Julius Clemens they had intrusted what to speak in their name: he began with their demands, "to be discharged after sixteen years' service, the rewards to be given them at the conclusion of their service, their daily pay to be a denarius, the veterans to be no longer detained under their ensigns." When Drusus alleged in reply that it belonged to the senate and his father to determine these matters, he was interrupted by clamours: "To what purpose came he; since he could neither augment their pay, nor alleviate their grievances; and, without permission, to render them a single service? But, by Hercules, the power of inflicting blows and death was granted to all. Tiberius used to frustrate every request of the soldiers, by referring all to Augustus; now Drusus was come, with the same artifices: were they never to have a higher visit than from the children of the royal household? It was, indeed, unaccountable, that to the senate the emperor should leave no part in the direction of the army but the rewarding of the soldiery: the same senate ought to be consulted as often as a battle was to be fought, or a private man to be punished; or, were

their recompences to be adjudged by many masters, but their punishments to remain without any arbitrator?"

27. At last, they abandoned the tribunal, menacing and insulting all they met, either of the prætorian guards or friends of Drusus; to create occasion for a quarrel, and a pretext for bloodshed. Chiefly were they enraged against Cneius Lentulus, because, as he surpassed others in years and military renown, he was suspected to have encouraged the prince, and been himself the foremost to despise those outrages in the soldiery: nor was it long after, that, as he was leaving Drusus, and from the foresight of danger returning to the winter-quarters, they surrounded him and demanded "whither he went? to the emperor or senate? there also to exercise his enmity to the legions, and oppose their interest?" and instantly assaulted him with stones. He was already covered with blood from a wound by a stone, and awaiting certain assassination, when the troops attending Drusus flew to his assistance and saved him.

28. The following night had a threatening aspect, and seemed likely to give birth to some impious deed: it was made to pass off tranquilly by a mere accident. The moon, in the midst of a clear sky, became suddenly eclipsed; the soldiers, who were ignorant of the cause, took this for an omen referring to their present adventures: to their own labours they compared the eclipse of the planet, and prophesied, "that, if to the distressed goddess should be restored her wonted brightness and splendour, equally successful would be the issue of these their struggles:" hence they made a loud noise, by ringing upon brasen metal, and by blowing trumpets and cornets: as she appeared brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had obstructed their sight, and it was believed that she was now buried in eternal darkness, then (for minds once dismayed are prone to superstition) they bewailed "their own eternal sufferings thus portended, and that the gods viewed their daring deeds with aversion." Drusus, who thought it behoved him to improve this turn in their minds, and to convert to the ends of wisdom, what chance had presented, ordered certain persons to go round from tent to tent. For this purpose, he summoned the centurion Clemens, and whoever else were by honest methods acceptable to the multitude. These insinuated themselves everywhere, and mixed with those who kept the night watch, the piquets, and centinels at the gates, cheering their hopes or alarming their fears: "How

long," said they, "shall we besiege the son of the emperor? Where will our contentions end? Shall we swear allegiance to Percennius and Vibulenus? Will Vibulenus and Percennius support us with pay during our service, and reward us with lands when dismissed? In short, shall they, supplanting the Neros and Drusi, assume the empire of the Roman people? Why should we not rather, as we were the last to revolt, be the first to relent? Such demands as comprise terms for all, are ever slowly accorded: but on your own individual account you may merit favour instantly, and instantly receive it." These reasonings alarmed them, and filled them with mutual jealousies; they separated the younger soldiers from the veterans, and one legion from another: then, by degrees, returned the love of duty and obedience. They relinquished the guard of the gates: and the standards, which in the beginning of the tumult they had thrown together, they now restored each to its distinct station.

29. Drusus, as soon as it was day, summoned an assembly, and though unskilled in speaking, yet from the impulse of a noble heart, he rebuked their past, but commended their present behaviour: "With threats and terrors," he said, "it was impossible to subdue him; but if he saw them reclaimed to submission, if from them he heard the language of supplicants, he would write to his father to accept with a reconciled spirit the petitions of the legions." At their entreaty, for their deputy to Tiberius, the same Blæsus was again despatched, and with him Lucius Apronius, a Roman knight of the cohort of Drusus, and Justus Catonius, a centurion of the first rank. Conflicting opinions were entertained as to the course now to be pursued; some advised "to suspend all proceeding till the return of the deputies, and by a courteous treatment in the meanwhile, to soothe the soldiers;" others maintained, "that remedies more potent must be applied: in a multitude was to be found nothing which was not in extremes; always imperious where they are not awed, when subdued by fear they might be safely despised: now that they were bowed down by superstition, the general should add to their fears by cutting off the authors of the sedition." The genius of Drusus inclined to measures of severity: Vibulenus and Percennius were by his command produced and executed: most writers state that they were despatched and hastily buried within his tent; others, that their bodies were ignominiously thrown over the entrenchments, for a public spectacle of terror.

30. Then the other culprits were hunted up, according

as each had a principal hand in the disturbance. Some, too, who were wandering up and down without the camp, were slain by the centurions or prætorian soldiers: others were by their own companies delivered up, as a proof of their fidelity. The consternation of the soldiers was heightened by the premature setting in of winter, with incessant rains, and so violent, that they were unable to stir from their tents, or maintain common intercourse; nay, scarce to keep their standards fixed, assailed continually, as they were, by tempestuous winds and raging floods. Dread of the displeasure of heaven, also, still haunted them. "Not without cause," said they, "the stars grew dim, and tempests burst on impious heads; neither against these their calamities was there other relief than to relinquish an ill-starred and polluted camp, and, after expiation of their guilt, return to their several winter-quarters." The eighth legion departed first; and then the fifteenth: the ninth clamoured for waiting the arrival of a letter from Tiberius; but when deserted by the other two, anticipated the necessity which shortly awaited them, by a voluntary act. Drusus also, as the commotion in that quarter had now pretty well subsided, without staying for the return of the deputies, went back to the city.

31. Almost at the same time, and from the same causes, a disturbance arose in the legions in Germany, but the more alarming as their numbers were greater. Earnest were their hopes that Germanicus would never brook the rule of another, but put himself in the hands of the legions, who had force sufficient to carry everything their own way. Upon the Rhine were two armies; that called the higher, commanded by Caius Silius, lieutenant-general; the lower, by Aulus Cæcina: the command in chief rested in Germanicus, then occupied in making a census of the Gauls: the forces, however, under Silius, would not make up their minds till they had seen the success of the revolt which others began: the soldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrage, which took its rise from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, drawing after them the first and twentieth. These were all upon the frontiers of the Ubians, in the same summer camp, living in utter idleness or light duty. On hearing, therefore, that Augustus was dead, the herd of slaves lately enlisted in the city, familiar with licentiousness, and impatient of military hardship, began to incite the simple minds of the rest with saying, "that now was the time for veterans to obtain their well-earned dismissal; the fresh soldiers, larger pay; and all, some mitigation of their

miseries; and get redress for the cruelty of the centurions." These were not the harangues of a single incendiary, like Percennius amongst the Pannonian legions; nor uttered, as there, in the ears of men, who while they saw before their eyes armies more powerful than their own, heard them with awe and trembling: many were the mouths that uttered seditious language; frequent were the boasts; "that in *their* hands lay the destinies of Rome; by *their* victories the empire was enlarged; and that the commanders of armies were complimented with a surname derived from them."

32. Neither did Cæcina strive to restrain them; for the madness of so many had broken his spirit. On a sudden, transported with rage, they rushed, with drawn swords, upon the centurions, for they had ever given occasion to discontent among the soldiers, and were always the first victims of their vengeance. They knocked them down, and beat them dreadfully, sixty falling upon each, to match the number of centurions in a legion. Then, torn and mangled, and some of them lifeless, they threw them out before the rampart, or into the Rhine. Septimius, who had fled for refuge to the tribunal of Cæcina, and lay clasping his feet, was demanded with incessant importunity, till he was surrendered to destruction. Cassius Chærea, (afterwards famous among posterity for killing Caligula,) then a young man, and of undaunted spirit, opened himself a passage with his sword through the armed men that opposed him. After this, neither tribune nor præfect of the camp retained authority. The soldiers themselves divided among them the watches and the guards, and whatever other services the exigency of the moment imposed. Hence those who dived deepest into the spirit of the soldiery, gathered a special indication of an important and obstinate insurrection; for not in separate bodies, nor at the instigation of a few, but all indiscriminately, either kindled into rage or reposed in silence: and that with so much uniformity and regularity, that you would conclude them to be under the command of one.

33. To Germanicus, meanwhile, then receiving, as I have said, the tribute in Gaul, news arrived of the decease of Augustus, whose grand-daughter Agrippina he had to wife, and by her many children: he was himself the son of Drusus, who was brother of Tiberius; and he was the grandson of Livia; but he was harassed by the secret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him: hate, the occasions of which were the more stimulating because they were unjust: for, the memory of his father Drusus

was revered amongst the Roman people, and there was a strong persuasion that, had he succeeded to the empire, he would have restored liberty: hence their partiality to Germanicus, and the same hope of him: for this young man possessed an unassuming disposition, and a remarkable sweetness of manners; utterly remote from the language and looks of Tiberius, which were haughty and mysterious. In addition, there were such animosities as arise between females, while towards Agrippina, Livia was actuated by the rancour natural to stepmothers: and Agrippina was somewhat too vindictive; only that from her chastity, and love for her husband, she always gave a good direction to her spirit, though unyielding.

34. But Germanicus, the nearer he stood in succession to supreme rule, the more vigorously he exerted himself on behalf of Tiberius: to him he induced the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as also the Belgic states, to swear allegiance. Immediately after, having heard of the mutiny of the legions, he proceeded to the spot with all despatch, when he found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes cast down, in feigned token of remorse. After he entered the lines, a dissonant cry of woe began to be heard; nay, some, catching hold of his hand, as if to kiss it, thrust his fingers into their mouths, to feel their toothless gums; others showed their limbs, bowed with old age. As he saw the assembly which stood before him was a confused mass, he commanded them "to range themselves into companies, that they might thus more distinctly hear his answers; as also to place before them their several standards; that thus at least the cohorts might be distinguished." They obeyed him doggedly; then beginning with "the high character of Augustus," he passed on to the "victories and triumphs of Tiberius," and with especial praises celebrated his brilliant achievements, with those very legions, in the Germanies;" he next commended the harmony that prevailed in Italy, the fidelity of the Gauls: "there was," he said, "no trace of commotion or dissension in any quarter."

35. Thus far they listened with silence, or with a subdued murmur. When he touched on their mutiny, inquiring, "Where was the discretion of the soldier? where the glory of ancient discipline? whither had they driven their tribunes, whither their centurions?" to a man, they stript themselves to the skin, exhibiting reproachfully the seams that once were wounds, and the marks of stripes. Then, with mingled voices, they urge, "the exactions for exemptions, their scanty pay, their rigorous labours;" and

in particular they complain of "ramparts, entrenchments, laying in forage, materials, wood," with every other labour required by the exigencies of war, or against idleness in the camp. Most distressing was the cry of the veterans, who, enumerating thirty years' service or more, "besought him to give relief to men worn out with toils, and not leave them to die in them; but grant them a discharge from a service so oppressive, and a comfortable retreat." Nay, some there were who demanded payment of the money bequeathed them by the deified Augustus; with expressions of happy omen to Germanicus; and proffered their cordial support if he wished the empire. Here, as if contaminated with their treason, he leaped headlong from the tribunal; but with swords drawn they opposed his departure, and threatened his life if he refused to return: but he, with passionate protestations, that "he would rather die than throw off his allegiance," snatched his sword from his side, and having raised it, was in the act of bringing it down upon his breast, but those who were next him seized his hand and held it firmly. A cluster of soldiers in the extremity of the assembly exhorted him, nay, what is incredible to hear, some separate individuals, deliberately advancing nearer, exhorted him, 'to strike:' a soldier named Calusidius, even offered him his naked sword, adding, "it is a sharper one;" an act, which to the rest, furious though they were, seemed inhuman, and of pernicious tendency: and a pause ensued, during which Cæsar was hurried away into his tent by his friends.

36. There a consultation was held on the means of allaying the disorder: for it was advised, that "deputies were preparing to be despatched to bring over the upper army to the same cause; that the capital of the Ubians was devoted to destruction; and that their hands, once engaged in plunder, would forthwith be employed in ravaging the Gauls." This dread was augmented by the fact that the enemy knew of the mutiny in the Roman army, and were ready to invade the empire, if the bank of the river were left unguarded. Now, to arm the allies and the auxiliaries against the departing legions, was to engage in a civil war: severity was dangerous; to bribe, flagitious; and the state would be equally endangered whether nothing were conceded to the soldiers or everything. After a careful comparison of the arguments, it seemed good that a letter should be written as from Tiberius, "that those who had served twenty years should be altogether dismissed; such as had served sixteen, should receive a qualified discharge, being still retained in the service, but

released from every duty except that of repelling the enemy; and that the legacy which they demanded should be paid and doubled."

37. The soldiers perceived that these offers were fabricated to meet the exigencies of the moment, and demanded to have them forthwith executed; but though the discharges were promptly executed by the tribunes, the payment was adjourned to their several winter-quarters: but the fifth legion and the twenty-first did not stir, till in the same summer camp they received the money, collected from the stock of Germanicus himself and his friends. Cæcina, lieutenant-general, led the first legion and twentieth back to the capital of the Ubians; their march exhibiting a disgraceful spectacle, for the money-bags extorted from their general were carried amidst the ensigns and eagles. Germanicus, having gone to the upper army, brought the second, thirteenth, and sixteenth legions to swear allegiance without hesitation: to the fourteenth, who demurred a little, he offered their money and a discharge, though they did not demand them.

38. But a party of veterans of the disorderly legions, and who were then in garrison among the Chaucians, showed symptoms of mutiny, but were somewhat awed by the instant execution of two soldiers at the command of Menenius, præfect of the camp; an act beneficial in its effect, but irregular. Afterwards, the commotion beginning to wear a stormier aspect, he fled, but was discovered; and finding no security in his retreat, he drew upon daring for protection, and told them, "That not to the præfect, but to Germanicus their general, to Tiberius their emperor, was this violence done." At the same time, all that would have stopped him being dismayed, he snatched the colours and faced about towards the bank of the river, and exclaiming that he would treat as deserters every man who quitted the marching body, led them back to their winter-quarters, discontented but afraid to mutiny.

39. Meantime the deputies from the senate met Germanicus at the Ubian altar, whither he had returned. Two legions wintered there, the first and twentieth, with the veterans lately discharged but retained under the standard. Timorous and distracted with conscious guilt, they conceived a fear that they were come by command of the senate to cancel concessions which they had by sedition extorted; and, as it is the custom of the crowd to charge some one with crimes however imaginary, they accuse Minutius Plancus, who had been consul, and was chief of the deputation, of being the proposer of this decree of the



senate. In the dead of night, they began to clamour for the standard in the quarters of Germanicus, and rushing tumultuously to his gate, burst the doors, dragged the prince out of his bed, and with menaces of death, compelled him to deliver the standard. Then, as they roamed about the streets, they met the deputies; who, having heard of the tumult, were hastening to Germanicus, loaded them with insults, and were about to massacre them, particularly Plancus, whom a sense of dignity had restrained from flight; nor in this danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the first legion, where, embracing the eagle and standards, he protected himself by the sanctity in which they were held. And had not Calpurnius the eagle-bearer warded off the fatal blow, an ambassador of the Roman people, in a Roman camp, would have deluged with the pollution of his blood the altars of the gods; a deed seldom paralleled among our enemies. At length, day returning, when the general, and the soldiers, and their actions could be distinguished, Germanicus entered the camp, and commanding Plancus to be brought, seated him by himself upon the tribunal; then imputing the furious outbreak to a fatality, and affirming that it had been rekindled by the resentment not of the soldiers but of the gods, he explained the objects of the embassy, and lamented eloquently "the violated laws of legation, and the serious and unprovoked attack upon Plancus himself, together with the deep disgrace incurred by the legion." And as the assembly seemed awed rather than pacified, he dismissed the deputies under a guard of auxiliary horse.

40. Germanicus was generally censured "That in this alarming crisis he retired not to the higher army, where he would have received obedience, and succour against the revolters. Enough and more had he erred by discharges, rewards, and lenient counsels; or, if he disregarded his own safety, why expose his infant son, why his pregnant wife, amongst soldiers infuriated and the violators of everything held sacred by man? It became him at least to restore his wife and son to her grandfather and to the state." He was long unresolved; and his wife, who was averse to leave him, urged that "she was the grand-daughter of the deified Augustus, and was not so degenerate as to shrink from danger." At last embracing her and their son, with great tenderness and many tears, he prevailed with her to depart. A band of females in mournful plight moved slowly on; the wife of a great commander compelled to be a fugitive, and bearing her infant son in her

bosom. Around her were the wives of her friends, dragged along with her, and uttering lamentations; nor were those that remained less affected.

41. The appearance of Cæsar, unlike that of a victorious general, and in his own camp, but as if he were in a vanquished city, and the groans and plaints of the multitude, engaged the ears and eyes even of the soldiers. They advanced from their tents, and asked, "Whence that doleful sound? what so lamentable! that so many ladies of illustrious quality, (not a centurion to guard them, not a soldier, their general's wife utterly undistinguished, destitute of her ordinary train,) should be proceeding to the Treveri to the protection of aliens!" Hence shame and commiseration seized them, and the remembrance of Agrippa, her father; Augustus, her grandfather; Drusus, her father-in-law; herself celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of signal chastity: then they thought of her infant son, born in the camp, nursed in the tents of the legions, and by them named Caligula; because he generally wore that kind of boot to win the affections of the common soldiers; but nothing so subdued them as jealousy of the Treveri; they beseech her to return and remain with them; thus some hastened to stop Agrippina; but the main body returned to Germanicus, who, as he was, yet in the transports of grief and anger, thus addressed the surrounding crowd.

42. "To me, nor wife, nor son, are dearer than my father and the commonwealth. But as for my father, he will be protected by his own majesty; and the Roman empire by her other armies. As for my wife and children, whom for your glory I could freely sacrifice, I now remove them from your rage, that whatever dire purpose you may have conceived towards them, my blood alone may flow to satiate your fury; and that the murder of the great-grandson of Augustus, the murder of the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, may not augment your guilt. For, during these last days, what has been unattempted by you? What unviolated? To this audience what name shall I give? Can I call you 'Soldiers?' you who have beset with arms the son of your emperor, confined him in your trenches? 'Citizens' can I call you? you who have treated with such scorn the authority of the senate? The obligations observed by enemies; the sacred persons and privileges of ambassadors; the laws of nations, you have violated. The deified Julius quelled a sedition in his army by a single word; by calling those who renounced their allegiance 'Quirites.' The deified Augustus terrified the legion that fought at Actium into submission by his countenance and look.

If the armies in Syria and Spain contemn the authority of us, who, though not yet equal to them, are descended from them, we should think their behaviour strange and base. Do you, the first and the twentieth legions, the former enrolled by Tiberius himself, the other his constant companions in so many battles, and by him enriched with so many bounties, make this goodly return to your general? And shall I be the bearer of such tidings to him, while he receives none but joyful intelligence from the other provinces? that his own recruits, his own veterans, have not been satiated with exemption from service nor money? Must I tell him that here centurions are butchered, tribunes expelled, ambassadors imprisoned; the camp and the rivers polluted with blood; and that I drag out a precarious existence among men implacably set against me.

43. "Wherefore, on the first day that I addressed you, did you wrest from me that sword which I was on the point of plunging into my breast? Officious friends! preferably and with greater kindness did he act who proffered me a sword; at all events I should have fallen ere I was privy to so many enormities committed by my army: you would have chosen a general who would leave my death unatoned for, but would avenge that of Varus and the three legions: and, oh! may the gods never permit that the Belgians, although offering their services, shall reap the credit and renown of retrieving the Roman name, and of humbling the German nations. May thy spirit, O deified Augustus! which is received into heaven; thy image, my father Drusus! and thy memory, with those same soldiers who even now are touched with a sense of duty and a desire of fame, wash out this stain, and turn the rage of citizens among themselves to the destruction of their enemies! And as for you, in whom I behold other countenances and altered minds, if you mean to render to the senate its ambassadors, to your emperor the allegiance due to him, to me my wife and son, fly from the touch of guilt; set the disaffected by themselves: this will confirm your resolution to repent, and pledge you to fidelity."

44. Softened into supplicants by these words, and confessing that his reproaches were true, they besought him to punish the guilty, to pardon the misled, and lead them against the enemy; to recall his wife, to bring back the nurseling of the legions, and not let him be given a hostage to the Gauls. Against the recalling of Agrippina he alleged the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but said, that his son should return, and that to

themselves he left to execute what remained. No longer the same men, they run in all directions and drag all the ringleaders of the mutiny in bonds to Caius Cetronius, commander of the first legion, who judged and punished them severally after this manner. The legions, with their swords drawn, surrounded the tribunal, the accused was by a tribune exposed to view upon a scaffold, and if they proclaimed him guilty, cast headlong down and butchered. The soldiers rejoiced in the execution, because by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated. Nor did Germanicus restrain them, since on themselves remained the cruelty and reproach of the slaughter committed without any order of his. The veterans followed the example, and were soon after ordered into Rhætia, in appearance to defend that province on account of the threatened inroads of the Suevians; in reality, to remove them from a camp still horrible to their sight, not less from the severity of the remedy than from the memory of their crime. He afterwards reviewed the centurions; before him they were cited singly; each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his service, exploits in war, and military presents, if with any he had been distinguished; if the tribunes, or his legion, bore testimony to his diligence and integrity, he kept his post; upon concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

45. The disturbances at hand thus composed, others as great remained from the outrageous conduct of the fifth and twenty-first legions. They were in winter-quarters sixty miles off, in a place called the Old Camp, and had first begun the sedition; nor was there any wickedness so horrid that they had not perpetrated; neither terrified by the punishment, nor reclaimed by the penitence of their fellow-soldiers, they persevered in their fury. Cæsar therefore prepared to send vessels, arms, and allied troops down the Rhine, determined to put the matter to the decision of the sword if they persisted in their revolt.

46. But at Rome the issue of the sedition in Illyricum being not yet known, and tidings of the uproar in the German legions having arrived, the city, in a state of alarm, made it a matter of charge against Tiberius, "That while with feigned delay he mocked the senate and people, who were feeble and unarmed, the soldiery were in open rebellion; nor could they be kept in subjection by the immature authority of two young men; he ought to have gone himself, and awed them with the majesty of imperial power; as doubtless they would have returned to duty upon the sight

of a prince of consummate experience, and also the supreme arbiter of the richest rewards and the most rigorous punishment. Could Augustus, in the decline of life, take so many journies into Germany? and should Tiberius, in the vigour of his age, sit in the senate, wresting the expressions of senators? He had consulted sufficiently for the servitude of the city: measures should be taken to calm the restless spirits of the soldiers, that they might adapt themselves to the burthen of repose."

47. Against these remonstrances Tiberius maintained his fixed resolve not to quit the capital, nor imperil himself and the empire; in truth, many and conflicting considerations perplexed him: "The German army was the stronger; that of Pannonia nearer; the power of both the Gauls supported the former; the latter was at the gates of Italy. To which therefore should he first repair? He feared too, lest those who were not preferred might be exasperated by the affront. But by sending one of his sons to each, they were treated alike, without lowering the imperial dignity, which is most revered at a distance. Besides, the young princes would be excused, if to their father they referred some matters; and if they disobeyed Germanicus and Drusus, he might himself appease or quell them; but if they contemned their emperor, what resource remained?" However, as if he were on the point of marching, he chose his attendants, provided his equipage, and prepared a fleet; then artfully alleging the winter or business, for some time he imposed upon men of sense, still longer on the multitude, and it was very long before the provinces saw through him.

48. Germanicus had already drawn together his army, and was prepared to take vengeance on the seditious: but judging it proper to allow farther space for trial, whether they would follow the late example, and consult their own safety; he sent letters before him to Cæcina, "that he was coming, with a powerful force; and if they prevented him not, by executing the guilty, he would put them to the sword indiscriminately." These letters Cæcina privately read to the standard-bearers, the inferior officers, and such of the private soldiers as were least disaffected; exhorted them, "to redeem themselves from death, and all from infamy; for in peace motives and merits were regarded; but when war assailed, the innocent and guilty fell promiscuously." The officers having sounded those they believed for their purpose, and found the majority of the legions still to persevere in their duty, at the suggestion of the general, settled a time for putting to the

sword all the most depraved and turbulent: then, on a signal given among themselves, they rushed into their tents, and butchered them, while in utter ignorance of the plot; none but those who were privy to it understanding wherefore the massacre began, or where it would end.

49. This had a different character from all the civil slaughters that ever happened: it was not in a battle, nor between men from opposite camps, but from the same tents; men who ate at the same board by day, and slept in the same apartment by night, separated themselves into parties, and hurled darts at their comrades: wounds, outcries, and blood, were open to sense; but the cause remained hid: chance governed the rest. Some, too, of the well-affected were slain, after that the most guilty, finding who were the objects of the carnage, had themselves also snatched up arms: neither general, nor tribune, was present to control the proceeding; full licence was given to the soldiers, with leave to gratify revenge, and satiate themselves with blood. Germanicus soon after entered the camp, and, lamenting with many tears, that "this was not a remedy, but a massacre," commanded the bodies to be burnt. Their minds even then fiercely agitated, were seized with a sudden desire to attack the foe, as an expiation of their ferocity: nor otherwise, they thought, could the ghosts of their brethren be appeased, than by receiving honourable wounds in their own profane breasts. Germanicus fell in with the ardour of the soldiers, and throwing a bridge over the river, marched over twelve thousand legionary soldiers, twenty-six cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse, whose sense of duty had not been vitiated by that mutiny.

50. The Germans, who were not far off, passed their time merrily whilst the Romans were held by a cessation of arms, occasioned first by the death of Augustus, afterwards by dissensions: but the Romans, by a forced march, cut a way through the Cæsian forest, and levelling the barrier begun by Tiberius, encamped there. In the front and rear they were defended by a palisade; on each side by a pile of timber: thence, traversing a gloomy forest, they deliberated which of two routes they should adopt, the short and frequented, or the more intricate and unexplored, and therefore unguarded against by the foe: the latter being chosen; in everything else despatch was observed: for, by the scouts intelligence was brought, that there was with the Germans, that night, a festival devoted to mirth, and regularly celebrated with banqueting. Cæcina was ordered to advance with the light cohorts, and to clear a passage

through the forest: at a moderate distance followed the legions: the night, which was starlight, aided the design; and they arrived at the villages of the Marsians, and parties were posted around: the Germans, were even then stretched here and there upon their beds, or lying by their tables, in perfect security, and without any watch stationed in advance: so complete was the disorder occasioned by their carelessness: no fear of hostile attack; nor was it indeed a state of repose, other than the languor and remissness of men oppressed with drunkenness.

51. The legions, who were impatient for the onset, Cæsar divided into four battalions, to give a wider range to the devastation: he wasted the country by fire and sword to the extent of fifty miles; nor sex nor age found mercy; places sacred and profane, without distinction, even the temple of Tanfana, the most celebrated amongst these nations, all were levelled with the ground: the soldiers, who had slain men half asleep, disarmed, or dispersed, escaped unwounded. This slaughter roused the Bructerians, the Tubantes, and the Usipetes; and they beset the passes of the forest, through which the army was to return: which Cæsar discovering, he proceeded cautiously, in an order adapted at once to marching and fighting. The auxiliary cohorts and part of the horse were in the van, followed at a short interval by the first legion; the baggage was in the middle; the twenty-first legion closed the left wing, and the fifth the right; the twentieth defended the rear, and after them marched the rest of the allies. But the enemy stirred not, till the army was extended through the wood: then, skirmishing with the front and wings, with their whole force they fell upon the rear: the light cohorts were disordered by the close German bands, when Cæsar, riding up to the twentieth legion, cried aloud, "This is the moment to obliterate the scandal of sedition: forward! hasten to turn your guilt into glory." Their courage burst into a flame, and at one rush they broke through the enemy's line, and drove them back into the plain, slaughtering them as they went: meanwhile, the van of the army emerged from the forest and there fortified a camp. The rest of the march was uninterrupted, and the soldiers, elated with their recent exploits, and forgetting by-gone matters, were placed in winter-quarters.

52. The intelligence of these proceedings affected Tiberius with mingled joy and anxiety. He was glad that the mutiny was suppressed, but it was torture to him that Germanicus, by anticipating the term of service, and by largesses, had gained the affections of the army, as well as

that he had acquired military renown. However, he consulted the senate on his acts, and bestowed copious praises upon his valour, but in terms too pompous and studied for it to be believed that he spoke from the recesses of his heart. With more brevity he commended Drusus, and his address in quelling the sedition of Illyricum, but with greater earnestness, and in the language of sincerity; all the concessions made by Germanicus he fulfilled, and extended them also to the Pannonian troops.

53. The same year died Julia, some time since confined by her father Augustus to the isle of Pandataria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium, upon the straits of Sicily, on account of her incontinence. Whilst Caius and Lucius, her sons by Agrippa, yet lived, she was given in marriage to Tiberius; whom she treated with contempt as one beneath her rank. Nor any motive so cogent as this had Tiberius for his retirement to Rhodes. In disgrace and exile, and by the death of Agrippa Posthumus, bereaved of all hope, he caused her to pine away gradually from want, calculating that from the duration of her exile her murder would lie concealed. Similar was the ground of his cruelty to Sempronius Gracchus, a man of a noble family, of shrewd intellect and eloquent, but unprincipled. He, while Julia was yet Agrippa's wife, had debauched her: nor did his lust end here; but after she was given to Tiberius, the pertinacious adulterer inspired her with disrespect and hatred to her husband; and the letters, too, she wrote to her father, full of asperity against Tiberius, were thought to have been composed by Gracchus. He was therefore banished to Cercina, an island in the African sea, where, for fourteen years, he suffered exile. The soldiers despatched to assassinate him found him upon an eminence which jutted out into the sea, expecting no tidings of happy import. On their arrival he begged a brief respite to send his last will in a letter to Allaria his wife, and then presented his neck to the executioners: in the magnanimity of his death not unworthy of the Sempronian name, though in his life he had degenerated. Some have related, that these soldiers were not sent from Rome, but by Lucius Asprenas, proconsul of Africa, at the instance of Tiberius, who vainly hoped that the imputation of the murder might be shifted on Asprenas.

54. There was likewise this year an admission of new rites, by the addition of a college of priests of Augustus; as formerly Titus Tatius, to preserve the rites of the Sabines, had founded the Tatian priests. One and twenty of the most considerable Romans were drawn by lot; Ti-



berius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus were added. The games in honour of Augustus, began then first to be embroiled by dissension arising out of the performance of pantomimes. Augustus had countenanced that pastime, out of complaisance to Mæcenas, who was a passionate admirer of Bathyllus; neither was he himself averse to such pursuits; and he thought it popular to mix in the pleasures of the people. The habits of Tiberius took a different turn; but as yet he dared not attempt to engage in severer pursuits a people so long humoured.

55. In the consulship of Drusus Cæsar and Caius Norbanus, a triumph was decreed to Germanicus, the war continuing. He was preparing with all diligence to prosecute it in the summer; but anticipated it by a sudden irruption early in the spring into the territories of the Cattians: for he had conceived a hope that the enemy was divided into opposite parties under Arminius and Segestes; both remarkable for perfidy or fidelity towards us: Arminius was the incendiary of Germany; but Segestes had given repeated warning of an intended revolt, at other times, and during the banquet immediately preceding the insurrection, and advised Varus, "to secure him, and Arminius, and all the other chiefs; that the multitude, bereft of their leaders, would not dare to attempt anything; and Varus would have an opportunity to separate the guilty from the innocent." But fate decreed it, and he was slain by Arminius. Segestes, though drawn into the war by the universal agreement of the nation in it, yet continued to disapprove of it; his detestation being augmented by motives of a domestic nature, for Arminius had carried away the daughter of Segestes, already betrothed to another: the son-in-law hated, the fathers-in-law were at enmity; and those relations which are bonds of affection between friends, fomented the animosities of enemies.

56. Germanicus therefore handed over to Cæcina four legions, five thousand auxiliaries, and some tumultuary bands of Germans, who dwelt on this side the Rhine; he led himself as many legions, with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in mount Taunus, upon the site of one raised by his father, he pushed on in battle array against the Cattians; having left Lucius Apronius to secure the roads and the rivers: for, as the roads were dry, and the rivers within bounds, events in that climate of rare occurrence, he had found no check in his rapid march, but on his return apprehended the violent rains and floods. He fell upon the Cattians with such surprise, that all the weak through sex or age were instantly taken

or slaughtered: their youth swam over the Adrana and endeavoured to obstruct the Romans, who commenced building a bridge; then, repulsed by engines and arrows, and having in vain tried terms of peace, after some had gone over to Germanicus, the rest abandoned their cantons and villages, and dispersed themselves into the woods. Mattium, the capital of the nation, he burnt, ravaged the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durst the enemy harass his rear, which is their custom, whenever they have fled, more from craft than fear. The Cheruscans had purposed to assist the Cattians, but were deterred by Cæcina, who moved about with his forces from place to place; and the Marsians, who dared to engage him, he checked by a victory.

57. Soon after arrived deputies from Segestes, praying relief against the violence of his countrymen, by whom he was besieged; Arminius having more influence with them than himself, because he advised war; for with Barbarians, the more resolute in daring a man is, the more he is trusted and preferred in times of commotion. To the deputies Segestes had added Segimundus his son; but the young man hesitated, from self-conviction; for the year when Germany revolted, having been created priest at the Ubian altar, he had rent the fillets and fled to the revolters: yet, induced to rely upon Roman clemency, he undertook the execution of his father's orders, was graciously received, and conducted with a guard to the Gallic bank of the Rhine. Germanicus thought it worth while to march back, fought the besiegers, and rescued Segestes with a numerous train of his relations and followers; in which were ladies of illustrious rank, and among them the wife of Arminius, the same who was the daughter of Segestes: with a spirit more like that of her husband than her father; neither subdued to tears, nor uttering the language of supplication, but her hand folded within her bosom, and her eyes fixed upon her teeming womb. There were likewise carried the spoils taken at the slaughter of Varus and his army, and given as booty to most of those who then surrendered.

58. At the same time appeared Segestes himself, of vast stature, and undaunted in the consciousness of his fidelity. In this manner he spoke: "This is not the first day that I have approved my faith and constancy to the Roman people: from the moment I was by the deified Augustus presented with the freedom of the city, I have chosen my friends and enemies with reference to your interests, and that not from hatred of my country, (for odious are traitors even to

the party they prefer,) but, because the interests of the Romans and Germans were the same; and because I was inclined to peace rather than war. For this reason, before Varus, the then general, I arraigned Arminius, the ravisher of my daughter, and the violator of the league with you. Put off, from the supineness of the general, and seeing there was little protection in the laws, I importuned him to throw into irons myself, and Arminius, and his accomplices: witness that night, to me I would rather it had been the last! more to be lamented than defended are the events which followed. However I cast Arminius into irons, and was myself cast into irons by his faction: and now, on the first opportunity of conferring with you, I prefer old things to new, peace to turbulence; and at the same time I might be a fitting mediator for the German nation, with no view of reward, but to clear myself of perfidy, if they would rather repent than be destroyed. For the youth and inexperience of my son I implore pardon; I admit my daughter has been brought into this state by constraint; it will be yours to consider which should preponderate with you; that she is the wife of Arminius or the daughter of Segestes." The answer of Germanicus was gracious: he promised indemnity to his children and kindred, and to himself, as a retreat, a place called 'Vetera,' in the province; then returned with his army, and by the direction of Tiberius, received the title of Emperor. The wife of Arminius brought forth a male child, and the boy was brought up at Ravenna: the mockery he was soon after exposed to I will relate at the proper time.

59. The account circulated of the surrender of Segestes, and his gracious reception affected his countrymen with hope or anguish, as they were severally prone or averse to the war. Acting upon a temper naturally violent, the captivity of his wife, and the child in her womb subjected to bondage, drove Arminius to distraction: he flew about amongst the Cheruskans, calling them to arms against Segestes, against Germanicus: nor did he refrain from invectives: "An excellent father! a great general! a valiant army, whose many hands had carried off one bit of a woman! That before him three legions fell, three lieutenant-generals: for his method of carrying on war was not by treason nor against pregnant women, but openly, against armed hosts. That the Roman standards were still to be seen in the German groves, there suspended by him to his country's gods. Segestes might live upon the vanquished bank; he might get the priest-

hood restored to his son: but the Germans would ever regard the fellow as the guilty cause of their having seen between the Elbe and Rhine rods and axes, and the toga. That to other nations who know not the Roman domination, executions and tributes were unknown; and as they had thrown them off, and as Augustus, he who was enrolled with the gods, had retreated without accomplishing his object, and Tiberius his chosen successor, let them not dread an inexperienced stripling and a mutinous army. If they preferred their country, their parents, and their ancient possessions, to masters and new settlements, they should follow Arminius, who led them to glory and liberty, rather than Segestes, who conducted them to infamous servitude."

60. By these means, not the Cheruskans only were roused, but the bordering nations; and Inguiomerus, paternal uncle to Arminius, a man long in high credit with the Romans, was drawn into the confederacy; hence Germanicus became more alarmed, and sent Cæcina with forty Roman cohorts to the river Amisia, through the territories of the Bructerians. Pedito the præfect led the cavalry along the confines of the Frisians; he himself, embarking four legions, sailed through the lakes; and at the aforesaid river the whole body met, foot, horse, and fleet. The Chaucians, upon offering their assistance, were taken into the service; but the Bructerians setting fire to their effects and dwellings, were routed by Stertinius, despatched against them by Germanicus with a band lightly armed. And amidst the carnage and plunder, he found the eagle of the nineteenth legion lost in the overthrow of Varus. The army marched next to the farthest borders of the Bructerians, and the whole country between the rivers Amisia and Luppia was laid waste. Not far hence lay the forest of Teutoburgium, and in it the bones of Varus and the legions, by report still unburied.

61. Germanicus therefore conceived a desire to pay the last offices to the legions and their leader; while the whole of the army present were moved to deep commiseration for their kinsmen and friends; and generally for the calamities of war and the condition of humanity. Cæcina having been sent before to explore the gloomy recesses of the forest, and to lay bridges and causeways over the watery portions of the morasses and insecure places in the plains, they enter the doleful scene, hideous in appearance and association. There was the first camp of Varus, of wide extent, and after measuring off the courts they marked the space occupied by the body of three le-

gions; after that, a half decayed rampart with a shallow foss, where their remains, now sadly reduced, were understood to have sunk down. In the intervening portion of the plain, were whitening bones, either scattered or accumulated, according as they had fled or had made a stand. Near them lay fragments of javelins and limbs of horses. There were also skulls fixed upon the trunks of trees. In the adjacent groves were the savage altars, where they had immolated the tribunes and centurions of the first rank. Those who survived the slaughter having escaped from captivity and the sword, related the sad particulars to the rest: "Here the commanders of the legions were slain; there we lost the eagles; here Varus had his first wound; there he gave himself another, and perished by his own unhappy hand. In that place too stood the tribunal whence Arminius harangued. How many gibbets he erected for the execution of his captives; what trenches he dug; and how in proud scorn he made a mock at the standards and eagles."

62. The Roman army which was on the spot, buried the bones of the three legions, six years after the slaughter: nor could any one distinguish whether he buried the remains of a stranger, or of a kinsman; but all considered the whole as friends, as relations, with heightened resentment against the foe; at once sad and revengeful. Germanicus laid the first sod used in raising a tomb; thus rendering a most acceptable service to the dead, and showing that he shared the sorrows of the living; a proceeding not liked by Tiberius; whether it were that upon every action of Germanicus he put a malignant construction, or that he believed that the impression produced by the sight of the unburied slain, would damp the ardour of the army for battle; he also said that "A general invested with the office of augur, and the most ancient religious functions, ought not to have put his hand to the ceremonies of the dead."

63. Arminius, retiring into pathless places, was pursued by Germanicus; who as soon as he reached him, commanded the horse to advance and dislodge the enemy from the post they had possessed. Arminius, having directed his men to keep close together, and draw near to the woods, wheeled suddenly about, and to those whom he had hid in the forest, gave the signal to rush out. Then the Roman horse were thrown into disorder by the assault of a new army, and the cohorts sent out to support them broken in upon by the body of troops that fled, had augmented the consternation; and they were now being pushed into the morass, a place well known to the pur-

suers, but dangerous to those unacquainted with it, had not Germanicus drawn out the legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy became terrified, our men reanimated, and both retired without advantage on either side. Germanicus, soon after, returning with the army to the Amisia, reconducted the legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet; part of the horse were ordered to march along the sea-shore to the Rhine. Cæcina, who led his own men, was warned, that though he was to return through well-known roads, yet he should with all speed pass the causeway called The Long Bridges: it is a narrow causeway, between vast marshes, and formerly raised by Lucius Domitius. The rest of the country is of a moist nature, either tough and sticky from a heavy kind of clay, or dangerous from the streams which intersect it. Round about are woods which rise gently from the plain; which at that time were filled with soldiers by Arminius, who, by short cuts and quick marching, had arrived there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. Cæcina, who was perplexed how at once to repair the causeway decayed by time, and to repulse the foe, resolved to encamp in the place, that whilst some were employed in the work, others might begin the fight.

64. The Barbarians having made a vigorous effort to break through the outposts, and fall upon those employed in the works, harass the troops, march round them, and throw themselves in their way. A mingled shout arose from the workmen and the combatants; all things equally combined to distress the Romans: the place deep with ouze, sinking under those who stood, slippery to such as advanced; their bodies were encumbered with their coats of mail, nor could they hurl their javelins in the midst of water. The Cherusicans, on the contrary, were inured to encounters in the bogs; their persons tall, their spears long, so as to wound at a distance. At last the legions, already giving way, were saved from defeat by the approach of night; the Germans not feeling fatigue on account of their success, without refreshing themselves with sleep, even then diverted all the courses of the springs which rise in the neighbouring mountains into the plains; thus the ground being flooded, and the work, as far as they had carried it, overturned, the soldiers had all to do over again. Cæcina, who had served forty years, either under others or in command, was experienced in the vicissitudes of war, prosperous or disastrous, and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore all probabilities, he could devise no other expedient than that of restraining the enemy to the woods till he had sent

forward all the wounded and baggage; for between the mountains and the marshes there stretched a plain large enough to admit a little army: to this purpose the legions selected were, the fifth for the right wing, and twenty-first for the left; the soldiers of the first legion to lead the van, of the twentieth to oppose the pursuers.

65. It was a restless night to both armies, but from different causes; the Barbarians with festive carousals, songs of triumph, or horrid cries, filled the vales below and echoing woods: amongst the Romans were feeble fires, low broken murmurs; they leaned drooping here and there against the pales, or wandered about the tents more like men wanting sleep than quite awake. The general too was alarmed by direful visions during his sleep; he thought he heard and saw Quinctilius Varus, rising out of the marsh, all besmeared with blood, stretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the call and pushed back his hand as he held it towards him. At break of day, the legions posted on the wings, whether from perverseness or fear, deserted their post, and took sudden possession of a field beyond the bogs: neither did Arminius fall straight upon them, though they lay open to assault; but, when the baggage was set fast in the mire and ditches, the soldiers about it in disorder, the order of the standards confounded, and, as usual at such a time, each man acting hastily for himself, when the ears are slow to catch the word of command, he then commanded his Germans to charge, exclaiming vehemently, "Behold! Varus and his legions again subdued by the same fate!" Thus he cried, and instantly with a select body broke through the mass, and chiefly against the horse directed his weapons; floundering in their own blood and the slippery soil of the marsh, they threw their riders; overturned all they met, and trampled on those that were on the ground. The greatest distress was around the eagles; which could neither be carried against a shower of darts, nor be planted in the slimy ground. Cæcina, while he sustained the fight, had his horse shot, and having fallen, would have been overpowered had not the first legion come up to succour him; our relief came from the greediness of the enemy, who ceased slaying to seize the spoil. And the legions by great exertion got into the open and firm ground; nor was this the end of their miseries; a palisade was to be raised, an entrenchment digged; their instruments too for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almost all lost; no tents for the soldiers; no remedies for the wounded. While

dividing amongst them their food, defiled with mire or blood, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to so many thousand men the last.

66. It happened that a horse which had broken his fastenings, as he strayed about, became frightened with a noise, and ran over some that were in his way; this raised such a consternation in the camp, from a persuasion that the Germans had forced an entrance, that all rushed to the gates, especially to the postern, as the farthest from the foe, and safer for flight. Cæcina having ascertained that there was no cause for alarm, but unable to stop them or hold them back, either by his authority or prayers, or even by force, prostrated himself on the threshold of the gate; and thus at length, by appealing to their humanity, (for if they proceeded it must be over the body of the general), he blocked the passage, and the tribunes and centurions satisfied them the while that it was a false alarm.

67. Then assembling them in the court, and desiring them to hear him with silence, he warned them of their difficulties, and their duty under them: "That their sole hope of safety was in their valour, but that must be guided by counsel; that they must keep close within their camp, till the enemy, in hopes of taking it by storm, came up nearer to them; then make a sudden sally on every side; that by this sally, they might make good their way to the Rhine: but if they fled, more forests, deeper marshes, and the fierce attack of the foe still remained to them; but that if they conquered, honour and renown awaited them." He reminded them of all that was dear to them at home, and the rewards to be obtained in the camp; but suppressed all mention of defeat. He next distributed horses, first his own, then those of the tribunes and leaders of the legions, to all the bravest warriors, without any flattery, that these first, and afterwards the infantry, might charge the enemy.

68. The Germans were in no less agitation, from hope, eagerness, and the opposite counsels of their leaders. Arminius proposed, "To let them march out, and to beset them again in their way, when they got into marshes and difficult passes." Inguiomerus advised measures more resolute and acceptable to barbarians: "To invest the camp: it would be quickly captured: there would be more captives, and the plunder uninjured." As soon therefore as it was light, they level the ditch, cast hurdles into it, attempt to scale the palisade, there being but few men on the rampart, and those who were standing as if paralyzed by fear. But when they were hampered in the fortifications,



the signal was given to the cohorts; the cornets and trumpets sounded at once, and instantly, shouting and charging, they poured down upon their rear, telling them tauntingly, "That here were no thickets; no marshes; but equal chances in a fair field." The enemy, expecting an easy conquest, and that the Romans were few and half armed, were overpowered with the sound of trumpets and the glitter of arms, which were then magnified in proportion as they were unexpected; and they fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in prosperity, are also destitute of conduct in distress. Arminius fled from the fight unhurt; Inguioimerus severely wounded. The men were slaughtered as long as day and rage lasted. At length at night the legions returned, and though distressed by the same want of provisions, and more wounds; yet in victory they found all things, health, vigour, and abundance.

69. Meanwhile, a report had spread, that the army was cut off, and a body of Germans on full march to invade Gaul; so that under the terror of this news there were those, whose cowardice would have emboldened them to demolish the bridge upon the Rhine, had not Agrippina forbidden the infamous attempt; but this high-minded woman took upon herself all the duties of a general, and distributed to the soldiers gratuitously medicines and clothes, according as any one was in want or wounded. Caius Plinius, the writer of the German wars, relates that she stood at the head of the bridge, as the legions returned, and bestowed on them thanks and praises, a behaviour which sunk deep into the heart of Tiberius; "for these attentions he thought were not disinterested; nor was it against foreigners she sought to win the army; for nothing was now left the generals to do, when a woman paid her visits of inspection to the companies, attended the standards, and presumed to distribute largesses: as if before she had shown but small tokens of ambitious designs, in carrying her child (the son of the general) in a soldier's uniform about the camp, and desiring that he be styled Cæsar Caligula. Already Agrippina was in greater credit with the army than the lieutenant-generals, or even the generals: a woman had suppressed a sedition, which the authority of the emperor was not able to restrain." These jealousies were inflamed and ministered to by Sejanus; who was well acquainted with the temper of Tiberius, and supplied him with materials for hatred prospectively, that he might treasure them up in his heart, and draw them out augmented in bitterness.

70. Germanicus handed over the second and fourteenth

of the legions, which he had brought in ships, to Publius Vitellius to conduct them by land, that his fleet thus lightened might sail on the shoally sea, or run aground with safety when the tide ebbed. Vitellius at first marched without interruption while the ground was dry, or the tide flowed within bounds; presently the ocean beginning to swell by the action of the north-west wind upon it, and also by the influence of the equinoctial constellation, at which season the sea swells most, the troops were miserably harassed, and driven about. The lands were completely inundated; the sea, the shore, the fields, had one uniform face; no distinction of depths from shallows; of firm from treacherous footing; they were overturned by billows; absorbed by the eddies; beasts of burden, baggage, and dead bodies floated among them and came in contact with them. The several companies were mixed at random; wading now breast high, now up to their chin; sometimes the ground failing them, they fell, some never more to rise; their cries and mutual encouragements availed them nothing, the noise of the water drowning them; no difference between the coward and the brave, the wise and the foolish; none between circumspection and haphazard; but all were involved in the sweeping torrent. Vitellius at length having by great exertion gained the higher ground, withdrew the legions thither, where they passed the night without fire, and without food; many of them naked or lamed; not less miserable than men enclosed by an enemy, for even such had the resource of an honourable death, while these must perish ingloriously; daylight restored the land, and they marched to the river Unsingis, whither Germanicus had gone with the fleet. The legions were then embarked, while rumour reported that they were sunk; nor was their escape believed, till Germanicus and the army were seen to return.

71. Stertinius, who had been sent before to receive the submission of Sigimerus, the brother of Segestes, had now brought him and his son to the city of the Ubians: both were pardoned; the father promptly, the son with more hesitation, because he was said to have insulted the corpse of Varus. For the rest, Spain, Italy, and the Gauls vied in supplying the losses of the army; offering arms, horses, money, whatever each had at hand. Germanicus applauding their zeal, accepted only the horses and arms for the war: with his own money he assisted the soldiers; and to soften by kindness also the memory of the late disaster, he visited the wounded, extolled the exploits of individuals, and, looking at their wounds, with hopes en-

couraged some, with a sense of glory animated others, and by affability and attention confirmed them all in devotion to himself and to the service.

72. The ornaments of triumph were this year decreed to Aulus Cæcina, Lucius Apronius, and Caius Silius, for their services under Germanicus. The title of father of his country, so often forced by the people upon Tiberius, was rejected by him: nor would he permit swearing upon his acts, though the same was voted by the senate: urging, "the instability of all mortal things; and that the higher he was raised, the more slippery was his position:" he did not, however, thus get credit for a popular spirit: for he had revived the law of treason; a law which, in the days of our ancestors, had indeed the same name, but different questions were tried under it. If any one impaired the majesty of the Roman people by betraying an army, by exciting sedition among the commons, in short, by any maladministration of the public affairs, the actions were matter of trial, but words were free: Augustus was the first who used to take cognizance of libels under pretence of this law, incensed by the insolence of Cassius Severus, which had prompted him to asperse distinguished persons of both sexes by coarse lampoons. Soon after, Tiberius, when Pompeius Macer, the prætor, consulted him "whether trials should be had under this law?" answered, "that the laws must be executed." He also was exasperated by the publication of satirical verses written by unknown authors; exposing his cruelty, his pride, and dissensions with his mother.

73. It will be worth the trouble to relate here the pretended crimes charged in the cases of Falanius and Rubrius, two Roman knights of small fortunes; that it may be known from what beginnings, and with what subtlety on the part of Tiberius, this grievous mischief crept in; how it was again restrained; how at last it blazed out and bore down all before it. To Falanius was objected by his accuser, that "amongst the adorers of Augustus, of which there was a sort of college in every house, he had admitted one Cassius, a mimic and infamous character; and having sold his gardens, had likewise with them transferred the statue of Augustus." Against Rubrius it was charged, "that he had sworn falsely by the divinity of Augustus." When these accusations were known to Tiberius, he wrote to the consuls, "that heaven was not therefore decreed to his father, that that honour should be perverted to the destruction of citizens; that Cassius the player was wont to assist with others of his profession at the interludes con-

secrated by his mother to the memory of Augustus : nor was it incompatible with religious adorations, that his bust, like other images of the gods, was comprehended in the sale of houses and gardens. That the oath was to be regarded in the same light as if he had sworn falsely by the name of Jupiter ; but to the gods belonged the avenging of injuries done to the gods."

74. Nor long after, Granius Marcellus, prætor of Bithynia, was prosecuted for high treason by his own quæstor Cepio Crispinus ; Romanus Hispo supporting the charge. This Cepio began a species of avocation which, through the miserable times and the daring wickedness of men, afterwards became very common and notorious : for, at first needy and obscure, but of a restless spirit, by creeping into the good graces of the prince, who was naturally cruel, by secret informations, and thus imperiling the life of all the most distinguished citizens ; he acquired influence with one, but the hatred of all, and thus exhibited an example, by following which men from being poor became rich, from being contemptible became formidable, and after bringing destruction upon others, at last perished by their own arts. He accused Marcellus of " holding defamatory discourses concerning Tiberius ;" a charge which it was impossible to repel : when the accuser collected all the most detestable parts of the prince's character, and framed his accusation with reference to them : for, because they were true, they were believed to have been spoken. To this Hispo added, " that the statue of Marcellus was by him placed higher than those of the Cæsars ; and that having cut off the head of an Augustus, he had in the room of it set the head of a Tiberius." At this he flew into such a rage, that breaking silence, he cried out that, " he would himself, in this cause, give his vote openly, and upon oath ;" that the rest might be under the necessity of doing the same. There remained even then some faint traces of expiring liberty. Hence Cneius Piso asked him, " in what place, Cæsar, will you give your opinion ? If first, I shall have your example to follow : if last, I fear I may unwittingly dissent from you." Deeply affected by these words, and by how much the more indiscreetly he had let his passion boil over, by so much the more submissive now from regret that he should have committed himself, he suffered the accused to be acquitted of high treason. His trial on the charge of peculation was referred to the proper judges.

75. Nor was Tiberius satisfied to assist in the judicial proceedings of the senate only : he likewise sat in the court

of justice; in the corner of the tribunal, because he would not dispossess the prætor of his chair: and in his presence, many decisions were given in opposition to the intrigues and solicitations of powerful citizens. But while the interests of justice were consulted, liberty was undermined. About this time, Pius Aurelius the senator, whose house, yielding to the pressure of the public road and aqueducts, had fallen, complained to the senate and prayed relief. Opposed by the prætors of the treasury, he was supported by Tiberius, who ordered him the price of his house; for he was fond of being liberal upon fair occasions: a virtue which he long retained, even after he had abandoned all others. Upon Propertius Celer, once prætor, but now desiring leave to resign the dignity of senator, on the score of poverty, he bestowed a thousand great sesterces, upon satisfactory information that his necessities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the same thing, he ordered to prove their allegations to the senate; from his over anxiety to be strict he was thus austere even in his good actions. Hence the rest preferred poverty and concealment to exposure and relief.

76. The same year, the Tiber, swoln with continual rains, overflowed the level parts of the city; when the flood subsided, men and houses were washed away by the torrent. Hence Asinius Gallus moved, "that the Sibylline books might be consulted." Tiberius opposed it, equally smothering all inquiry into matters human or divine. To Ateius Capito, however, and Lucius Arruntius, was committed the care of restraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their public burdens, were for the present discharged of their proconsular government, and transferred to Tiberius. In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, Drusus presided: it was exhibited in the name of Germanicus, and his own; and at it he manifested too much delight in blood, though that of slaves: a feeling terrible to the populace; and for which even his father was said to have reproved him. The absence of Tiberius from these shows was variously construed: by some it was ascribed to his impatience of a crowd; by others to the austerity of his genius, and his fear of comparison with Augustus, who was wont to be a cheerful spectator. But, that he thus purposely furnished matter for exposing the cruelty of his son there, and for raising him popular hate, is what I would not believe: though this too was asserted.

77. The riots connected with the theatre, begun last year,

broke out now more violently: several, not of the people only, but of the soldiers, with a centurion, lost their lives; and a tribune of a prætorian cohort was wounded, whilst they were securing the magistrates from insults, and restoring tranquillity among the rabble. This tumult was canvassed in the senate, and opinions were given that the prætors should be empowered to whip the players: Haterius Agrippa, tribune of the people, opposed it; and was sharply rebuked by a speech of Asinius Gallus. Tiberius was silent, and to the senate allowed these mockeries of liberty. The opposition, however, prevailed, because the deified Augustus had formerly given his judgment, "that players were exempt from stripes:" nor would religion permit that Tiberius should annul his decisions. Concerning the limitation of the money laid out on theatrical exhibitions, and to restrain the licentiousness of their partisans, many decrees were made: the most remarkable were, "that no senator should enter the houses of pantomimes; that Roman knights should not attend them when they went into the street: they should exhibit nowhere but in the theatre; and the prætors should have power to punish the excesses of the spectators with exile."

78. The Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to Augustus in the colony of Terragon: and an example was held up for all the provinces to follow. In answer to the people, who prayed to be relieved from the 'centesima,' a tax of one in the hundred, established at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities; Tiberius by an edict declared, "that upon this tax depended the fund for maintaining the army: nor even thus was the commonwealth equal to the expense, if before their twentieth year the veterans were dismissed." Thus the ill-advised regulations, made during the late sedition, by which the limit of sixteen years was assigned to their service, in submission to force, were rescinded.

79. It was next proposed to the senate, by Arruntius and Ateius, whether, in order to restrain the overflowing of the Tiber, a new course should be given to the rivers and lakes by which it is swelled. Upon this question the deputies of several cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines besought, "that the bed of the Clanis might not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the same would prove their utter ruin." A similar objection was urged by the Interamnates; "since the most fruitful plains in Italy would be lost, if, according to the project, the Nar, branched out into rivulets, overflowed them." Nor did the Reatinians fail to remonstrate against stopping the

outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; "for," they said, "it would overflow the adjacent country: that nature had made the wisest provision for the interests of man: that she had assigned to rivers their proper mouths and courses, and as she had fixed their sources so had she determined their exits. Regard, too, was to be paid to the religion of our Latin allies, who, esteeming the rivers of their country sacred, had to them dedicated priests, and altars, and groves: nay, the Tiber himself, bereft of the neighbouring streams, would refuse to flow with diminished majesty." Now, whether it were, that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work, or the influence of superstition prevailed, it is certain the opinion of Piso was followed; namely, that nothing should be altered. To Poppæus Sabinus was continued his province of Mæsia; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon.

80. This, too, was part of the policy of Tiberius, to continue persons in offices, and for the most part to maintain them in the same military authority, or civil employments, to the end of their lives; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, "that from an impatience of recurring care, he was for making whatever he once resolved on, perpetual." Others, "that from the malignity of his nature he could not endure that many should reap the benefit of office." There are some who believe, that as he had a crafty, penetrating spirit, so he had an understanding ever irresolute and perplexed." Nor, indeed, did he seek men of pre-eminent virtue, while, on the other hand, he detested vice: from the best men he dreaded danger to himself, and disgrace to the public from the worst. This difficulty in deciding grew to such a pitch at last that he assigned provinces to some persons whom he had resolved never to suffer to quit the city.

81. Of the comitia for the creation of consuls, which took place in the reign of Tiberius, for the first time in this year, and in each successive year, I hardly dare affirm anything: so different are the accounts about it, found not only amongst historians, but even in his own speeches. Sometimes, not naming the candidates, he described them by their family, by their life and manners, and by the number of their campaigns; so as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again, avoiding even to describe them, he exhorted the candidates not to disturb the election by their intrigues, and promised, himself, to take care of their interests. His general practice was, to declare, "that to him none had signified their pretensions but those whose names he had delivered to the consuls; others, too, might

do the same, if they had confidence in their interest or merits." Sentiments, plausible in terms; in substance, hollow and insidious: and the greater the semblance of liberty with which they were covered, the more remorseless the slavery in which they would issue.



# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

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## BOOK II.

DURING the consulship of Sisenna Statilius Taurus, and Lucius Libo, the kingdoms and Roman provinces of the east, were in a state of commotion; it began with the Parthians, who, having sought and accepted a king from Rome, afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arsacidæ, contemned him as a foreigner. This was Vonones, who had been given as an hostage to Augustus by Phraates: for Phraates, though he had repulsed the Roman generals and armies, had accumulated every mark of reverence on Augustus, and sent him, to bind their friendship, part of his offspring; not so much through fear of us, as distrusting the allegiance of his countrymen.

2. After the death of Phraates and the succeeding kings, ambassadors from the chief men of Parthia arrived at Rome, to call home Vonones his eldest son; in order to end their intestine slaughters. Tiberius thought this a high honour to himself, and dismissed him with great pomp and presents. The Barbarians, too, received him with exultation; as is usual at the commencement of a reign. But shame soon succeeded "for the degeneracy of the Parthians, who had thus fetched from another world a king tainted by the practices of their enemies: the imperial throne of the Arsacidæ," they said, "was now deemed and given as a Roman province: where was the glory of those who slew Crassus, of those who expelled Mark Antony, if a slave of Cæsar's, who had endured bondage for so many years, should lord it over the Parthians?" He himself also inflamed their disdain, by abandoning the institutions of his ancestors, by rarely joining in the chace, by the sluggish interest he took in horses, and, whenever he made a progress through the cities, by riding in a litter, and by his haughty contempt of the national mode of banqueting: they also ridiculed his Greek attendants, and the most worthless articles of domestic use secured under a seal: but his easiness of access, his unhesitating cour-

tesy, virtues unknown to the Parthians, were to them new vices; and every part of his manners, the laudable and the bad, were subject to equal hatred, because foreign from their own.

3. They therefore sent for Artabanus, of the blood of the Arsacidæ, bred amongst the Dahæ. In the first engagement he was routed, but repaired his forces and gained the kingdom. The vanquished Vonones found a retreat in Armenia, where was a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the powers of Parthia and of Rome: distrusting us by reason of the villany of Mark Antony, who having by professions of friendship inveigled into his power Artavasdes, king of the Armenians, then loaded him with chains, and at last put him to death. Artaxias, his son, for his father's sake hating us, defended himself and his kingdom by the forces of the Arsacidæ. Artaxias being slain through the perfidy of his kindred, Tigranes was by Augustus appointed king of the Armenians, and by Tiberius Nero put in possession of the kingdom. But neither was the reign of Tigranes lasting, nor that of his children, though, according to the custom of foreign nations, they took partners of the throne and marriage bed from among themselves. Artavasdes was next set over them, by the appointment of Augustus; but at great expense of Roman blood he was deposed.

4. At that juncture Caius Cæsar was chosen to settle affairs in Armenia: by him Ariobarzanes, by descent a Mede, distinguished for his graceful person and eminent endowments, was placed over the Armenians, with their own consent. Ariobarzanes being killed by accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman named Erato, and having soon deposed her, unsettled, wavering, and rather without a master than possessed of liberty, they received the fugitive Vonones for their king: but when Artabanus menaced him, and he could expect little help from the Armenians, as, if he were protected by our forces, a war with the Parthians must be undertaken, Creticus Silanus, governor of Syria, invited him thither; but when he came, set a guard upon him; leaving him still the name and pomp of royalty: what attempts Vonones made to escape from this mockery, we will relate in its place.

5. Now Tiberius was not displeased with the occurrence of commotions in the east, since thence he had a colour for separating Germanicus from the legions that were attached to him from habit; for setting him over strange provinces, and exposing him at once to casual perils and the efforts

of fraud. But he, the more ardent the affections of the soldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, so much the more intent upon expediting a victory, weighed with himself the methods of bringing on battles, with all the disasters and successes which had befallen him in the war to this his third year. He remembered, "that the Germans were ever routed in a regular battle and upon ground adapted to fighting; that they were benefited by woods and bogs, short summers, and early winters; that his own men suffered not so much from their wounds, as from the length of the marches, and the loss of the instruments of war: the Gauls were weary of furnishing horses; long and cumbersome was his train of baggage, easily surprised, and with difficulty defended: but if the country should be entered by sea, it would be easy for them to get possession of favourable ground, while the enemy would be unaware of their movement: besides, the war would be earlier begun; the legions and provisions conveyed together; and the horsemen and horses brought with safety, through the mouths and channels of the rivers, into the heart of Germany."

6. To this object, therefore, he directed his efforts: whilst Publius Vitellius and Publius Cantius were sent to collect the tribute of the Gauls, Silius, Anteius, and Cæcina had the direction of building the fleet: a thousand vessels were thought sufficient, and quickly finished: some were short, with narrow stern and prow, and broad in the middle, the easier to endure the shock of the waves: some had flat bottoms, that without damage they might run aground: several had helms at each end, that by suddenly turning the oars, they might work either way. Many were furnished with decks, upon which the engines of war might be conveyed, and were fitted for carrying horses or provisions, convenient for sails, and swift with oars; the effective and formidable appearance of the fleet was heightened by the spirit of the troops. The Isle of Batavia, by reason of its easy landings, its convenience for receiving the forces, and transporting them to the war, was appointed as the place of rendezvous. For the Rhine, flowing in one uninterrupted channel, or broken by small islands, is, at the commencement of Batavia, divided as it were into two rivers; one retaining its name and the violence of its course, where it flows by Germany, till it mixes with the ocean; the other washing the Gallic shore, with a broader and more gentle stream, is by the inhabitants called by another name, the Wahal, which it soon after

changes for that of the river Meuse, by whose immense mouth it is discharged into the same ocean.

7. But while the ships were being brought up, Germanicus commanded Silius his lieutenant with a flying band to invade the Cattians; and he himself, upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was besieged, led six legions thither: but the sudden rains prevented Silius from doing more than taking some small plunder, with the wife and daughter of Arpus, prince of the Cattians; nor did the besiegers stay to fight Germanicus, but upon the report of his approach stole off and dispersed: they had, however, thrown down the barrow lately raised to the Varian legions, and the old altar erected to Drusus. He restored the altar; and the prince himself, with the legions, performed a solemn procession to the honour of his father; but he did not think proper to raise a fresh barrow; all the space, too, between fort Aliso and the Rhine, he secured with new barriers and ramparts.

8. And now the fleet had arrived; when, having sent the stores forward, and assigned ships to the legions and the allies, he entered the canal named after Drusus, and prayed to his father, "to be propitious and favourable to him, and aid him in attempting the same enterprises, by the inspiration of his example, and the recollection of his counsels and achievements." Thence he sailed prosperously through the lakes and the ocean as far as the river Amisia. The fleet being left at Amisia, upon the left shore, (and it was a fault that it sailed no higher up); he put the troops over by bridges, their destination being to the territories on the right; thus many days were consumed in making bridges. The horse and the legions crossed the æstuaries at the mouth of the river without confusion, as it was yet ebb; but the auxiliaries forming the rear, and among them the Batavians, while they played with the waves, and showed their dexterity in swimming, were thrown into disorder, and some were drowned. Whilst Germanicus was encamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him; thither he despatched a body of horse and light infantry, under Stertinius, who with fire and slaughter revenged their perfidy.

9. Between the Romans and the Cheruskans flowed the river Visurgis: on its bank stood Arminius, with the other chiefs, inquiring whether Germanicus was come; and being answered that he was there, he prayed leave to speak with his brother: this brother of his was in the

army, his name Flavius, remarkable for his fidelity, and for the loss of an eye under Tiberius: permission was then granted. Flavius advancing, was saluted by Arminius, who having removed his own attendants, requested that the archers, ranged upon our bank, might retire: when they were gone, "how came you," he asked his brother, "by that deformity in your face?" The brother having informed him where, and in what fight, he desired to know, "what reward he had received?" Flavius answered, "increase of pay, the chain, the crown, and other military gifts;" which Arminius treated with derision, as the vile wages of servitude.

10. After that they began in different strains: Flavius urged "the Roman greatness, the power of Cæsar, the severe punishment inflicted on the vanquished; and the clemency vouchsafed to those who submitted; that neither the wife nor son of Arminius was treated as a captive." Arminius to this opposed "the claims of country, their hereditary liberty, the domestic gods of Germany; their mother, who joined in his prayer that he would not prefer the character of a deserter, and a betrayer of his kinsmen and connections, in short, of his race, to that of their general." From this they gradually proceeded to invectives; nor would the interposition of the river have restrained them from an encounter, had not Stertinius, running to him, held back Flavius, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horse. On the opposite side was seen Arminius, menacing furiously and proclaiming battle. For, most of what he said in this dialogue was in Latin; having, as the general of his countrymen, served in the Roman camp.

11. Next day, the German army stood in order of battle beyond the Visurgis. Germanicus, who thought it became not a general to endanger the legions in the passage without bridges and guards, made the horse ford over. They were led by Stertinius, and Æmilius one of the principal centurions, who entered the river at distant places, to divide the attention of the foe. Cariovalda, captain of the Batavians, dashed through where most rapid, and was by the Cheruskans, who feigned flight, drawn into a plain surrounded with woods. Then starting up at once, and pouring upon him on every side, they overthrew those who resisted, and pressed after those who gave way, who at length forming themselves into a circle, were assailed by some hand to hand, by others were annoyed with missiles. Cariovalda, having long sustained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to break through the assailing bands in a solid body; he himself charged into the thick-

est, and fell under a shower of darts, his horse also being killed, and many nobles fell around him: the rest were saved by their own bravery, or by the cavalry under Stertinius and Æmilius, which came up to their assistance.

12. Germanicus, having passed the Visurgis, learnt from a deserter that Arminius had marked out the place of battle; that more nations had also joined him at a wood sacred to Hercules, and would attempt to storm our camp by night. The deserter was believed; the enemy's fires were in view; and the scouts, having advanced towards them, reported that they had heard the neighing of horses, and the murmur of a mighty and tumultuous host. Being thus upon the eve of a decisive battle, Germanicus thought it behoved him to learn the sentiments of the soldiers, and deliberated with himself how to get at the truth: "the reports of the tribunes and centurions were oftener agreeable than true; the freedmen had servile spirits; friends were apt to flatter; if an assembly were called, there too the counsel proposed by a few was carried by the clamorous plaudits of the rest. The minds of soldiers could then only be thoroughly known when by themselves, free from all restraint, and over their mess, they gave unreserved utterance to their hopes and fears."

13. At nightfall, he went out of the pavilion with a single attendant; the skin of a wild beast covering his shoulders; and proceeding by a secret way, where there were no sentinels, entered the avenues of the camp, stationed himself near the tents, and eagerly listened to what was said of himself; while one magnified the imperial birth of his general, another his graceful person, very many his firmness, condescension, and the evenness of his temper, whether seriously occupied or in moments of relaxation; and they confessed that their sense of his merits should be shown in battle, protesting at the same time that those traitors and violators of peace should be made a sacrifice to vengeance and to fame. In the mean time, one of the enemy who understood Latin, rode up to the palisades, and, with a loud voice, offered, in the name of Arminius, to every deserter a wife and land, and as long as the war lasted an hundred sesterces a day. This affront kindled the wrath of the legions: "Let day come," they cried, "battle should be given: the soldiers would themselves take the lands of the Germans; lead away wives by right of conquest; they, however, welcomed the omen, and considered the wealth and women of the enemy as their destined prey." About the third watch an attempt was made upon the camp, but not a dart was discharged, as

they found the cohorts planted thick upon the works, and nothing neglected that was necessary for a vigorous defence.

14. Germanicus had the same night a cheering dream : he thought he sacrificed, and, in place of his own robe besmeared with the blood of the victim, received one fairer from the hands of his grandmother Augusta. Elated by the omen, and the auspices being favourable, he called an assembly, and laid before them what in his judgment seemed likely to be advantageous and suitable for the impending battle. He said, "that to the Roman soldiers not only plains, but, with due circumspection, even woods and forests were convenient : the huge targets, the enormous spears of the Barbarians, could never be wielded amongst trunks of trees and thickets of underwood, shooting up from the ground, like Roman swords and javelins, and armour fitting the body ; that they should reiterate their blows, and aim at the face with their swords ; the Germans had neither helmet nor coat of mail ; their bucklers were not even strengthened with leather, or iron, but mere contextures of twigs, and boards of no substance flourished over with paint ; their first rank was armed with pikes, in some sort, the rest had only stakes burnt at the end, or short darts : and now to come to their persons, as they were terrific to sight, and vigorous enough for a brief effort, so they were utterly impatient of wounds : unaffected with shame for misconduct, and destitute of respect for their generals, they would quit their posts, or run away before the enemy : cowards in adversity, in prosperity despisers of all divine, of all human laws : if, weary of marches and sea voyages, they wished an end of these things, by this battle it was presented to them : the Elbe was now nearer than the Rhine ; there was nothing to subdue beyond this ; they had only to place him, crowned with victory, in the same country which had witnessed the triumphs of his father and uncle, in whose footsteps he was treading." The ardour of the soldiers was kindled by this speech of the general, and the signal for the onset was given.

15. Neither did Arminius, or the other chiefs, neglect solemnly to assure their several bands, that "these were Romans ; the most desperate fugitives of the Varian army, who to avoid the hardships of war had put on the character of rebels ; who, without any hope of success, were again braving the angry gods, and exposing to their exasperated foes, some of them, backs burthened with wounds, others, limbs enfeebled with the effects of storms

and tempests. Their motive for having recourse to a fleet and the pathless regions of the ocean was, that no one might oppose them as they approached or pursue them when repulsed; but when they engaged hand to hand, vain would be the help of winds and oars after a defeat: the Germans needed only remember their rapine, cruelty, and pride; was any other course left them than to maintain their liberty, and if they could not do that, to die before they took a yoke upon them?"

16. The enemy thus inflamed, and calling for battle, were led into a plain called Idistavisus: it lies between the Visurgis and the hills, and winds irregularly along, as it is encroached upon by the projecting bases of the mountains, or enlarged by the receding banks of the river: at their rear rose a majestic forest, the branches of the trees shooting up into the air, but the ground clear between their trunks: the army of Barbarians occupied the plain, and the entrances of the forest: the Cherusicans alone sat in ambush upon the mountain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans, when engaged in the fight. Our army marched thus; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front, after them the foot archers, next four legions, and then Germanicus with two prætorian cohorts, and the choice of the cavalry; then four legions more, and the light foot with the mounted archers, and the other cohorts of the allies; the men were on the alert and in readiness, so that the order of march might form the order of battle when they halted.

17. As the bands of Cherusicans who had impatiently rushed forward were now perceived, Germanicus commanded the most efficient of his horse to charge them in the flank, and Stertinius with the rest to wheel round to attack them in the rear, and promised to be ready to assist them at the proper moment. Meanwhile an omen of happiest import appeared; eight eagles, seen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it, caught the eye of the general: "Advance!" he cried, "follow the Roman birds; follow the tutelar deities of the legions!" At once the foot charged, and the cavalry sent forward attacked their flank and rear: and strange to relate, the two divisions of their army fled opposite ways; that in the woods ran to the plain, that in the plain rushed into the woods. The Cherusicans between both, were driven from the hills; amongst them Arminius formed a conspicuous object, while with his hand, his voice, and the exhibition of his wounds, he strove to sustain the fight: he had vigorously assaulted the archers, and would have broken through them, had



not the cohorts of the Rhætians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, advanced to oppose him: however, by his own personal effort, and the impetus of his horse, he made good his passage; his face besmeared with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related that the Chauicians, who were amongst the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go: the same bravery or stratagem procured Inguiomerus his escape: the rest were slain on all hands; great numbers attempting to swim the Visurgis, perished, either by the darts showered after them, or the violence of the current; or if they escaped these they were overwhelmed by the weight of the rushing crowd, and the banks which fell upon them: some, seeking an ignominious refuge, climbed to the tops of trees, and concealing themselves amongst the branches, were shot in sport by the archers, who were brought up for the purpose; others were dashed against the ground as the trees were felled. This was a great victory, and withal achieved without loss on our side.

18. This slaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour of the day till night, filled the country for ten miles with carcasses and arms. Amongst the spoils, chains were found, which, sure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The soldiers saluted Tiberius as 'Imperator,' upon the field of battle, and, raising a mound, placed upon it, after the manner of trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquished nations inscribed below.

19. This sight filled the Germans with more anguish and rage than all their wounds, afflictions, and overthrows. They, who were just now prepared to abandon their dwellings, and retire beyond the Elbe, meditate war and grasp their arms; people, nobles, youth, aged, all rush suddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and disorder it. Lastly, they chose a position shut in by a river and a forest, the inner space being a confined and humid plain; the forest too surrounded with a deep marsh, except that the Agrivarii had elevated one side by erecting a broad mound to part them and the Cheruskans. Here their foot were posted: their horse were concealed amongst the neighbouring groves, that they might be on the rear of the legions when they had entered the wood.

20. Nothing of all this was a secret to Germanicus. He knew their counsels, their stations; their overt movements and their concealed measures; and turned their subtlety to the destruction of themselves. To Seius Tubero, his lieutenant, he committed the horse and the field; the infantry he so formed, that part might pass the level ap-

proaches into the wood, and the rest force their way up the rampart: whatever was arduous he reserved to himself, the rest he committed to his lieutenants. Those who had the even ground to traverse, easily forced an entrance, but they who were to storm the rampart, were battered from above, as if they had been assaulting a wall. The general perceived the inequality of this close encounter, and drawing off the legions a small distance, ordered the slingers and engineers to discharge their missiles, and dislodge the enemy: immediately darts were poured from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more conspicuous they were, with the more wounds were beaten down. Germanicus, having taken the rampart, first forced his way, at the head of the prætorian cohorts, into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot: behind the enemy was the morass, behind the Romans the mountains or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour; no safety but in victory.

21. The Germans were not inferior in courage, but in the mode of fighting and the nature of their arms; as their vast numbers, hampered in narrow places, could not push forward nor recover their immense spears; nor practise their usual assaults and rapid motions, being compelled by their crowded condition to adopt a stationary mode of fight. On the contrary, our soldiers, with shields fitted to their breasts, and their hands firmly grasping their sword-hilts, could gash the brawny limbs and naked faces of the Barbarians, and open themselves a way with havoc of the enemy. Besides, the activity of Arminius now failed him; either exhausted by a succession of disasters, or disabled by his recent wound. Nay, Inguionerus too, who flew from place to place throughout the battle, was abandoned by fortune rather than courage. Germanicus, to be the easier known, pulled off his helmet, and exhorted his men, "To prosecute the slaughter; they wanted no captives, he said, the extermination of the people alone would put an end to the war." It was now late in the day, and he drew off a legion to pitch a camp; the rest glutted themselves till night with the blood of the foe: the horse fought with doubtful success.

22. Germanicus, having in a public harangue praised his victorious troops, raised a pile of arms, with this proud inscription: "That the army of Tiberius Cæsar, having subdued the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe, had consecrated these memorials to Mars, to Jupiter, and to Augustus." Of himself he made no mention; either fearful of provoking envy, or that he felt satisfied with the

consciousness of his own merit. He next charged Stertinius with the war amongst the Angrivarians; and he would have proceeded, had they not made haste to submit; approaching as supplicants, and making a full confession of their guilt, they received pardon without reserve.

23. The summer being now far advanced, some of the legions were sent back into winter-quarters by land; the greater part Cæsar put on board the fleet and conveyed them along the Amisia to the Ocean. The sea, at first serene, resounded only with the oars of a thousand ships, or their impulse when under sail; but presently a shower of hail poured down from a black mass of clouds; at the same time, storms raging on all sides, in every variety, the billows rolling, now here now there, obstructed the view, and made it impossible to manage the ships: the soldiers too, unaccustomed to the perils of the sea, while in their alarm they embarrassed the mariners or helped them awkwardly, rendered unavailing the services of the skilful. After this the whole expanse of air and sea was swept by a south-west wind; which, deriving strength from the mountainous regions of Germany, its deep rivers, and boundless tract of clouded atmosphere, and rendered still harsher by the rigour of the neighbouring north, tore away the ships, scattered and drove them into the open ocean, or upon islands dangerous from precipitous rocks or the hidden sand-banks which beset them. Having got a little clear of these, but with great difficulty, the tide turning and flowing in the same direction as that in which the wind blew, they were unable to ride at anchor, or bale out the water that broke in upon them; horses, beasts of burthen, baggage, even arms, were thrown overboard, to lighten the holds of the vessels, which took in water at their sides, and from the waves too running over them.

24. By how much the Ocean is more stormy than other seas, and Germany exceeds other countries in the rigour of its climate, by so much this disaster surpassed in point of magnitude and the peculiarity of its circumstances. Around them were either shores inhabited by enemies, or a sea so vast and unfathomable as to be supposed the limit of the world, and unbounded by lands. Part of the fleet were swallowed up; many were driven upon remote islands, where, without a trace of civilised humanity, the men perished through famine, or were kept alive by the carcasses of horses that were dashed upon the same shore. The galley of Germanicus alone reached the coast of the Chaucians, where, during the whole period of his stay, both day and night, amid the rocks and prominences of

the shore, he reproached himself as the author of such overwhelming destruction, and was hardly restrained by his friends from destroying himself in the same sea. At last, with the returning tide, and favouring gale, the shattered ships returned, almost all destitute of oars, or with garments spread for sails; and some towed by those that were less disabled. He repaired them hastily, and despatched them to search the islands; by this diligence the greater part were gleaned up; many were by the Angri-varians, our new subjects, redeemed from their more inland neighbours and restored; and some, driven into Great Britain, were sent back by the petty kings. Each according to the remoteness of the regions he had returned from, recounted the wonders he had witnessed: "The impetuosity of whirlwinds; strange birds; sea-monsters of ambiguous forms between man and beast;" things either seen, or fancied from the effects of fear.

25. Intelligence of this wreck animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war; which Germanicus perceiving, he resolved to check them. He commanded Caius Silius, with thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, to march into the country of the Cattians; he himself with a greater force invaded the Marsians, where he learnt from Maloendus, their general, lately taken into our subjection, that the eagle of one of Varus's legions, was hid under ground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a slender guard. Instantly two parties were despatched; one to face the enemy and draw them from their post, the other to march round upon their rear and open the ground: success attended both. Hence Germanicus advanced towards the interior with greater alacrity, laid waste the country, and destroyed the effects of the foe, either not daring to engage, or, wherever they engaged, instantly defeated; nor, as was learnt from the prisoners, were they ever more dismayed: "The Romans, they exclaimed, are invincible; no calamities can subdue them, they have wrecked their fleet; their arms are lost, our shores are covered with the bodies of their horses and men; and yet they have invaded us with their usual spirit, with the same firmness, and as if their numbers were increased."

26. The army was thence led back into winter-quarters, full of joy to have balanced, by this prosperous expedition, their misfortune at sea; and by the bounty of Germanicus, their joy was heightened, since to each sufferer he paid as much as each declared he had lost; neither was it doubted but the enemy were tottering, and concerting measures for

obtaining peace, and that the next summer would terminate the war. But Tiberius, by frequent letters, pressed him "To come home to the triumph decreed him; urged, that he had experienced enough of events and casualties; he had indeed fought great and successful battles; but he must likewise remember his losses and calamities, which, however owing to wind and waves, and no fault of the general, were yet great and grievous. He himself had been sent nine times into Germany by Augustus, and effected much more by policy than arms; it was thus he had brought the Sugambrians into subjection, thus the Suevians, thus king Maroboduus had been obliged to submit to terms. The Cheruscans too, and the other hostile nations, now the Roman honour was vindicated, might be left to pursue their own intestine feuds." Germanicus besought one year to accomplish his conquest; but Tiberius assailed his modesty with fresh importunity, by offering him another consulship, the duties of which would require his presence; he added, "That if the war was still to be prosecuted, he should leave materials for the fame of his brother Drusus, who, as there then remained no other enemy, could acquire the title of 'Imperator,' and earn the privilege of presenting the laurel, in Germany alone." Germanicus persisted no longer; though he knew that this was all hypocrisy, and that through envy he was torn away from a harvest of ripe glory.

27. About this time, Libo Drusus, of the Scribonian family, was charged with attempts against the state; and, because then first were devised those arts which for so many years preyed upon the commonweal, I will lay open with the more exactness the beginning, progress, and issue of this affair. Firmius Catus, the senator, availing himself of an intimate friendship with Libo, induced that youth, unwary as he was, and open to impositions, to try the predictions of the Chaldæans, the mysteries of magicians, and even the interpreters of dreams; perpetually suggesting to him that "Pompey was his great-grandfather, Scribonia, once the wife of Augustus, his aunt, the Cæsars his kinsmen; and his house crowded with images:" tempting him to luxury and debt; sharing in his excesses and his obligations, in order to insure his conviction by multiplying the evidences of his guilt.

28. When he found he had witnesses enough, and some slaves, who were also privy to Libo's conduct, he sought access to the emperor; having first by Flaccus Vescularius, a Roman knight, more intimate with Tiberius, represented to him the person he accused and the charge. Ti-

berius slighted not his information, but denied him access, "For that communications," he said, "might be still interchanged through the medium of Flaccus." In the mean time, he preferred Libo to the prætorship, entertained him at his table, showed no signs of aversion in his countenance, no resentment in his words (so deeply had he smothered his vengeance), and when he might have restrained all the speeches and practices of Libo, he preferred to know them; till one Junius, who was solicited to raise ghosts, gave information to Fulcinius Trio, who was distinguished for his talents as an accuser above others of that fraternity, and had an appetite for infamous notoriety. Instantly Trio seized upon the accused, went before the consuls, and demanded that the senate should take cognizance of the charge; and the fathers were summoned, with special intimation, that "They were to deliberate on an affair of magnitude and the most serious importance."

39. Libo meanwhile putting on mourning, went from house to house, accompanied by ladies of the highest rank, supplicated his kindred, and solicited their voices to avert the dangers which threatened him. But every one of them declined his suit, each upon a different pretence, but, in reality, all from the same fear. The day the senate sat, worn out with fear and disease, or, as some relate, feigning it, he was borne in a litter to the doors of the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with suppliant hands and words, he addressed himself to Tiberius, who received him with unmoved countenance. The emperor next recited the articles against him, and named the accusers; so restraining himself as to appear neither to extenuate nor aggravate the force of the charges.

30. To Trio and Catus, two other accusers, Fonteius Agrippa and Caius Vibius, joined themselves, and strove who should have the right to implead the accused; at last, when no one would yield to the other, and Libo was come unprovided with a pleader, Vibius undertook to state the several heads of the charge, and produced articles so extravagant, that they represented Libo as having consulted the fortunetellers, "Whether he should ever have wealth enough to cover the Appian road with money as far as Brundusium." There were others of the same kind, foolish, chimerical, or (to apply a milder term to them) pitiful; but in one document the accuser urged that to the names of the Cæsars or senators were appended characters of deadly or mysterious import, written in the hand of Libo. Libo denied it, and hence it was resolved to examine by torture his conscious slaves; but seeing it was

prohibited by an ancient decree of the senate, to put servants to the question in a trial touching the life of their master, the crafty Tiberius invented a new law to elude the old, and ordered these slaves to be severally sold to the public steward, that by this expedient, evidence against Libo might be obtained from his servants, without violating the decree. Upon this, Libo prayed an adjournment till the next day, and returning to his own house, transmitted, by his kinsman, Publius Quirinius, his prayers to the emperor, his last resort; but he replied, that "He must make his request to the senate."

31. His house was in the meantime encompassed with a band of soldiers. They made a rout even in the vestibule on purpose to be seen and heard. When Libo, thus tortured at the very banquet which he had prepared as the last gratification of his life, called for a minister of death, grasped the hands of his slaves and put a sword into them; but they, in their confusion and efforts to shun the task, overturned the lamp set on the table; and in this darkness, now to him the shades of death, he gave himself two stabs in the bowels; as he groaned and fell, his freedmen sprang in, and the soldiers seeing that he was slain, retired. The charge against him however was gone through with in the senate, with the same formality, and Tiberius vowed "That he would have interceded for his life, though convicted, if he had not thus hastily died by his own hands."

32. His estate was divided amongst his accusers; and those of them who bore the rank of senators were, without the ceremony of an election, preferred to prætorships. Then Cotta Messalinus moved that "The image of Libo might not accompany the funerals of his posterity;" Cneius Lentulus, that "None of the Scribonii should assume the surname of Drusus." On the motion of Pomponius Flaccus, days of thanksgiving were appointed: that "Gifts should be presented to Jupiter, to Mars, and to the goddess Concord; and that the thirteenth of September, the day on which Libo slew himself, should be an established festival" were the votes of L. Publius and Asinius Gallus, of Papius Mutilus and of Lucius Apronius. I have related the suggestions and sycophancy of these men, to show that this is an inveterate evil in the state. Decrees of the senate were likewise made for expelling astrologers and magicians out of Italy; and one of them, Lucius Pituanius, was precipitated from the Tarpeian rock: on Publius Marcius, another of the consuls, at the sound of trumpet inflicted punishment without the Esquiline gate, according to the ancient form.

33. Next time the senate sat, much was said against the luxury of the city by Quintus Haterius, a man of consular rank, and by Octavius Fronto, formerly prætor; and a law was passed "Against using vessels of solid gold in serving up repasts; and against men's disgracing themselves with silken garments." Fronto went beyond this proposition, and submitted that "The quantities of silver plate, the expense of furniture, and the number of domestics, might be limited." For it was yet common for senators, instead of speaking to the question, to offer whatever they judged conducive to the interest of the commonweal. Against him it was argued by Asinius Gallus, "That with the growth of the empire private riches had also increased, and that it was no new thing, but agreeable to the most primitive usage; that the measure of private wealth in the time of the Fabricii was different from that in the time of the Scipios, but both proportioned to the condition of the state; if the state was poor, the establishments of citizens were on a small scale; but, when the state rose to such a height of magnificence, individuals advanced in splendour; that neither in domestics, plate, or necessary expense, was there any standard of excess or frugality, but from the means of the owner: a distinction was made between the fortunes of senators and of knights, not for any natural difference between them, but that they who excelled in place, rank, and honours, might excel too in other things, such as conduced to the health of the body, or to the relaxation of the mind; unless it were expected that the most illustrious citizens should sustain more than their share of cares, and expose themselves to greater dangers than others, but continue destitute of every solace of fatigue and danger." The sentiments of Gallus met with ready assent; those who spoke were not ashamed to confess their vices, by clothing them in language which belonged to virtue, while those who spoke not sympathised with them from the similarity of their own habits. Tiberius closed the discussion with the remark, "That that was not the time for correcting these matters; but if there were any corruption of manners, there would not be wanting one to advise a reformation."

34. During these transactions, Lucius Piso, after inveighing against "the intrigues of the forum, the corruption of the tribunals, and the brutal proceedings of informers, who filled the city with alarm by threats of impeachment," declared "he would retire and abandon Rome, and live in some secluded and remote part of the country." With these words he left the senate: Tiberius was stung by



these remarks; and though he had soothed him with gentle words, he also urged Piso's relations, by their authority or entreaties to prevent his departure. The same Piso gave soon after no less remarkable a proof of earnest independence, by prosecuting a suit against Urgulania; a lady whom the partial friendship of Livia had set above the laws. Urgulania was conveyed for shelter to the palace, and in defiance of Piso disobeyed the summons; but Piso persisted, although Augusta complained that she was herself insulted and degraded by this proceeding. Tiberius, who thought he might humour his mother thus far without violating the laws of civil equality, promised to attend the trial, and assist Urgulania; and thus left the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a distance. As the people flocked about him he appeared perfectly composed, walking leisurely along and prolonging the time by conversations on incidental topics; till at length, Piso's friends failing in their efforts to restrain him, the empress ordered the payment of the money claimed by him. This was the issue of the affair; by which Piso lost no renown, and the credit of Tiberius was increased. The power however of Urgulania was so much too great for a state of civil equality, that she disdained to appear a witness in a certain cause which depended before the senate, and a prætor was sent to examine her at her own house; whereas it had been always usual even for the vestal virgins to attend the forum and courts of justice, as oft as their evidence was required.

35. The postponement of public affairs which happened this year, I should not mention, but that the different opinions of Cneius Piso and Asinius Gallus about it, are worth knowing. Piso declared his opinion, that although Tiberius had said "that he should be absent," "for that very reason the prosecution of public business was the rather to be continued; and that for the senate and equestrian order to be able to discharge their functions in the absence of the prince, would redound to the honour of the commonwealth." As Piso had anticipated him in this display of liberal principles, Gallus said, "That nothing truly great, nor suiting the dignity of the Roman people, could be transacted except under the immediate eye of the emperor, and therefore the mass of business which came to Rome from all parts of Italy, and the influx of affairs from the provinces, should be reserved for his presence." Tiberius heard and was silent, while the debate was managed on both sides with great vehemence; but the postponement was carried.

36. A debate too arose between Gallus and the emperor; for Gallus moved, "That the magistrates should be henceforth elected but once every five years; that the lieutenant-generals of legions, who served in that capacity before they had been prætors, should be prætors-elect; and that the prince should nominate twelve candidates every year." It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim; and that by it the secret resources of imperial power were invaded. But Tiberius, as if his power would be augmented by it, argued, "That it would be inconsistent with his moderation to choose, and to postpone so many; that disgusts could scarcely be avoided even in yearly elections, where the hope of success on a speedily occurring occasion, formed a solace for disappointment; how great must be the resentment of those whose pretensions were put off for five years! and whence could it be foreseen that, in so long a tract of time, the same men would continue to have the same sentiments, the same connections and fortune? even an annual designation to power, made men imperious; how much more so if they bore the honour for five years! The influence of magistrates would at once be multiplied fivefold; the laws which had prescribed a proper space for exercising the diligence of candidates, and for soliciting as well as enjoying honours, would be subverted."

37. By this speech, in appearance popular, he prevented encroachments on the imperial power. He likewise sustained by gratuities, the dignity of certain senators; hence it was the more wondered, that he received somewhat superciliously the petition of Marcus Hortalus, a young man of high family and unquestionable poverty. He was the grandson of Hortensius, the orator; and had been induced by the deified Augustus, who presented him with a thousand great sesterces, to marry and have children, to prevent the extinction of a family of the highest renown. The senate were sitting in the palace, and Hortalus having set his four children before the door, fixed his eyes, now upon the statue of Hortensius, placed amongst the orators, then upon that of Augustus; and, instead of speaking to the question, began on this wise: "Conscript fathers, I have not incurred the expense of bringing up these children, whose number and tender years you perceive, by my own choice, but in compliance with the advice of the prince. At the same time, the achievements of my ancestors demanded that their line should be perpetuated; as for myself, since by the revolution of the times I could not raise wealth, nor engage popular favour, nor cultivate the

hereditary fortune of our house, the fortune of eloquence; I deemed it sufficient, if in my slender circumstances, I lived no disgrace to myself, no burden to others. Com-manded by the emperor, I took a wife; behold the off-spring of so many consuls; behold the descendants of so many dictators! nor is this recital made invidiously, but to excite commiseration. If you, Cæsar, continue to flourish, they shall attain to such honours as you may bestow; meanwhile, protect from want the great-grandsons of Hor-tensius, the foster-children of Augustus."

38. The inclination of the senate was favourable; an in-citement this to Tiberius the more eagerly to thwart Hor-talus. These were in effect his words: "If all that are poor come hither and ask for provision for their children, while it will be impossible to satisfy the cravings of individuals, the public funds must fail: our ancestors did not permit an occasional departure from the question, and the pro-posal of something more important to the state, instead of speaking to the subject, that we might here transact do-mestic matters, and augment our private resources; thus bringing odium both on the senate and the prince, whe-ther they grant or deny the bounties petitioned. In truth it is not a petition, but an unreasonable and monstrous importunity, thus while you are assembled upon other affairs, to rise up and seek to move the senate from their propriety by the number and infancy of his children, to transfer the violent attack to me, and as it were break open the treasury, which if we shall exhaust by largess, we must replenish by crime. The deified Augustus gave you money, Hortalus, but without solicitation, and on no condition that it should always be given; otherwise dili-gence will languish, sloth will prevail, if men have no-thing to hope or fear from themselves; and all will look securely for the assistance of others, useless to themselves, and a burden to us." These and similar reflections of Ti-berius, though they were heard with approbation by those whose practice it is to extol whatever proceeds from princes, worthy or unworthy, were received by the ma-jority in silence, or with low murmurs. Tiberius perceived it; and having paused a little, said, "His answer was di-rected particularly to Hortalus; but if the senate thought fit, he would give his sons two hundred great sesterces each." The others returned thanks; but Hortalus said nothing; either from perturbation, or that amidst the embarrassments of adversity he remembered the dignity of his noble ancestry: nor did Tiberius ever after show

pity, though the house of Hortensius was fallen into shameful distress.

39. The same year, the boldness of a single slave had, but for early prevention, torn the state with discord and intestine war. A slave of Posthumus Agrippa, named Clemens, with a spirit that soared high above his condition, having learnt the death of Augustus, conceived a design of sailing to Phanasia, and seizing Agrippa, by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany; but the slowness of the laden vessel defeated his bold purpose; for Agrippa was already murdered. Hence he formed a purpose still more daring and perilous; he stole the funeral ashes, and sailing to Cosa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himself in secluded places till his hair and beard were grown long; for in age and person he was not unlike his master. Then a report, originated by chosen emissaries and the associates of his plot, 'that Agrippa lived,' began to spread; at first by secret communications, as usual in matters of a dangerous nature; but becoming soon a prevailing rumour, it filled the greedy ears of all the most credulous, or was encouraged by persons of a turbulent disposition, and therefore desirous of political convulsions. He himself, when he entered the neighbouring towns, did it at shut of day; never to be seen publicly, nor long in the same place; but as truth is strengthened by observation and time; pretences by haste and uncertainty, he departed, either as soon as his arrival began to be rumoured, or before.

40. It flew through Italy in the mean time, "That by the bounty of the gods, Agrippa was preserved." It was already believed at Rome: on his arrival at Ostia he was greeted by an immense concourse, and in the city by clandestine meetings. Tiberius was bewildered with perplexing doubts, whether he should repress his slave by the power of the sword, or suffer the unfounded persuasion of the public to vanish by the unaided operation of time; now he thought that nothing was to be slighted; now that not everything was to be dreaded, wavering between shame and fear: at last he committed the affair to Sallustius Crispus. Crispus chose two of his clients (some say two soldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign conviction of his identity, to present him with money, to promise to be faithful to him and hazard everything for him. They executed these orders, and afterwards discovering that at night he was without guards, they took a band of men chosen for the purpose, and carried him to the palace, gagged and bound. To Tiberius,

when he asked him, "How he was become Agrippa?" he is said to have answered, "Just as you became Cæsar." He could not be induced to discover his accomplices; neither dared Tiberius venture to execute him publicly, but ordered him to be despatched in a secret part of the palace, and his body to be carried away privately; and though many of the prince's household, many knights and senators, were said to have supported him with money, and assisted him with their counsels, no inquiry followed.

41. At the end of the year, a triumphal arch was raised near the temple of Saturn, in commemoration of the recovery of the eagles lost with Varus, under the conduct of Germanicus, and under the auspices of Tiberius. A temple was dedicated to Fortune near the Tiber, in the gardens bequeathed to the Roman people by Cæsar, the dictator. A chapel was consecrated to the Julian family, and statues to the deified Augustus, at Bovillæ. In the consulship of Caius Cœlius and Lucius Pomponius, on the seventh day before the calends of June, Germanicus Cæsar triumphed over the Cheruskans, the Cattians, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elbe. In the triumph were carried all the spoils and captives, with representations of the mountains, rivers, and battles; the war, because he was restrained from finishing it, was held as finished. His own singularly fine person, and his chariot filled with his five children, heightened the admiration of the beholders: but within were secret apprehensions when they reflected "That popular favour had proved calamitous to his father, Drusus; that his uncle, Marcus, was snatched, in his youth, from the ardent affections of the populace; and that ever short-lived and unfortunate were the favourites of the Roman people."

42. However, Tiberius distributed to the people in the name of Germanicus, three hundred sesterces a man, and named himself his colleague in his consulship. But not even thus gaining credit for sincere affection, on pretence of investing the young prince with fresh honours, he resolved to remove him from Rome: and to accomplish it, craftily framed an occasion, or availed himself of such as chance presented. Archelaus, who had enjoyed the kingdom of Cappadocia now fifty years, had incurred the displeasure of Tiberius, because, during his residence at Rhodes, the king had not paid his respects to him; an omission this which proceeded not from disdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidants of Augustus; for Caius Cæsar, then in his bloom, being sent to compose the affairs of the east, the friendship of Tiberius was

reckoned impolitic; but when on the overthrow of the family of the Cæsars he had gained the empire, he enticed Archelaus to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, professing to be offended at her son, held out hopes of pardon if he came and implored it: either in ignorance of the snare, or dreading violence if he appeared to perceive it, he hastened to the city. He was received by Tiberius with great sternness, and soon after accused before the senate, when, not on account of the crimes alleged against him, which were mere fictions, but from distress of mind, together with the infirmities of age, and because ordinary treatment is not suited to the habits of kings, much less the deepest humiliation, he finished his mortal career, either by his own act, or in the course of nature. His kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues Tiberius declaring that the tax of the hundredth penny might be abated, reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the same time Antiochus, king of Commagena, and Philopator, king of Cilicia, dying, great commotions shook these nations; whilst some desired the Roman, and others a kingly government. The provinces too of Syria and Judea, oppressed with impositions, prayed an abatement of tribute.

43. These affairs, and such as I have above related concerning Armenia, Tiberius represented to the fathers, and "That the commotions of the east could only be settled by the wisdom of Germanicus: for himself, he was now declining in years, while Drusus was not yet at maturity." The provinces beyond the sea were then decreed to Germanicus, with authority wherever he went, superior to those who obtained provinces by lot, or the will of the prince. But Tiberius had removed from Syria Creticus Silanus, who was united to Germanicus by affinity, the daughter of Silanus being betrothed to Nero, the oldest of his children, and set over it Cneius Piso, a man of violent and unyielding temper, inheriting the turbulent spirit of his father Piso; who, in the civil war, assisted the reviving party against Cæsar in Africa, with vehement efforts; then followed Brutus and Cassius; and being permitted to come home, he sought not any public offices; but afterwards being importuned to accept a consulship offered him by Augustus, he yielded. Besides his hereditary impetuosity, the nobility and wealth of Plancina, his wife, ministered fuel to his ambition; yielding to Tiberius, he despised as men far beneath him the sons of Tiberius; neither did he doubt but he was set over Syria on purpose to defeat the views of Germanicus. Some be-

lieved that he had secret orders from Tiberius; certain it was that Livia, in the spirit of female rivalry, prompted Plancina to persecute Agrippina. For the whole court was rent, and their affections secretly divided between Drusus and Germanicus. Tiberius was partial to Drusus, as his own son by generation; others loved Germanicus, the more for the aversion of his uncle, and for being, by his mother, of more illustrious descent; as he could boast of Marc Antony his grandfather, and Augustus his great uncle. On the other side, Pomponius Atticus, the great-grandfather of Drusus, being but a Roman knight, seemed to bring a stain upon the images of the Claudian house: besides, Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, in fruitfulness and reputation, far excelled Livia the wife of Drusus: but the brothers were patterns of unanimity, and could not be moved by the contentions amongst their adherents.

44. Drusus was soon after sent into Illyricum to inure him to war, and gain the affections of the army: besides, Tiberius thought that the youth who grew wanton amid the luxuries of Rome, would be reformed in the camp, and that it would be safer for himself that both his sons should be at the head of legions. But the pretence for sending him was the protection of the Suevians, who implored assistance against the Cheruskans. For on the departure of the Romans, those nations, being now free from foreign alarms, by the force of national habit, and at that time also from rivalry in the career of fame, had turned their swords upon each other. The two people were equally powerful; their leaders equally brave; but the title of king had brought the aversion of his countrymen upon Maroboduus; whilst Arminius, as the champion of liberty, was the object of affection.

45. Hence not only the Cheruskans and their allies, the ancient soldiery of Arminius, took arms; but the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even subjects of Maroboduus, came over to him; and by their accession he would have had the advantage; but Inguiomerus with his band of followers deserted to Maroboduus; for no other cause than disdain that the veteran uncle should obey his youthful nephew. Both armies were drawn out with equal hopes; and fought, not as usual with the Germans, in scattered parties and desultory attacks; for in the long war with us they had learnt to follow their standards, to form reserves to support their line, and to observe the orders of their generals. On this occasion, Arminius inspected the whole array on horseback, and as he

approached the several bands, he brought before their view "their liberty recovered, the slaughtered legions, and the spoils and arms wrested from the Romans still in the hands of many." On the other hand, calling Maroboduus a runaway, he described him as one who was inexperienced in fighting; who had sought defence from the coverts of Hercynia, and then by gifts and embassies courted the alliance of Rome; a betrayer of his country; a lifeguardsman of Cæsar's, worthy to be exterminated in the indignant spirit with which they had slaughtered Quinctilius Varus. Let them only remember their many battles, the issue of which, and at length the expulsion of the Romans, were proof enough which side had the advantage in the war."

46. Neither did Maroboduus fail to boast of himself and vituperate the foe; but, holding Inguiomerus by the hand, "He protested that the whole glory of the Cheruskans, centred in him, and that by his counsels had been conducted whatever had terminated successfully: Arminius, a man of a frantic spirit, and a novice in affairs, appropriated the glory of another, by treacherously surprising three legions left to themselves and their unsuspecting leader; thus involving Germany in slaughter, and himself in infamy, for his wife and son still endured captivity. For himself, when attacked formerly by Tiberius at the head of twelve legions, he had preserved unstained the glory of Germany, and on equal terms ended the war: nor did he repent of having put it in their own power to choose whether they would renew the war with unimpaired resources, or continue in peace and security." The armies, besides the incitement from these speeches, were animated by motives of their own: the Cheruskans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; on the other side, the contest was for an extension of dominion. Never did they engage with greater effort, or with more equivocal success; the right wing of both armies being routed, a fresh encounter was expected, till Maroboduus drew off his army to the hills; a sign that he was humbled; and reduced by successive desertions, he retired to the Marcomannians, and thence sent ambassadors to Tiberius to implore succour. They were answered, "That he had no right to invoke aid of the Roman arms against the Cheruskans; since to the Romans, while they were warring with the same foe, he had never administered any assistance." Drusus was however despatched, as I have said, to preserve the tranquillity of the empire.

47. The same year, twelve populous cities of Asia fell in



ruins from an earthquake which happened by night, and therefore the more sudden and destructive was the calamity; neither did the usual mode of escape in such events by rushing into the open space avail now, as those who fled were swallowed up by the yawning earth. It is related, "That immense mountains sank down, that level places were seen to be elevated into hills, and that fires flashed forth during the catastrophe." The Sardinians suffered most severely from the destructive visitation, and therefore received the greatest share of compassion; for Tiberius promised them a hundred thousand great sesterces, and remitted all their contributions to the public treasury and the prince's privy purse, for five years. The inhabitants of Magnesia under Mount Sipylus, were held the next in sufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, the Egeatæ, Apollonians, with those called the Mostenians or Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hierocesarea, Cyme, and Tmolus, were all for the same term exempted from tribute; and it was resolved to send one of the senate to view their present emergency, and administer relief: Marcus Aletus was therefore chosen, one of prætorian rank; lest, as a man of consular rank then governed Asia, jealousy might arise between persons of equal rank, and the business be impeded thereby.

48. The credit of this noble bounty to the public Cæsar increased by acts of private beneficence equally popular; the estate of the wealthy Emilia Musa, who died intestate, and which was claimed for the prince's purse, he surrendered to Emilius Lepidus, to whose family she seemed to belong; as also to Marcus Servilius the inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself; but he found Servilius named sole heir in a former and well-authenticated will; alleging that such was "the nobility of both, that they deserved to be supported." Nor did he ever accept any man's inheritance, but where friendship gave him a title; the wills of such as were strangers to him, and of such as, from pique to others, had appointed the prince their heir, he utterly rejected. But, as he relieved the honest poverty of the virtuous, so he degraded from the senate, (or suffered to quit it of their own accord) Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appianus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius, who were spendthrifts and brought themselves to poverty by misconduct.

49. About this time, Tiberius consecrated the temples of the gods consumed by age or fire, the building of which

had been begun by Augustus ; that near the great circus, vowed by Aulus Posthumius the dictator, to Bacchus, Proserpina, and Ceres ; in the same place, the temple of Flora, founded by Lucius Publicius and Marcus Publicius, while they were ædiles ; the temple of Janus, built in the herb-market by Caius Duillius, who first signalled the Roman power at sea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by Germanicus : this temple Atilius had vowed in the same war.

50. The law of violated majesty, in the meantime, was advancing rapidly, and an informer charged Apuleia Varilia, grand-niece to Augustus and descended from his sister, with vilifying the deified Augustus, Tiberius, and his mother, in defamatory language ; and though nearly allied to the emperor, with having committed adultery. Concerning the adultery, sufficient provision was thought to be already made by the Julian law : in the charge of treason, Tiberius desired that a distinction should be made : “ If she had spoke irreverently of Augustus, she must be condemned ; but, for invectives against himself, he would not have her called to account.” The consul asked him, “ What were his sentiments respecting the aspersions of his mother, which the accused was charged with uttering.” To this he made no answer ; but at the next sitting of the senate, he prayed too in her name, “ that no words in whatsoever manner spoken against her, might be imputed to any one as a crime ;” he thus caused Apuleia to be released from the charge of treason ; of her punishment too for adultery he begged a mitigation, and prevailed that, “ according to the example of our ancestors, she should be removed by her kindred two hundred miles from Rome.” Manlius, her adulterer, was banished Italy and Africa.

51. A contest at this time arose about substituting a prætor in the room of Vipsanius Gallus, removed by death : Germanicus and Drusus (for they were yet at Rome) patronised Haterius Agrippa, a relation of Germanicus ; the majority, on the contrary, insisted that the greater number of children should be a ground of preference in candidates, for such was the law. Tiberius rejoiced to see the senate adjudicating between his sons and the laws : the law, without doubt, was vanquished, yet not easily, and by a small majority, in the same manner as laws were vanquished when laws were in force.

52. This year a war began in Africa, under the conduct of Tacfarinas. He was a native of Numidia, and had served amongst the auxiliaries in the Roman armies ; but

soon deserting, he collected, at first a herd of vagabonds and men inured to robberies, for purposes of depredation and rapine; then formed them like an army, into regular companies of foot and troops of horse; at length he was no longer esteemed the leader of a disorderly gang, but as general of the Musulianians. This powerful people, bordering upon the deserts of Africa, still uncivilised and without towns, took arms and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors; these too had a general, named Mazippa, and between the two leaders the army was divided; so that Tacfarinas might keep the flower of the army in camp, armed after the Roman manner, and accustom them to discipline and obedience, Mazippa with a flying band might carry fire, slaughter, and terror through the surrounding neighbourhood. They had likewise forced the Cinithians into their measures; a nation far from contemptible; when Furius Camillus, proconsul of Africa, marched against the enemy with one legion and what troops of the allies were under his command collected together, a handful of men, when compared with the multitude of Numidians and Moors! But it was his chief care that they should not be induced by fear to evade an engagement, and thus protract the war. He gave them hopes of victory, only to enable him to vanquish them. The legion was therefore placed in the centre, the light cohorts and two squadrons of horse, in the wings: nor did Tacfarinas decline the combat. The Numidians were routed; and after a long series of years, military renown obtained for the name of Furius. For since Camillus, the famous restorer of Rome, and his son, the renown of commanding victorious armies was enjoyed by other families of that stock: even the last, whose achievements I now record, was thought to possess no military talents: whence Tiberius was the more disposed to laud him in the senate. The fathers decreed him triumphal ornaments, which on account of his unambitious character, was not attended with any danger to Camillus.

53. The consuls for the following year were, Tiberius the third time, Germanicus the second; but this honour Germanicus entered upon at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he had arrived by the coast of Illyricum, from visiting his brother Drusus, then staying in Dalmatia, and after enduring a tempestuous passage in the Adriatic, and soon after in the Ionian sea: he therefore spent a few days in refitting his fleet, and meanwhile viewed the Bay of Actium, renowned for the naval victory there, as also the spoils consecrated by Augustus, and the camp of An-

tony, with an affecting remembrance of these his ancestors; for Antony, as I have said, was his great-uncle, Augustus his grandfather: hence this scene proved to Germanicus a prolific source of images pleasing and melancholy. Hence he came to Athens, where in compliment to that ancient city and ally, he employed but one lictor. The Greeks received him with the most elaborate honours, and to give greater weight to their adulation, recounted the ancient exploits and sayings of their countrymen.

54. Hence sailing to Eubœa, he crossed over to Lesbos, where Agrippina gave birth to Julia, the last of her children; then keeping the coast of Asia, he visited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and entered the straits of Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxine, from a desire to become acquainted with ancient places; at the same time, he relieved such of the provinces as were labouring under intestine strife, or the oppressions of their magistrates. On his return he endeavoured to go and view the sacred rites of the Samothracians, but was prevented from landing by the north winds which blew in the opposite direction. Quitting Ilium and her remains, venerable for her vicissitudes of fortune and the origin of Rome, he retraced the coast of Asia, and put in at Colophon, to consult there the oracle of the Clarian Apollo; it is not a female there, as at Delphi, but a priest, chosen from certain families, chiefly of Miletus, who merely learns the names and numbers of the applicants, and then descends into the oracular cave, where, after a draught of water from a secret spring, though ignorant for the most part of letters and poetry, he utters responses in verse, treating of such matters as the mind of any applicant suggests; and he was said to have predicted to Germanicus his approaching fate, but as oracles are wont, in ænigmatical terms.

55. But Cneius Piso, that he might lose no time in commencing the execution of his purposes, having struck terror into the Athenians by the boisterous manner in which he entered the city, rebuked them in an angry speech, obliquely censuring Germanicus, "because lowering the dignity of the Roman name, he had paid excessive court, not to Athenians, a race extirpated by repeated slaughters; but that impure conflux, the offscouring of various nations, for these were they who had leagued with Mithridates against Sylla, and with Antony against Augustus." He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her impotent attempts against the Macedo-

nians; her outrages on her own citizens. He was also exasperated against the city on account of insults offered to himself personally; because they would not pardon at his request one Theophilus, condemned by the Areopagus for forgery. Thence sailing hastily through the Cyclades, and taking the shortest course, he overtook Germanicus at Rhodes; but Germanicus, who was not ignorant with what invectives he was assailed, yet acted with so much humanity, that when he might have left him to perish, when a sudden tempest drove him upon rocks, and the destruction of his enemy might be referred to accident, he despatched galleys to rescue him from his perilous situation. The animosity of Piso however was not softened; and scarce could he brook a day's delay, but left him, and arrived in Syria before him: nor was he sooner there, and found himself amongst the legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and caresses, to remove all the ancient centurions and every tribune remarkable for strict discipline, and assign their places to dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes; he permitted sloth in the camp, licentiousness in the towns, the soldiery to range at large over the country, and commit every kind of wanton excess; and carried the corruption so far, that in the discourses of the common men, he was styled 'Father of the Legions.' Nor did Plancina restrain herself within the decencies of her sex, but mingled in the exercises of the cavalry, and the evolutions of the cohorts; threw out reflections upon Agrippina, upon Germanicus; and some even of the well ordered soldiers willingly obeyed these base commands, from a rumour whispered abroad, "that all this was not unacceptable to Tiberius."

56. These doings were known to Germanicus; but it was with him an object of more urgent solicitude to go to Armenia. An inconstant nation this from of old; from the genius of the people, as well as from the situation of their country, which borders with a large frontier on our provinces, and stretches thence quite to Media, and lying between the two great empires, was often at variance with them; with the Romans from hatred, with the Parthians from jealousy. At this time, and since the removal of Vonones, they had no king; but the affections of the nation leaned to Zeno, son of Polemon, king of Pontus, because by emulating from his infancy the customs and tastes of the Armenians, hunting, feasting, and other pursuits, in fashion among the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon his head therefore, at the city of Artaxata,

with the approbation of the nobles, in a great assembly, Germanicus put the regal diadem; and all the people doing homage to their king, saluted him by the name 'Artaxias,' which they gave him from the name of their city. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their governor, Quintus Veranius; and to raise their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, several of the royal taxes were lessened. Quintus Servæus was set over the Commagenians, then first transferred to the jurisdiction of a prætor.

57. From the affairs of the allies, thus all successfully settled, Germanicus reaped no pleasure, through the insolence of Piso, who was ordered to lead by himself or his son, part of the legions into Armenia, but neglected both. They at last met at Cyrrhus, the winter-quarters of the tenth legion; Piso with a countenance so set as not to indicate fear, and Germanicus so as to conceal his displeasure. He was indeed, as I have observed, of a humane spirit; but his friends, expert in inflaming animosities, aggravated real offences, added fictitious ones, and in various ways accused Piso, Plancina, and their sons. To this interview Germanicus admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in words such as resentment coupled with a desire to conceal its dictates suggests; Piso replied with ironical entreaties; and they parted in open enmity. Piso hereafter rarely sat on the tribunal by Germanicus; and when he did he showed manifest signs of the most determined opposition to him. He was also heard to say, at a banquet given by the king of the Nabathæans, when golden crowns of great weight were presented to Germanicus and Agrippina, but to Piso and the rest such as were light: "That this banquet was made for the son of a Roman prince, not of a Parthian monarch." With these words, he cast away his crown, and added many strictures upon luxury, which, though cutting, Germanicus bore with patience.

58. At this time arrived ambassadors from Artabanus, king of the Parthians: he sent them with instructions "to call attention to their mutual league and friendship, and state his desire to renew it; that in honour to Germanicus he would come to receive him as far as the banks of the Euphrates; and that he requested in the mean time, that Vonones might not be suffered to remain in Syria, nor, taking advantage of so near a neighbourhood, to correspond with the nobles of the nations, in order to draw them into dissensions." The answer given by Germanicus, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceived in lofty terms; but, of the coming

of the king, and the respect intended to himself, he spoke with grace and modesty. Vonones was removed to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia; a concession made not only in consideration of the request of Artabanus, but as a rebuff to Piso, with whom Vonones was high in favour, for the many attentions and presents by which he had obliged Plancina.

59. In the consulship of Marcus Silanus and Lucius Norbanus, Germanicus went to Egypt, to view the antiquities of the country; but his pretext was his concern for the state of the province: and, indeed, by opening the granaries he reduced the price of corn, and practised many things grateful to the people; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the same with that of the Greeks; after the example of Publius Scipio, who, we are told, was constant in the same practices in Sicily, even while the Punic war raged. For his manners and habit, Tiberius blamed him in a gentle style, but censured him with great asperity for violating an establishment of Augustus, and entering Alexandria without consent of the prince. For Augustus, amongst other secret plans of power, had appropriated Egypt, and restrained the senators and dignified Roman knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be distressed with famine by any who seized that province, the key to the empire by sea and land, and defensible by a small garrison of men against large armies.

60. Germanicus, not yet informed that his journey was censured, sailed up the Nile, beginning at Canopus; which was built by the Spartans, as a monument to Canopus, a pilot buried there, at the time when Menelaus returning to Greece was driven to opposite seas and the Libyan continent. Hence he visited the neighbouring mouth of the river, sacred to Hercules; whom the natives aver to have been born amongst them; that he was the most ancient of the name, and that all the rest, who with equal virtue followed his example, were called after him. Next he visited the mighty remains of Thebes; where upon huge obelisks yet remained Egyptian characters describing its former opulence: one of the oldest priests was ordered to interpret them; he said they related "that it once contained seven hundred thousand fighting men; that with that army king Rhamses had conquered Libya, Æthiopia, the Medes and Persians, the Bactrians and Scythians; and to his empire had added the territories of the Syrians, Armenians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians; a tract of countries reaching from the

sea of Bithynia to that of Lycia:" here also was read the assessment of tribute laid on the several nations; what weight of silver and gold; what number of horses and arms; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the temples; what quantities of grain; and of all necessaries, were by each people paid; forming an amount no less costly than the revenues exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the power of the Romans.

61. Germanicus was intent upon seeing other wonders: the chief were, the stone statue of Memnon, yielding, when struck by the solar rays, a vocal sound; the pyramids, raised like mountains amidst irregular and almost impassable heaps of sands, by the pride and opulence of their kings; the artificial lake, a receptacle of the overflowing Nile; and elsewhere the straits and depths so immense as not to be fathomable by any measures which the curious could employ. Thence he proceeded to Elephantina and Syene, formerly barriers of the Roman empire, which is now extended to the Red sea.

62. Whilst Germanicus spent this summer in several provinces, Drusus acquired no inconsiderable renown by sowing feuds amongst the Germans; and as the power of Maroboduus was now broken, by engaging them to follow him up and complete his ruin. Amongst the Gothones was a young man of rank, named Catualda, formerly driven into exile by Maroboduus, but now in his distress resolved on revenge. With a strong force he entered the borders of the Marcomannians, and having seduced their chiefs into his alliance, stormed the regal palace, and the castle adjoining it. Here were the stores of prey accumulated by the Suevians; and here also were found many victuallers and traders from our provinces; who, drawn hither from their several homes, by privilege of traffic, and induced to remain by the thirst of gain, had at last, through utter oblivion of their own country, fixed themselves in a hostile soil.

63. To Maroboduus, on every side forsaken, no other refuge remained but the mercy of Cæsar; he therefore passed the Danube where it washes the province of Noricum, and wrote to Tiberius; not in the language of a fugitive or supplicant, but in a spirit suitable to his former fortune: "That many nations invited him to them, as a king once so glorious; but he preferred to all the friendship of Rome." The emperor answered, "That in Italy he should have a safe and honourable retreat, and when his affairs required his presence, the same security to return." But to the senate he declared, "That never had



Philip of Macedon been so terrible to the Athenians; nor Pyrrhus, nor Antiochus to the Roman people." The speech is extant; in it he magnifies "the greatness of the man, the fierceness of the nations his subjects; the alarming proximity of such an enemy to Italy, and his own measures to destroy him." Maroboduus was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians: as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readiness to resume his dominion: but for eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; losing much of his celebrity in consequence of his immoderate love of security. Catualda experienced the same fate and sought the same refuge; he was soon after expelled by the forces of the Hermundurians, led by Vibilius, and being received under the Roman protection, was conveyed to Forum Julii, a colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians, their followers, lest, had they been mixed with the provinces, they might have disturbed their present quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cusus, and for their king had assigned them Vannius, by nation a Quadian.

64. As soon as it was known at Rome that Artaxias was by Germanicus given to the Armenians for their king, the fathers decreed to him and Drusus that they should enter the city in ovation: arches were likewise erected on each side the temple of Mars the Avenger, with the statues of these two Cæsars; and for Tiberius, he was more rejoiced to have established peace by policy, than if he had ended the war by battles. He therefore also assailed by craft Rhescuporis, a king of Thrace. That whole nation had been subject to Rhemetalces; but upon his death, one moiety was by Augustus granted to Rhescuporis his brother; and one to Cotys his son: in this partition, the cultivated lands, cities, and territories bounding upon Greece, fell to Cotys; to Rhescuporis the wilds, the hills, and the parts exposed to a hostile neighbourhood. The two kings were likewise dissonant in their genius; the former mild and agreeable; the latter stern, rapacious, and impatient of a partner in power. At first they lived in hollow friendship; but soon Rhescuporis began to pass his limits, to seize for himself the portions of Cotys, and where he met resistance, to exercise violence; cautiously, indeed, in the life of Augustus, for as both owed their kingdoms to him, he feared that he would avenge any contempt of his authority: but upon the change of emperors, he poured in bands of robbers, and demolished forts, to bring about a war.

65. Tiberius was solicitous above all things, that matters once settled should not be disturbed. He despatched a chosen centurion to the two kings, to forbid a decision by arms: and Cotys forthwith dismissed the forces he had raised: Rhescuporis, with pretended moderation, requested an interview, "for by treaty," he said, "they might adjust all their differences:" upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions, they quickly agreed, while one from natural facility, the other with a guileful purpose, yielded and accepted every proposition. Rhescuporis, to give solemnity, as he said repeatedly, to the league, added a banquet; and when the pleasures of the feast had been protracted to a late hour, when the revelry was at its height, and the wine had produced its effect, Rhescuporis seized upon Cotys unawares; and though, when he perceived the treacherous purpose he conjured him by the sanctity of kings, the common gods of their family, and the laws of the hospitable board, he loaded him with chains. Rhescuporis having now seized all Thrace, wrote to Tiberius, "that a plot had been laid for him; but he had anticipated the contriver;" and pretending a war against the Bastarnians and Scythians, fortified himself with new forces, horse and foot.

66. Tiberius answered very quietly, "That if he had practised no guile, he might securely trust to his innocence; but neither could he himself nor the senate, without hearing the cause, distinguish between justice and injustice: that therefore, delivering up Cotys, he should come, and upon him transfer the odium of guilt." This letter, Latinus Pandus, proprætor of Mœsia, transmitted to Thrace by the soldiers sent to receive Cotys. Rhescuporis, wavering between fear and rage, determined at last rather to be tried for a completed than an imperfect villany: he caused Cotys to be murdered, and gave out that he had died by his own hands. Tiberius however did not abandon the artful course he had once adopted, but upon the death of Pandus, whom Rhescuporis alleged to have been his enemy, selected for the government of Mœsia, Pomponius Flaccus, an old officer, in close friendship with the king, and therefore more qualified to betray him.

67. Flaccus passed into Thrace, and though he found him full of hesitation, and reflecting on the enormities he had committed, yet by large promises he prevailed upon him to enter the Roman lines. Upon this, the king, on pretence of honour, was surrounded with a strong party. The tribunes and centurions by advice and persuasion in-

duced him to proceed. The further they advanced the more evident it was that he was a prisoner, and he at length became aware of the necessity he was under—thus they conveyed him to the city. He was accused before the senate by the wife of Cotys, and condemned to exile far from his kingdom. Thrace was divided between Rhemetaces his son, who had opposed his father's measures, and the sons of Cotys; these were minors, and placed with their kingdom under the administration of Trebellienus Rufus, formerly prætor; after the example of our ancestors, who sent Marcus Lepidus into Egypt, as guardian to the children of Ptolemy. Rhescuporis was transported to Alexandria, and there slain while attempting to escape, or falsely charged with it.

68. At the same time Vonones, who had been removed as I have above related, into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavoured to escape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinsman the king of Scythia. Under pretence of hunting, he struck away from the coast and made for the intricacies of the forests, and soon from the speed of his horse reached the river Pyramus. But the neighbouring inhabitants, apprised of the king's flight, had broken the bridges; and the stream could not be forded: upon the banks therefore of the river, he was by Vibius Fronto, a captain of horse, put in bonds; soon after, Remmius, a resumed veteran, who was before his keeper, in affected wrath, ran him through with a sword; whence the more probable account is, that he slew Vonones, because he was an accomplice in his escape, and feared he might give evidence against him.

69. Germanicus, returning from Egypt, learned that all his orders to the legions, and the cities, were either entirely abolished or perverted: hence he sought to inflict every indignity on Piso. Nor less virulent were the efforts of Piso against Germanicus. Piso afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detained by the illness of Germanicus: again when he heard of his recovery, and perceived that vows were paid for his restoration, the lictors, by his command, drove away the victims already at the altars; overturned the apparatus for the sacrifices, and scattered the people of Antioch employed in celebrating the festival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady, which had again assaulted Germanicus. His own persuasion that poison was given him by Piso, heightened the relentless vehemence of the disease: indeed, upon the floors and walls were found the exhumed remains of human bodies, with charms and spells,

and the name of Germanicus graven on sheets of lead; carcasses half burnt, besmeared with gore; and other instruments of sorceries, by which souls are thought to be doomed to the infernal gods: besides certain persons, sent by Piso, were accused of coming to ascertain the unfavourable symptoms.

70. These things filled Germanicus with apprehensions great as his indignation: "If his doors," he said, "were besieged, if under the eyes of his enemies he must render up his spirit, what might be expected to befall his unhappy wife, his infant children? The progress of poison was thought too slow; Piso was impatient, and eager to command alone the legions and the province: but Germanicus was not sunk so low, nor would the price of his murder remain with the murderer:" in a letter to Piso, he renounced his friendship; most add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did Piso tarry longer, but sailed away; regulating his course so that he should not have far to return should the death of Germanicus leave the government of Syria vacant.

71. Germanicus, for a short interval conceived hopes of his recovery, but drooping again, when his end approached, he spoke on this wise to his attending friends: "If I were dying in the course of nature, I should have just cause of complaint against the gods, for hurrying me from my parents, my children, and my country, by a premature departure in the vigour of youth; but cut short in my career as I now am, by the nefarious arts of Piso and Plancina; my dying prayer, which I deposit in your breasts, is that you would tell my father and my brother, with what persecutions mangled, with what treachery circumvented, I end a life of consummate misery by a death the most revolting. Those who felt an interest in my prospects, or were connected with me by blood, nay, even those who envied me while I lived, will weep at the fate of him who, once renowned, and the survivor of so many wars, hath fallen by the dark devices of a woman. You will have an opportunity of complaining to the senate, and invoking the laws. To show respect for the dead with idle wailings, is not the principal office of friends; it is to remember his dying wishes, to fulfil his last injunctions. Even strangers will lament Germanicus; you will avenge me, if it was myself and not my fortune that you caressed. Show the people of Rome my wife, the grand-daughter of Augustus, tell over to them our six children. Compassion will wait on those who bring such charges; and the accused, if they pretend iniquitous mandates, will not be believed; or if

believed, not pardoned." His friends, touching the hand of the dying prince, swore that they would forego their lives sooner than their revenge.

72. Then turning to his wife, he conjured her "by her remembrance of him, by their common children, to divest herself of her unyielding spirit and humble to fortune in the storm of her displeasure; and, on her return to the city, not to irritate those who were more than a match for her by a competition for the mastery." So much openly, and more in secret; whence he was believed to have warned her of danger from Tiberius. Soon after he expired, to the inexpressible grief of the province and the neighbouring people; remote nations and their kings mourned for him: such had been his urbanity to the allies; such his clemency to his enemies! Alike an object of veneration; whether seen or heard; for while he sustained the dignity and authority of his exalted station, he kept clear of offence, and avoided the imputation of arrogance.

73. The funeral, which was unaccompanied by the family images and a procession, was abundantly honoured by the praises of the deceased, and the commemoration of his virtues. There were those who from his person, his age, his manner of death, and even from the proximity of the places where he departed, compared him in the circumstances of his fate, to Alexander the Great: "Each of a graceful person, each of illustrious descent; in years neither much exceeding thirty; both fell victims to the machinations of their countrymen, in the midst of foreign nations: but Germanicus was gentle towards his friends; moderate in his pleasures; the husband of one wife; his children legitimate; nor inferior as a warrior, though not so rash, and though hampered and prevented from a final reduction of Germany, which had been smitten to the earth by his repeated victories. But had he been sole arbiter of things, had he possessed the sovereignty and title of royalty, he would have attained to military renown with greater facility in proportion as he surpassed him in clemency, in moderation, and all the other virtues." His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place fixed upon for the sepulchral rites: whether it bore the marks of poison remained undecided; for people were divided in their conclusions according as they pitied Germanicus, and presumed the guilt of Piso, or were prejudiced in his favour.

74. It was next debated amongst the legates of the legions and the other senators there, to whom should be committed the administration of Syria: and after the faint

efforts of others, it was long disputed between Vibius Marsus and Cneius Sentius. Marsus at last yielded to Sentius, the older man and the more active candidate. By him one Martina, infamous in that province for practices in poisoning, and a close confidant of Plancina, was sent to Rome, at the suit of Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who were collecting evidence of guilt, and preparing articles against Piso and Plancina, as actively as if the charge had been formally brought against them.

75. Agrippina, though worn out with sorrow, and her health impaired, yet impatient of all delay to her revenge, embarked with the ashes of Germanicus and her children, amidst universal grief "that a lady of the very highest quality, who in her late most honoured union was wont to be seen surrounded by persons offering her the tribute of their homage and congratulations, should then be carrying in her bosom funeral ashes, uncertain of vengeance, alarmed for herself; and from her unfortunate fruitfulness exposed to the assaults of fortune at so many points." Piso the while was overtaken at the Isle of Cos by a message, "that Germanicus was deceased." He rejoiced extravagantly at the intelligence, slew victims, and repaired with thanksgiving to the temples: but immoderate as was his joy, more arrogant and insulting proved that of Plancina, who immediately threw off her mourning for a deceased sister, and assumed the habit of gaiety.

76. To him flocked the centurions with representations, "that the affections of the legions were eagerly fixed on him, and that he should proceed to resume the province injuriously taken from him, and now vacant." As he therefore consulted what he had best pursue, his son Marcus Piso advised "a speedy journey to Rome; hitherto," he said, "nothing past expiation was committed; nor were impotent suspicions to be dreaded; nor the idle blazonings of fame: his variance with Germanicus might perhaps expose him to odium, but not penal visitation; and by depriving him of the province, the malice of his enemies was glutted; but if he returned thither, as Sentius would certainly oppose him, a civil war would thus be commenced: neither would the centurions and soldiers persist in his party, as the memory of their late commander, and an inveterate love to the Cæsars would preponderate."

77. Domitius Celer, in virtue of his intimate friendship with Piso, argued on the contrary, "that the event should be followed up; Piso, and not Sentius, was governor of Syria; to him were given the badges and jurisdiction of prætor, to him the legions: if assailed by hostilities, with

how much better warrant could he take up arms in his defence, who was thus invested with the authority of general, and acted under special orders from the emperor. Time also should be suffered to intervene after the circulation of rumours, that they may grow stale: rarely could the innocent bear up against the prejudice created by recent charges; but were he once possessed of the army, and had augmented his forces, many events, not to be foreseen, would turn up in his favour. Are we then hastening to arrive at Rome with the ashes of Germanicus, that you may there fall, unheard and undefended, a victim to the wailings of Agrippina, and the first impressions made on the unreasoning multitude by rumour? Livia, it is true, is your confederate; Tiberius is your friend; but both secretly: and indeed none will more ostentatiously bewail the fate of Germanicus, than such as most heartily rejoice at it."

78. Piso, of himself prone to violent measures, was with no great labour persuaded into this opinion, and, in a letter transmitted to Tiberius, accused Germanicus "of luxury and insolence; observing that he who had been expelled to make room for dangerous designs against the state, had now sought to resume, with his former faith and loyalty, the care of the army." In the mean time, he put Domitius on board a galley, and ordered him, avoiding the coasts and the isles, to sail through the main sea to Syria. The deserters, who from all quarters were flocking to him, he formed into companies, and armed all the retainers to the camp; then sailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits upon their march into Syria; and wrote to the petty princes of Cilicia to assist him with succours: nor was the younger Piso slow in forwarding the war, though he had given his voice against commencing it.

79. As they coasted Lycia and Pamphilia, they encountered the ships which carried Agrippina, with hostile feelings on both sides, each at first prepared for combat; but as their fears were reciprocal, they proceeded no further than reproaches. Vibius Marsus summoned Piso, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence: he answered with derision, "that when the prætor, who was to sit upon cases of poisonings, had assigned a day to the accusers and the accused, he would attend." Domitius, meanwhile, landing at Laodicea, a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter-quarters of the sixth legion, which he believed to be the most prone to engage in novel attempts, but was anticipated by Pacuvius, the lieutenant-general. Sentius represented this by letter to Piso, and warned

him, "at his peril to infect the camp by ministers of corruption; or to assail the province by war;" and drew into a body such as he knew cherished the memory of Germanicus, or were averse to his foes: upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that Piso was attacking the majesty of the prince, and invading the Roman state; and then put himself at the head of a powerful force ready for the encounter.

80. Neither did Piso, though his enterprise miscarried, fail to adopt the best measures of security under existing circumstances; but seized a castle of Cilicia strongly fortified, named Celendris: for, to the auxiliary Cilicians, sent him by the petty kings, he had joined his body of deserters, as also the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and Plancina's slaves, and in number and bulk formed them into a legion. In his harangue to them he protested, "that he, who was the lieutenant of Cæsar, was excluded from the province which Cæsar had committed to him; not by the legions (for by their invitation he came) but by Sentius, who disguised under feigned charges his own personal hate; but with confidence they may stand in battle against men who would refuse to fight when they saw Piso, a commander lately by themselves styled their 'Father,' who had the best of it, if the question were tried on principles of justice, and who was not deficient in power and resolution, if the sword must decide it." He then arrayed his men without the fortifications, on a hill lofty and precipitous, for all the rest was begirt by the sea: against them stood the veterans regularly embattled, and with a reserve; one side had the advantage in the hardy character of the troops, the other in the rugged and inaccessible nature of their position; but the latter had no spirit, nor hope, nor even weapons, save those of rustics, snatched up to meet a sudden emergency. As soon as they came to blows, the issue was no longer doubtful than while the Roman cohorts struggled up to level ground: the Cilicians then fled, and shut themselves up in the castle.

81. Piso meanwhile attempted in vain an assault upon the fleet, which waited at a small distance; when he returned, he presented himself upon the walls, where, now prostrating himself in an agony of grief, then calling upon particular soldiers by name, and tempting them by rewards, he laboured to excite a mutiny; and thus much had already effected, that a standard-bearer of the sixth legion revolted to him with his eagle, when Sentius commanded the cornets and trumpets to sound, the works to be as-



saulted, the ladders reared, and all the bravest men to mount, and others to pour from the engines volleys of darts and stones, and brands. The obstinacy of Piso was at last vanquished; and he desired "that upon delivering his arms he might remain in the castle while the emperor was consulted as to whom he would commit the government of Syria;" these conditions were not accepted; nor was ought granted him save ships and a safe conduct to Rome.

82. At Rome, when the illness of Germanicus became generally known, and all its circumstances, as usually happens in reports coming from a distance, were related with aggravations; grief and indignation prevailed, which even burst forth into lamentations. "There could be no doubt," they said, "that it was for this that he had been banished to the extremities of the empire; for this the province of Syria was committed to Piso, and these the fruits of Livia's mysterious conferences with Plancina: truly had their fathers spoken concerning his father Drusus; that the possessors of rule beheld with an evil eye the popular spirit of their sons; nor for ought else were they sacrificed, but that they meditated giving the Roman people a system of equal laws, and restoring liberty." These lamentations of the populace were so inflamed, upon the tidings of his death, that, without staying for an edict from the magistrates, without a decree of senate, they assumed a vacation; the courts were deserted, private houses shut up; everywhere were groans, or silent grief: nothing was devised for form or show; and, though they forbore not to inhibit the exterior marks of mourning; in their souls they mourned still deeper. Accidentally some merchants from Syria, who had left Germanicus still alive, brought more joyful news of his condition: these were instantly believed, and instantly proclaimed: each, as fast as they met, informed others, who forthwith from joy conveyed their ill authenticated information with improvements to more, and they flew through the city, and burst open the temples' doors; the night aided their credulity, and assertion was more confident in the dark. Nor did Tiberius oppose these fictions, but left them to vanish with time, and run their course: hence with more bitterness they afterwards grieved for him, as if anew snatched from them.

83. Honours were invented and decreed to Germanicus, various according to the intensity of affection for him and the power of genius in the particular senators who proposed them: "that his name should be sung in the Salian hymns; curule chairs placed for him amongst

the priests of Augustus, and over these chairs oaken crowns hung; his statue in ivory precede in the Circensian games; none but one of the Julian race be, in the room of Germanicus, created flamen or augur:” arches were added; one at Rome, one upon the banks of the Rhine, one upon mount Amanus, in Syria; with inscriptions of his exploits, and a testimony subjoined, “that he died for the commonwealth:” a cenotaph at Antioch, where his corpse was burnt; a tribunal at Epidaphne, the place where he ended his life. The multitude of statues, the many places where divine honours were appointed to be paid him, would not be easily recounted. When they would have decreed him a golden bust, distinguished in bulk as in material, to be placed among the founders of eloquence, Tiberius insisted “that he should dedicate one himself, such as was usual and of a like size with others; for that eloquence was not measured by fortune; and it was sufficient glory if he were ranked with ancient writers.” The battalion called the Juniors was now, by the equestrian order, entitled the battalion of Germanicus, and a rule made by them that, on every fifteenth of July, these troops should follow, as their standard, the effigies of Germanicus: of these honours many continue; some were immediately omitted, or have become obsolete in the lapse of time.

84. In the height of this public sorrow, Livia, sister to Germanicus, and married to Drusus, was delivered of male twins; an event even in middling families rare and acceptable, but to Tiberius matter of such joy, that he could not refrain boasting to the fathers, “that to no Roman of the same eminence, before him, were ever two children born at a birth:” for to his own glory he turned all things, even mere accidents. But to the people, at such a sad conjuncture, it was a source of additional grief; as they feared that the family of Drusus thus increased, would press heavier upon that of Germanicus.

85. The same year the licentiousness of women was by the senate restrained with severe laws; and it was provided, “that no woman should become venal, if her father, grandfather, or husband, were Roman knights.” For Vistilia, a lady born of a prætorian family, had before the ædiles published herself a prostitute; after a custom that prevailed among our ancestors, who thought that prostitutes were sufficiently punished by merely thus avowing their infamy. Titidius Labeo too was questioned, why in the manifest guilt of his wife, he had neglected the punishment prescribed by the law; but he alleged that the sixty

days allowed for consultation were not elapsed; and it was deemed sufficient to proceed against Vistilia, who was banished to the Isle of Seriphos. Measures were also taken for exterminating the solemnities of the Jews and the Egyptians; and a decree of senate was passed that four thousand descendants of franchised slaves, defiled with that superstition, and of age to carry arms, should be deported to Sardinia, to check the practice of freebootry there; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they perished, it would be small loss; that the rest should depart Italy, unless by a stated day they had renounced their profane rites.

86. After this, Tiberius represented that to supply the place of Occia, who had presided seven and fifty years over the vestals with the greatest sanctity, another virgin was to be chosen; and thanked Fonteius Agrippa and Asinius Pollio, that by offering their daughters, they contended in good offices towards the commonwealth. Pollio's daughter was preferred; for nothing else but that her mother had continued in the same matrimonial union; for Agrippa, by a divorce, had impaired the credit of his house. Upon her who was posthabited, Tiberius bestowed, as a consolation, a dowry of a thousand great sesterces.

87. As the people murmured at the oppressive price of corn, he settled the price of it to the buyer, and undertook to pay two sesterces a measure to the corn-dealers: neither however would he, on account of these acts, accept the name of 'Father of his Country,' a title offered him before; nay, he sharply rebuked such as said 'his divine occupations,' and called him 'Lord.' Hence it was difficult and dangerous to speak under a prince, who dreaded liberty, and abhorred flattery.

88. I find in the writers of those times, some of them senators, that in the senate were read letters from Adgandestrius, prince of the Chattians, undertaking to despatch Arminius, if in order to it poison were sent him; and an answer returned, "that the Roman people took vengeance on their foes not by fraud and covert acts, but armed and in the face of the sun." In this, Tiberius gained equal glory with our ancient captains, who rejected and disclosed a plot to poison king Pyrrhus. Arminius however, upon the departure of the Romans and expulsion of Maroboduus, aiming at royalty, became opposed to the liberty of his countrymen; who took up arms against him; and during a contest carried on with fluctuating success, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred: the deliverer of Germany without doubt he was, and one who assailed the

Roman state, not like other kings and leaders, in its infancy, but in the pride of imperial elevation; in single encounters sometimes victorious sometimes defeated, but not worsted in the general issue of the war: he lived thirty-seven years; twelve he was in possession of power; and, amongst barbarous nations, his memory is still celebrated in their songs; his name is unknown in the annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own achievements; nor is he very much celebrated among us Romans, whose habit it is to magnify men and feats of old, but to regard with indifference the examples of modern prowess.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK III.

AGRIPPINA, continuing her course without the least intermission through all the perils and rigours of a sea-voyage in the winter, arrived at the island Corcyra, situated over against the shores of Calabria. Unable to moderate her grief, and impatient from inexperience of affliction, she spent a few days there to tranquillise her troubled spirit; when, on hearing of her arrival, all the intimate friends of the family, and most of the officers who had served under Germanicus, with a number of strangers from the neighbouring municipal towns, some thinking it due as a mark of respect to the prince, but the greater part carried along with the current, rushed to the city of Brundisium, the readiest port in her way and the safest landing. As soon as the fleet appeared in the deep, instantly were filled, not the port alone and adjacent parts of the sea, but the walls and roofs, and wherever the most distant prospect could be obtained, with a sorrowing multitude, earnestly asking each other "whether they should receive her on landing in silence, or with some expression of feeling?" Nor was it clearly determined what course would be most suitable to the occasion, when the fleet came slowly in, not as usual in sprightly trim, but all wearing the impress of sadness. When she descended from the ship, accompanied by her two infants, and bearing in her hand the funeral urn, her eyes fixed stedfastly upon the earth, one simultaneous groan burst from the whole assemblage: nor could you distinguish relations from strangers, nor the wailings of men from those of women; nor could any difference be discerned except that those who came to meet her, in the vehemence of recent grief, surpassed the attendants of Agrippina, who were exhausted with continued mourning.

2. Tiberius had despatched two prætorian cohorts, with directions that the magistrates of Calabria, with Apulians and Campanians, should pay their last offices of respect to

the memory of his son: upon the shoulders therefore of the tribunes and centurions his ashes were borne; before them were carried the ensigns unadorned, and the fasces reversed. As they passed through the colonies, the populace in black, the knights in their purple robes, burnt precious raiment, perfumes, and whatever else is used in funeral solemnities, according to the ability of the place: even they whose cities lay remote from the route came forth, offered victims and erected altars to the gods of the departed, and with tears and ejaculations testified their sorrow. Drusus came as far as Terracina, with Claudius the brother of Germanicus, and those of his children who had been left at Rome. The consuls Marcus Valerius and Marcus Aurelius (for they had now entered upon their office), the senate, and great part of the people, filled the road; a scattered procession, each walking and expressing his grief as inclination led him: in sooth, flattery was an utter stranger here; for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief of Tiberius for the death of Germanicus.

3. Tiberius and Livia avoided appearing abroad: public lamentation they thought below their dignity; or perhaps they apprehended that if their countenances were examined by all eyes, their hypocrisy would be detected. That Antonia, mother to the deceased, bore any part in the funeral, I do not find either in the historians or in the journals; though, besides Agrippina, and Drusus, and Claudius, his other relations are likewise there recorded by name: whether by sickness she was prevented, or whether her soul vanquished by sorrow, could not bear to go through the representation of such an overpowering calamity. I would rather believe her constrained by Tiberius and Livia, who left not the palace, that they might seem to grieve alike, and that the grandmother and uncle might appear to have followed her example in staying at home.

4. The day on which his remains were deposited in the tomb of Augustus, at one time exhibited the silence of perfect desolation; at another, the uproar of vociferous lamentation; the streets of the city were crowded; one general blaze of torches glared throughout the Campus Martius; there the soldiers under arms, the magistrates without the insignia of office, and the people ranged according to their tribes, passionately exclaimed "that the commonwealth was utterly lost, that henceforth there remained no hope," so openly and so boldly that you would have believed they had forgotten those who ruled over them. But nothing pierced Tiberius more deeply than the warm interest ex-

cited in favour of Agrippina, while they gave her such titles as "the ornament of her country, the only blood of Augustus, an unparalleled example of primitive virtue;" and, looking up to heaven and the gods, they implored "the preservation of her issue, and that they might outlive their oppressors."

5. There were those who missed the pomp of a public funeral, and compared with this the superior honours and magnificence displayed by Augustus in that of Drusus, the father of Germanicus; observing, "that he himself had travelled, in the depth of winter, as far as Ticinus, and continuing by the corpse, had with it entered the city; around his bier were crowded the images of the Claudii and Julii; he was mourned in the Forum; his encomium pronounced on the rostra; all the honours, invented by our ancestors, or added by their posterity, were heaped upon him. But to Germanicus were denied the ordinary solemnities, and such as were due to every distinguished Roman. Certainly his corpse was burnt in a foreign country, because of the long journey, in such a manner as it was; but afterwards it was but just to have compensated the scantiness of the first ceremony by the increased solemnity of the last: his brother met him but one day's journey; his uncle not even at the gate. Where were those observances of the ancients; the effigies of the dead laid in state on a bed; hymns composed in memory of departed virtue, with encomiums and tears? Where at least the ceremonial of sorrow?"

6. All this was known to Tiberius; and to suppress the reflections of the populace, he admonished them in an edict, "that many illustrious Romans had died for the commonwealth, but none so universally and vehemently regretted: and that it was to the honour of himself and all others, if bounds were observed. The same things which became private families and small states, became not princes and an imperial people: that it was not unseemly to lament in the first transport of sorrow; nay, relief was afforded by weeping; but it was now time to recover and compose their minds. Thus the deified Julius, upon the loss of an only daughter; thus the deified Augustus, upon the premature death of his grandsons, had both concealed their sorrow. More ancient examples were unnecessary; how often had the Roman people sustained with equanimity the slaughter of their armies, the death of their generals, and entire destruction of illustrious families: princes were mortal; the commonwealth was eternal: they should therefore resume their customary vocations." And because the spectacle

of the Megalensian games was at hand, he added, "that they should even lay aside their grief for amusements."

7. The vacation ended, public affairs were resumed; Drusus departed for the army in Illyricum, the minds of all men impatiently looking for vengeance upon Piso and amidst many complaints, that while he was roaming at large through the delightful regions of Asia and Greece, he was undermining by contemptuous and artful delay, the evidences of his crimes; for it was generally known, that Martina, that notorious trafficker in sorceries, and sent, as I have above related, by Cnæius Sentius to Rome, had died suddenly at Brundisium; that poison lay concealed in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no symptoms of self-murder.

8. Piso, sending forward his son to Rome, with instructions how to soften the emperor, proceeded himself to Drusus: him he hoped to find less implacable for the death of a brother than favourable for the removal of a rival. Tiberius, to make it appear that the trial should be fair, received the young man graciously, and honoured him with the presents usually bestowed on young noblemen. The answer of Drusus to Piso was, "that if the current rumours were true, he stood in the first place of grief and revenge; but he hoped they were false and chimerical, and that the death of Germanicus would be fatal to none." This he declared in public, avoiding all private communication with him: nor was it doubted but the answer was dictated by Tiberius, when one otherwise artless and unguarded from the inexperience of youth, practised the cunning of age.

9. Piso having crossed the sea of Dalmatia, and left his ships at Ancona, took first the road through Picenum, and then proceeding on the Flaminian way, met with the legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garrison in Africa. This too became the subject of popular censure, that he officiously mixed with the soldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters: therefore to avoid suspicion, or because when men are in dread their conduct wavers, he embarked at Narnia upon the Nar, thence sailed down the Tiber, and by landing at the tomb of the Cæsars heightened the wrath of the populace: besides, he and Plancina, in open day, strutted through the assemblage of persons on the banks, with an air of cheerfulness; he attended by a long band of clients, she by a train of ladies. Among the incentives to popular displeasure were also his house, proudly overlooking the forum, and gaily decorated; the feast and revel he made, and the



publicity given to these proceedings from the frequented locality.

10. The next day Fulcinus Trio commenced criminal proceedings against Piso before the consuls, but was opposed by Vitellius, Veranius, and others, who had accompanied Germanicus: they said, "that in this prosecution Trio had no part; nor did they themselves act as accusers, but as informants and witnesses of the facts, they would produce the injunctions of Germanicus." Trio, dropping the accusation in that cause, got leave to call in question his former life: and the emperor was solicited to undertake the trial; which not even the accused opposed, dreading the inclinations of the people and senate: "Tiberius, on the contrary, he knew to be resolute in despising popular rumours, and implicated in guilt with his mother: besides, that truth and misrepresentations were easiest distinguished by a single judge, but in assemblies odium and envy prevailed." Tiberius was aware of the heavy responsibility of the trial, and the imputations circulated against him. In the presence therefore of a few friends, he heard the menacing charges of the accusers, as also the deprecatory defence of the accused; and referred the entire cause to the senate.

11. Meanwhile Drusus returned from Illyricum; and though the senate, for the captivity of Maroboduus, and his exploits the summer before, had decreed him an ovation, he postponed the honour, and entered the city without that distinction. Piso, for his advocates, desired Titus Arruntius, Fulcinus, Asinius Gallus, Æsernius Marcellus, and Sextus Pompeius; but as they excused themselves on various grounds, he had in their room, Marcus Lepidus, Lucius Piso, and Liveneius Regulus. And earnest were the speculations of all, how great would prove the fidelity of the friends of Germanicus; what the assurance of the criminal, what the behaviour of Tiberius; whether he would be able to restrain and keep down his feelings. Never were the people more intent on these matters; never did they exercise greater freedom in privately expressing reflections on the prince, or in keeping silence where silence implied suspicion.

12. On the day the senate met, Tiberius made a studied speech of artful temperament; he said, "that Piso had been his father's lieutenant and friend; and was appointed by himself, with the sanction of the senate, as coadjutor to Germanicus in administering the affairs of the east: whether he had there by contumacy and opposition exasperated the young prince, and exulted in his death, or wick-

edly procured it, they were then to judge with unprejudiced minds. For, said he, if he who was the lieutenant of my son, exceeded the limits of his commission, failed in respect to his commanding officer, and even rejoiced at his decease and at my affliction, I will detest the man, I will banish him from my house; I will punish the private wrong, but not with the power of a prince. But if he be found guilty of a crime which would call for vengeance, whosoever the murdered man might be, give to yourselves, to the children of Germanicus, and to us his parents, the solace of a just retribution. Consider too at the same time, whether he sought to excite discontent and mutiny in the army; whether he endeavoured to win the affections of the soldiers by sinister arts, and to recover the province by arms: or whether these are falsely reported as aggravations by the accusers, with whose excessive zeal I am justly offended: for, what purpose was answered by stripping the corpse and exposing it to the ocular examination of the populace? with what view was it disseminated even among foreign nations, that his death was the effect of poison, if all this was still doubtful, and remains yet to be tried? It is true, I bewail my son, and shall ever bewail him; but neither do I hinder the accused from bringing forward everything by which his innocence may be sustained, or oppressive conduct on the part of Germanicus, if he was chargeable with any, might at the same time be proved. And you also I implore not to treat imputed crimes as proved, because of my melancholy connection with this cause. If the ties of blood, if the faith of friends, has made any of you his patrons, aid him in his peril with your utmost eloquence and diligence. To the same pains, to the same constancy, I entreat his accusers. Thus we have granted to Germanicus, beyond the laws, that the inquest on his death is held rather in this court than in the forum, before the senate than the ordinary judges. In every other respect, let the same impartiality be observed. Let no man in this cause consider Drusus's tears; let none regard my sorrow, nor any false imputations upon my honour."

13. Two days were then appointed for maintaining the charge; six for preparing the defence, and three for making it. Fulcinus then began with charges relating to a remote period, and having no bearing upon the question, "the ambition and rapacity of Piso in his administration of Spain;" which proved, brought no guilt on the accused with reference to recent charges if acquitted; nor, if repelled, could it clear him if found guilty of higher crimes.

After him, Servæus, Veranius, and Vitellius, all with equal zeal, but Vitellius with great eloquence, urged "that Piso, in his hatred to Germanicus, and zeal for innovation, had by tolerating their licentiousness and oppressions of the allies, corrupted the common soldiers to that degree, that by the most profligate he was styled 'Father of the legions:' that he had, on the contrary, shown himself implacably hostile to all the best men, especially the friends and companions of Germanicus; lastly, by witchcraft and poison destroyed Germanicus himself: hence the offerings and immolations practised by him and Plancina: he had then attacked the commonwealth with open hostilities; and, that he might be prosecuted as a criminal, they were forced to defeat him in a regular battle."

14. In every article but one his defence was faltering. For, neither the charge of debauching the soldiery, nor abandoning the province to all the most profligate, nor even his insults to Germanicus, could he deny; he seemed only to clear himself of the charge of poison; a charge which in truth was not sufficiently corroborated by the accusers, since they had only to allege "that at an entertainment of Germanicus, Piso, while he sat above him, with his hands poisoned the meat." For it appeared absurd that amongst so many slaves not his own, in view of so many bystanders, and under the eye of Germanicus, he would attempt it; besides, the accused offered to have his set of slaves put to the rack, and demanded that the waiters should also: but the judges were implacable, but from different motives; Tiberius for the hostile attack on the province; the senate because it could never be convinced that the death of Germanicus was not the effect of fraud. Some moved for the letters written to Piso from Rome; a motion opposed by Tiberius no less than by Piso. From without, at the same time, were heard the cries of the people, "that if he escaped the judgment of the senate, they would not keep their hands off him." They had already dragged some of his statues to the Gemonian steps, and were now pulling down others; but by the orders of Tiberius they were rescued and replaced. Piso was therefore put into a litter and escorted by a tribune of a prætorian cohort; and various were the surmises expressed, whether he attended as a guard for safety, or a minister of death.

15. Plancina was under equal odium, but had more interest; hence it was doubted how far Tiberius durst proceed against her. While her husband's hopes were undecided, she professed "she would share his fortune what-

ever it were, and, if fate would have it so, perish with him." But when by the secret solicitations of Livia, she had secured her own pardon, she began by degrees to detach herself from her husband, and to make a separate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he should make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his sons, fortifying his mind, he again entered the senate; where he had to hear the renewal of the prosecution, the angry expressions of the fathers, and on all hands indications of displeasure and failure; but nothing daunted him so much as to behold Tiberius, exhibiting no token either of commiseration or anger, but sullen and close shut up, that he might be impregnable to every attempt at moving him. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote somewhat, which he sealed and delivered to his freedman: he then paid the usual attention to his person; and after that, late in the night, his wife leaving the chamber, he ordered the door to be shut, and was found, at break of day, stabbed through the throat, his sword lying on the ground.

16. I remember to have heard from aged men, that in the hands of Piso was frequently seen a bundle of writings, which he did not expose, but which, as his friends constantly averred, "contained the letters of Tiberius and his orders against Germanicus; that he was resolved to lay them before the fathers and to charge the emperor, but was deluded by the hollow promises of Sejanus; and that neither did Piso die by his own hands, but of an express executioner, sent into his house." I dare affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of such as still lived when I was a youth. Tiberius, framing his countenance to sadness, complained to the senate that Piso, by that sort of death, had sought to throw odium upon him; and in a rapid succession of questions, inquired particularly how he had passed his last day, how his last night? The freedman answered to most with prudence, to some confusedly. The emperor then recited the letter sent him by Piso. It was conceived almost in these words: "Oppressed by a combination of my enemies and the odium of falsely imputed crimes; since no place is left here for truth and my innocence; to the immortal gods I appeal, that towards you, Cæsar, I have lived with sincere faith, nor towards your mother with less reverence. For my sons I implore her protection and yours: my son Cneius had no share in the events laid to my charge, of whatsoever character they were, since,

during the whole time, he abode at Rome: and my son Marcus dissuaded me from returning to Syria. Oh that, old as I am, I had yielded to him, rather than he, young as he is, to me! Hence the more earnestly I pray that innocent as he is, he be not involved in the punishment of my guilt: by my devoted services for five and forty years, I entreat you; I, who formerly during my fellowship in the consulship with the deified Augustus, your father, enjoyed his approbation and your friendship; I, who shall never ask a favour of you hereafter, implore your mercy for my unhappy son." Of Plancina he said nothing.

17. Tiberius, upon this, cleared the young man of any participation in the guilt of the civil war; alleging that he had acted under "the orders of his father, which a son could not disobey," at the same time bewailing "that noble house, and even the melancholy fate of Piso himself, howsoever deserved." For Plancina he pleaded with shame and guilt, alleging the importunity of his mother; against whom the secret complaints of all the worthiest citizens burst forth with augmented vehemence. "Was it then right for a grandmother to admit to her sight the murderess of her grandson, to hold converse with her, and rescue her from the vengeance of the senate? To Germanicus alone was denied what by the laws was granted to every citizen. By Vitellius and Veranius, the fate of that prince was mourned and his cause pleaded; by the emperor and his mother, Plancina was defended. Henceforth she might turn her infernal arts so successfully tried, and her poisons, upon Agrippina and her children; and, with the blood of that most miserable house, satiate this exemplary grandmother and uncle." Two days were thus wasted in the semblance of a trial; Tiberius animating the sons of Piso to protect their mother. When the pleaders and witnesses had zealously pushed the charge, as no one replied in her defence, commiseration was increased rather than hatred. The consul Aurelius Cotta was first asked his opinion; (for when the emperor collected the voices, the magistrates likewise voted): his sentence was, "that the name of Piso should be erased from the annals, part of his estate confiscated, part granted to his son Cneius, upon changing that name; that his son Marcus be divested of his dignity, and taking fifty thousand great sesterces for his support, be banished for ten years: and that to Plancina indemnity should be granted, in consideration of the prayer of Augusta."

18. Much of this sentence was abated by the emperor; as that of striking Piso's name out of the annals, when

“that of Marc Antony, who made war upon his country; that of Julius Antonius, who had violated the house of Augustus, continued still there.” He also exempted Marcus Piso from ignominy, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often observed, he was tolerably proof against the temptation of money, and at that time from shame at having screened Plancina, he was the more disposed to mercy. He likewise withstood the motion of Valerius Messalinus, “for erecting a golden statue in the temple of Mars the Avenger;” and that of Cæcina Severus, “for founding an altar to Revenge.” “Such monuments as these,” he insisted, “were only fit to be raised upon foreign victories; domestic calamities should be buried in the grief which attended them.” Messalinus had added, “that to Tiberius, Livia, Antonia, Agrippina, and Drusus, public thanks should be rendered for having revenged the death of Germanicus;” but had omitted to mention Claudius. Messalinus was asked by Lucius Asprenas, in the presence of the senate, “whether he was aware that he had omitted him?” and then at length the name of Claudius was subjoined. The more I meditate on the events of ancient or modern times, the more I am struck with the capricious uncertainty which mocks the calculations of men in all their transactions; for there was not a man who was not thought more likely to succeed to the throne, whether from his fame, his promise, or public veneration, than he whom Fortune treasured up in her secret counsels as the future prince.

19. A few days after, Vitellius, Veranius, and Severus, were by the senate preferred to the honours of the priesthood, at the motion of Tiberius. To Fulcinus he promised his suffrage for preferment, but advised him “not to embarrass his eloquence by impetuosity.” Here was the termination of the proceedings for avenging the death of Germanicus; an affair which has been the subject of every variety of misrepresentation, not by those only who then lived, but likewise in succeeding times: so true is it that all transactions of pre-eminent importance are wrapt in doubt and obscurity; while some hold for certain facts the most precarious hearsays, others turn facts into falsehood; and both are exaggerated by posterity. Drusus went out of the city to renew the auspices, and presently entered it in ovation. A few days after died Vipsania his mother; the only one of the children of Agrippa who died a natural death: the rest manifestly perished, or are believed to have perished, by the sword, poison, or famine.

20. The same year, Tacfarinas, whom I have men-

tioned to have been defeated the former summer by Camillus, renewed the war in Africa; first by desultory incursions for the purposes of devastation, so sudden that they escaped unchastised; next by sacking towns and bearing away large booty; at last he beset a Roman cohort, at a small distance from the river Pagida. The fort they occupied was commanded by Decrius, an active and experienced soldier, who regarded this siege as a dishonour. Encouraging his men to offer battle on the open plain, he drew them up without the walls: at the first shock the cohort was repulsed; but the resolute Decrius braved the enemy's darts, opposed the runaways, and upbraided the standard-bearers, "that upon vagabonds and undisciplined robbers the Roman soldiers turned their backs." At the same time he received several wounds; and though his eye was pierced through, he faced the foe, nor ceased fighting till, deserted by his men, he was slain.

21. Lucius Apronius had succeeded Camillus. As soon as he learnt this defeat, grieved rather at the disgrace of his own men, than the glory of the enemy, he practised a severity, at this time rare, and founded on the example of ancient times; beating to death with a cudgel every tenth man of that degraded cohort, drawn by lot: and such was the benefit of this rigour, that those very forces of Tacfarinas, as they assaulted the fortress of Thala, were routed by a body of not more than five hundred veterans. In this battle Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, acquired the glory of saving a citizen, and was by Apronius presented with the spear and collar: Tiberius added the civic crown, complaining rather than offended, that Apronius had not, in his own right as proconsul, granted that also. Tacfarinas, as the Numidians were dismayed and set against sieges, adopted a desultory mode of war; retiring when attacked, and, upon a retreat, assaulting the rear. As long as the barbarian observed this method, without sustaining any loss himself, he mocked the baffled and harassed Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, being prevented from moving by the quantities of plunder, he pitched a camp and remained there. Hither Apronius Cesianus was by his father despatched with the cavalry and auxiliary cohorts, to which he had added the most active of the legionary foot; and, having successfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the deserts.

22. At Rome, Emilia Lepida, who, besides the nobleness of the Emilian family, was great-granddaughter to

Pompey and Sylla, was charged with feigning that she had given birth to a child by Publius Quirinius her husband, a man rich and childless. She was further charged, with "adulteries, poisonings, and treasonable dealings with the Chaldæans about the fate and continuance of the imperial house." Her brother, Manius Lepidus, defended her; and guilty and infamous as she was, the persecution from her husband (continued after their divorce) drew compassion upon her. In this trial, it was no easy matter to discover the heart of Tiberius; with such subtlety he blended and disguised the symptoms of indignation and clemency. At first, he besought the senate, "not to meddle with the articles of treason;" and presently engaged Marcus Servilius, once consul, and the other witnesses, to produce the very evidences of treason which he had desired to suppress: and yet, he took the slaves of Lepida from the guard of soldiers, and transferred them to the consuls; nor would he suffer them to be examined by torture, as to her practices against his own house: he even excused Drusus from voting first, as consul elect. This some understood as a concession to civil equality, "that the rest might not be obliged to follow the example of Drusus:" some ascribed it to cruelty; "for that he would not have surrendered his privilege except he had meant to condemn her."

23. The public games interrupted the trial, when Lepida, accompanied with other ladies of distinguished quality, entered the theatre; and with doleful lamentations invoking her ancestors, and Pompey himself, whose statues stood round in view, and who raised those monuments they saw, she excited such universal commiseration, that the spectators burst into tears, and gave vent to angry and direful imprecations against Quirinius, "to whose childless old age and mean extraction, a lady once designed for the wife of Lucius Cæsar, and for the daughter-in-law of the deified Augustus was given." At last, by putting her slaves to the rack, her crimes were made manifest, and the judgment of Rubellius Blandus prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment Drusus assented, though others had proposed a milder. That her estate should not be forfeited, was shortly after granted to Scaurus, who by her had had a daughter: and now after condemnation, Tiberius divulged the fact, that "from the slaves too of Quirinius he had learnt her attempts to poison him."

24. As a consolation to the illustrious families of Rome, for their late calamities (for the Calpurnian house had suf-



ferred the loss of Piso, and just after, the Æmilian house (that of Lepida) Decius Silanus was now restored to the Junian family. I will briefly recite his disgrace. As, against the republic, the fortune of Augustus carried all before it, so, in his family, it was unhappy; on account of the lewdness of his daughter and granddaughter, whom he banished the city, punishing with death or exile their adulterers. For, by giving to a fault common between men and women, the heinous name of sacrilege and treason, he departed from the lenity of our ancestors and his own laws. But I shall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his severity, as also the other transactions of that time, if, having finished my present undertaking, life remains for other studies. Silanus, who had debauched the granddaughter of Augustus, though the only punishment inflicted on him was, to be excluded from the friendship and presence of the emperor, yet understood this as a denunciation of banishment; nor durst he, till the reign of Tiberius, supplicate the prince and senate for leave to return, through the influence of his brother Marcus Silanus, who was pre-eminently distinguished by his illustrious rank and eloquence. Marcus having returned thanks to Tiberius, had this answer from him before the senate; "that he himself also rejoiced that his brother was returned after a long absence; and justly was it permitted him; since neither by decree of the senate, nor by any law had he been banished; that he himself however retained entire the resentment of his father towards him; nor by the return of Silanus were the resolutions of Augustus cancelled. Thenceforward he remained in Rome, but obtained no honours.

25. A mitigation of the law *Papia Poppæa* was next proposed; a law which Augustus had made when in years, in support of the Julian laws, for punishing celibacy and enriching the exchequer. Nor even by this means did marriages and the bringing up of children become more in vogue, the advantage of having no children to inherit outweighing the penalty of disobedience: however, the numbers endangered by it increased, while by the glosses of informers every family was suffering. So that, as before the city laboured under the weight of crimes, so now under the pest of laws. From this circumstance I am induced to investigate the first rise of laws, and show how it was that this countless multitude and variety of laws were introduced.

26. The first race of men, free as yet from every depraved passion, lived without reproach and crimes, and

therefore without chastisements and restraints; nor was there occasion for rewards, when from their own natural inclination they pursued things honourable: and where they coveted nothing inordinately, they were prohibited from nothing by fear. But, after they had put off their original equality, and instead of moderation and diffidence, ambition and violence entered in, sovereignties sprang up, and in many nations continued without intermission. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were surfeited with tyrants, preferred the government of laws; which, in those early ages, when the minds of men were unsophisticated, were plain and simple. The laws in most renown were those framed for the Cretans by Minos; for the Spartans by Lycurgus; and afterwards that more elaborate and extended code which Solon composed for the Athenians. Romulus ruled over us Romans according to his own pleasure; after him, Numa managed the people by religious devices and divine law. Some institutions were introduced by Tullus Hostilius, and Ancus Martius; but Servius Tullius stands pre-eminent as the founder of laws which the kings themselves were bound to obey.

27. After the expulsion of Tarquin, the people resorted to many expedients for the security of their freedom against the cabals of the senate, and to consolidate the interests of the different orders of the state: hence were created the decemviri, and by them were composed the XII Tables, that consummation of equitable legislation, in which were adopted whatever excellencies could be found in any other codes in existence. For the laws which were made in after times, though sometimes framed to meet the crimes of offenders as they arose, yet more frequently were carried in a violent manner, and during the conflicts of the different orders, from a desire of obtaining unpermitted honours, or getting rid of illustrious men, and for other sinister objects. Hence the Gracchi and Saturnini, those excitors of the people; and hence Drusus, in the name of the senate, vying with them in largesses; hence the allies seduced to espouse his cause by the hope of obtaining the freedom of the city, or rather mocked and deceived by the veto of the tribunes. Neither during the Italian war, nor during the civil war which followed, was the practice discontinued; but many and contradictory laws were then made; till at length Sylla, the dictator, changing or abolishing the past, added many of his own, and procured some respite in this matter, but not for long; for presently followed the turbulent propositions of Lepidus, and soon after to the tribunes was restored their ex-

travagant power of raising commotions among the people by whatsoever means they pleased. And now laws were not made for the public only, but for particular men; and in the most corrupt period of the commonwealth the greatest number of laws were made.

28. Cnæius Pompey, in his third consulship, was chosen to correct the public enormities; but his remedies proved more unsupportable than its distempers. He was at once the maker and the violator of his own laws, and what he had acquired by arms he lost by the same means. Henceforward for twenty years discord raged, neither unwritten nor written law had any force; the most wicked found impunity in the excess of their wickedness; and many virtuous men perished in their uprightness. At length, Augustus Cæsar in his sixth consulship, then confirmed in power, abolished the orders which during the triumvirate he had established, and gave us laws proper for peace and a single ruler. From that time the bonds of slavery were drawn closer: spies were appointed, who by the law *Papia Poppæa* were encouraged with rewards, to watch such as neglected the privileges of marriage, in order that the state, as the common parent, might obtain their vacant possessions. But these informers went beyond the intention of the law, and had got into their clutches the city, Italy, and the Roman citizens in every part of the empire: numbers were stripped of their entire fortunes, and all had the terror of them before their eyes; when Tiberius, chose by lot five of consular rank, five of prætorian, with ten other senators, to apply a remedy; by whom most of its intricacies were explained; which afforded some alleviation of the pressing mischief.

29. Tiberius about this time recommended to the favour of the senate Nero, one of the children of Germanicus, now entered on the state of manhood; and, with the ridicule of those who heard him, desired "that he might be exempted from executing the office of the vigintivirate, and have leave to put up for the quæstorship five years sooner than the laws directed." Tiberius pretended "that the same indulgences had been decreed to himself and his brother Drusus, at the request of Augustus." Nor do I doubt but there were then those who secretly ridiculed such petitions; although then the foundations of the lofty power of the Cæsars were but being laid, the ancient custom was fresher in the recollection; and the relation between Augustus and his wife's sons was slighter than between a grandfather and his grandsons. A seat in the pontifical college was given in addition; and the first day he

entered the forum a gratuity was presented to the people, who were much pleased in beholding a son of Germanicus now of age. After that their joy was heightened by his marriage with Julia the daughter of Drusus. But as these events were received with approbation, so the intended marriage of the daughter of Sejanus with the son of Claudius excited dissatisfaction. Tiberius seemed to have polluted the nobility of the Claudian house by it; and further to have increased the influence of Sejanus, already suspected of aspiring views.

30. In the latter part of this year died Lucius Volusius and Sallustius Crispus; distinguished characters. The family of Volusius was ancient, but rose no higher than the prætorship; it was he who honoured it with the consulship; and was likewise created censor for modelling the classes of the equestrian order; he also laid the foundation of the wealth which that family enjoyed in so boundless a degree. Crispus, who was of an equestrian house, and great-nephew by a sister to Caius Sallustius, that most renowned Roman historian, was adopted by him; and though the way to the great offices was open to him, yet, in imitation of Mæcenas, without the dignity of senator, he surpassed in influence many who were distinguished by consulships and triumphs: differing from the customs of ancient times in his style of living and the elegance of his habits; and, in expense and affluence, bordering upon luxury. But beneath this gay exterior was an energy of mind equal to the greatest affairs, which exerted itself the more in proportion as he made a show of indolence and sloth: he was therefore, in the lifetime of Mæcenas, the next in favour, afterwards chief confidant in all the secret counsels of Augustus and Tiberius, and privy to the order for slaying Agrippa Posthumus; in his old age, he preserved with the prince rather the appearance than the influence of authority. The same had happened to Mæcenas. It is the fate of power, rarely to be lasting; perhaps from satiety in both, when princes have no more to grant, and ministers no more to crave.

31. Next followed the consulship of Tiberius and Drusus; to Tiberius the fourth, to Drusus the second: remarkable from father and son being colleagues—for the same fellowship in the office between Tiberius and Germanicus, two years before, was neither gratifying to the uncle, nor were they so closely connected by relationship. In the beginning of the year, Tiberius, on pretence of reinstating his health, retired to Campania; whether it was

that he would gradually prepare himself for a long and lasting retirement, or to leave to Drusus, in his father's absence, the execution of the consulship alone : and, as it happened, a trifling circumstance which led to a serious contest, afforded the young consul materials for ingratiating himself with the public. Domitius Corbulo, formerly prætor, complained to the senate of Lucius Sylla, a noble youth, "that in the show of gladiators, he would not yield him place." His years, the national custom, and the zealous support of the old men, formed the advantages of Corbulo : on the other side, Mamercus Scaurus, Lucius Arruntius, and others, laboured for their kinsman Sylla : they argued the matter warmly, and the examples of our ancestors were urged, "who by severe decrees had censured irreverence in youth." Till at length Drusus interposed with remarks calculated to soothe their animosities, and Corbulo had satisfaction made him by Scaurus, who was both father-in-law and uncle to Sylla, and the most copious orator of that age. The same Corbulo, exclaiming against "the condition of most of the roads through Italy, that through the fraud of the contractors and negligence of the magistrates, they were interrupted and impassible;" willingly undertook the execution of the business ; but executed it not so much to the convenience of the public as to the ruin of many on whose properties and reputation he made ruthless havoc by his convictions and confiscations.

32. Soon after, Tiberius by a letter acquainted the senate, "that by the incursions of Tacfarinas fresh commotions had arisen in Africa ; and that they must select for proconsul a man of military experience, of vigorous constitution, and who would be equal to the war." Sextus Pompeius, taking this occasion to discharge his hate, reproached Marcus Lepidus as dastardly, indigent, a disgrace to his ancestors, and therefore to be divested even of the government of Asia, his province by lot." But the senate opposed him ; they considered Lepidus as a man rather mild than indolent ; and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeathed to him, but not impaired by him, he preserved his dignity without reproach, he merited honour rather than contumely : he was therefore sent to Asia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed that the appointment of a governor should be left to the emperor.

33. In the course of the debate, Cæcina Severus proposed, "that no magistrate should go into any province accompanied by his wife." He introduced this motion with a long preface, "that he lived with his own in per-

fect concord, by her he had six children; and what he was establishing as a law for all, he had observed at home, having during forty years service confined her to Italy. It was not indeed without cause established of old, that women should not be taken into allied nations or foreign. A train of women introduced luxury in peace, by their fears retarded war, and made a Roman army resemble, in their march, the stately progress of Barbarians. The sex was not only delicate and unequal to fatigue, but, if suffered, cruel, aspiring, and greedy of authority: that they walked among the troops and had the centurions at their beck. A woman had lately presided at the exercises of the troops, and at the decursions of the legions. The senate themselves should consider that as often as any of the magistrates were charged with plundering the provinces, their wives were the chief offenders. To the ladies the most profligate in the province immediately attached themselves; by them all affairs were undertaken and transacted: that two persons were to be attended when they went out, and there were two courts of justice; but the orders of the ladies were the more peremptory and capricious. Such excesses were formerly restrained by the Oppian and other laws; but now, these barriers removed, women ruled all things, their families, the courts of justice, and at length even the armies."

34. This proposition was heard by few with approbation; more met it with clamorous objections, urging "that neither was it regularly laid before the senate, nor was Cæcina of sufficient consideration to originate a reform in so grave a matter." He was soon after answered by Valerius Messalinus, who was the son of Messalia, and the eloquence of the father was reflected in the son. He said: "that many rigorous institutions of the ancients were softened and changed for the better: for, neither was Rome now, as of old, beset with wars, nor the provinces in arms; and a few concessions were made to the conveniences of the gentler sex, who were so far from burdening the provinces, that they were not felt in the private expenditure of their husbands. As to honours, attendance, and expense, they enjoyed them in common with their husbands, who could receive no embarrassment from their company in time of peace. To war indeed we must go equipped and unencumbered; but after the fatigues of war, what relief was more honourable than that which a wife afforded? But some wives had given loose to ambition and avarice! What! were not most of the magistrates themselves chargeable with various excesses? we did not there-

fore send none into the provinces. Husbands were often corrupted by the vices of their wives; and were therefore all single men untainted by such influences? The Oppian laws were formerly passed because the condition of the times required them; such restrictions were afterwards somewhat relaxed and mollified, because it was expedient. In vain we covered our own supineness with borrowed names: if the wife ran into excess, the husband was to blame. It was moreover unreasonable, for the weak and uxorious spirit of one or a few, to bereave all others of the natural partners of their prosperity and distress. Besides, the sex, weak by nature, would be left defenceless, abandoned to their natural extravagance, and the solicitations of adulterers. Scarcely under the eye and restraint of the husband, was the marriage bed preserved inviolate; what must be the consequence, when by an absence of many years, the obligations of marriage should be enfeebled, as in a divorce? It became them so to proceed against abuses abroad, as not to forget the enormities at Rome." To this Drusus added somewhat concerning his own married state: "princes," he said, "were frequently obliged to visit the remote parts of the empire: how often did the deified Augustus travel to the east, how often to the west, accompanied by Livia? He himself too had made a progress to Illyricum, and, if it were expedient, was ready to visit other nations; but not always contentedly if he were to be torn from his wife, who was most dear to him, and by whom he had so many children." Thus was Cæcina's motion eluded.

35. When the senate met next, they had a letter from Tiberius, indirectly rebuking the fathers, "that they cast upon him all the public cares;" and named M. Lepidus and Junius Blæsus, one of whom they should choose as proconsul of Africa. They were then both heard; when Lepidus excused himself with earnestness, pretending "his infirm constitution, the tender age of his children, and a daughter fit for marriage." There was another reason too, of which he said nothing; but it was easily understood: Blæsus was the uncle of Sejanus, and therefore had the prevailing interest. Blæsus, too, made a show of refusing, but not with the same pertinacity, and he was not assisted in his repugnance by the acquiescence of those who wished to flatter him.

36. After this a grievance was brought to light which had hitherto only been matter of suppressed dissatisfaction. It had become a practice for the most abandoned characters to assume the privilege of slandering and ma-

ligning good men, under the protection of Cæsar's statue, to which they fled as a sanctuary: even slaves and freedmen were, out of all reason, objects of terror to their masters or patrons, even when they had insulted and threatened them. Against this abuse it was argued by Caius Sestius the senator, "that princes were indeed as the gods; but by the gods just petitions only were heard: nor did any one betake himself to the Capitol, or the other temples of Rome, that under their shelter he might exercise villanies. That the laws were a dead letter, and utterly subverted, if in the public forum, nay, at the threshold of the senate, Annia Rufilla, whom he had prosecuted to conviction for forgery, could abuse and threaten him: neither durst he seek relief from the law, for that she protected herself with the emperor's statue." Others urged similar complaints, and some beset Drusus with clamorous representations of more aggravated cases, and besought him to hold up a salutary example in the punishment of the offenders; when he ordered her to be summoned, and on her conviction to be committed to the public prison.

37. Considius Æquus too, and Cœlius Cursor, Roman knights, were, at the motion of Drusus, punished by a decree of senate, for forging a charge of treason against the prætor Magius Cæcilianus. From both these events, Drusus reaped applause; it was said, "that by his living thus sociably at Rome, and mixing in company, the closeness and reserve of his father were compensated." Neither did the luxury in which the young prince lived, give much offence. "Let him, it was said, rather thus employ his days in shows, his nights in banqueting, than in dismal solitude, and secluded from all pleasure, wear himself out in gloomy suspicions and meditations of mischief."

38. For neither Tiberius nor the informers were weary of their efforts. Ancharius Priscus had accused Cæsius Cordus, proconsul of Crete, of official plunder, with an additional charge of high treason; a charge, which at that time formed the universal resource in accusations. Antistius Vetus, a nobleman of the first rank in Macedonia, had been tried for adultery and absolved: this offended Tiberius, who reproached the judges, and recalled him to be tried for treason, as a disturber of the public peace, and confederate with the late king Rhescuporis, when having slain his brother Cotys, he meditated war against us. So that Vetus was condemned, and interdicted from fire and water: to this sentence it was added,



“that he should be confined to an island not affording an easy passage either to Macedonia or Thrace.” For, upon the division of that kingdom between Rhemetalces and the sons of Cotys, who on account of their youth had for their guardian Trebellienus Rufus, the Thracians not used to our government, were in a state of discontent and hostility; nor did they less censure Rhemetalces than Trebellienus, for leaving unpunished the wrongs of their countrymen. The Cæletæans, Odrysæans, and Dians, powerful nations, took up arms, under different captains, but equally unknown to fame. For this reason, their armies were not united so as to give a formidable character to the war: some excited to revolt at home, others traversed mount Hæmus, to engage in the insurrection the distant provinces: the greatest part, and best appointed, besieged Philippopolis, (a city founded by Philip of Macedon) and in it king Rhemetalces.)

39. Publius Velleius, who commanded the army in the neighbouring province, hearing of this, despatched the auxiliary horse and light foot; some against those who roamed about for plunder, or to obtain succours: he himself led the flower of the infantry to raise the siege. These several enterprises were at once successfully executed: the plundering parties were cut off; a division arose amongst the besiegers, and the king fortunately made a *sortiè* just as the Roman forces arrived. But it deserves not to be called a regular battle, nor a battle of any sort, where men half armed and stragglers were slaughtered, without blood on our side.

40. The same year the cities of Gaul, stimulated by their excessive debts, began a rebellion. The most active incendiaries were Julius Florus among the Treveri, and Julius Sacrovir among the Æduans. They were both distinguished by their nobility, and by the good services of their ancestors, and were therefore formerly presented with the freedom of the city; a privilege rare in those days, and then only the rewards of virtue. When by secret conferences they had gained all the most daring, with such as were desperate through indigence, or, from guilt of past crimes, forced to commit more; they agreed that Florus should begin the insurrection in Belgium; Sacrovir amongst the neighbouring Gauls. In order to this, going about to places of public resort and meetings of the people, they uttered seditious harangues; representing “their tribute without end, their oppressive usury, the insolence and cruelty of their governors: further, that since the report of the murder of Germanicus, dissension pre-

vailed among the Roman soldiery: that to be convinced that a rare opportunity of recovering their liberty now presented itself, they need only consider, whereas they were themselves in a flourishing state, how poor and exhausted was Italy; the Roman populace how weak and unwarlike, the Roman armies how destitute of all vigour but that derived from foreigners."

41. Scarcely one city remained untainted with the seeds of this rebellion; but it first broke out among the Andecavii and the Turonii. The former were reduced by Acilius Aviola, a legate, with the assistance of a cohort drawn from the garrison at Lyons. The latter were suppressed by the same Aviola, with some legionary troops sent by Visellius Varro, lieutenant-governor of lower Germany. Some of the chiefs of the Gauls had likewise joined him with succours, the better to disguise their defection, and to advance it with more effect at a convenient time. Even Sacrovir was seen animating the troops to fight for the Romans, with his head bare, a demonstration, he pretended, of his bravery; but the prisoners maintained, that "he did it to be known to his countrymen, and to escape their darts." An account of all this was laid before Tiberius, who repudiated it as unauthentic, and by his indecision gave increased vigour to the war.

42. Florus meanwhile followed up his designs, and tried to entice a regiment of horse, levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and discipline, to begin the war by putting to the sword the Roman bankers; and a few were corrupted, but the body remained in their allegiance. In another part a rabble of his followers and debtors took arms, and were making for the forest called Ardenna, when the legions sent from both armies by Visellius and Caius Silius by opposite routes intercepted them; and Julius Indus, one of the same city with Florus, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to perform the service, being sent forward with a chosen band, further routed the ill appointed multitude. Florus, by shifting from one hiding place to another, frustrated the search of the conquerors; but at last, when he saw all the passes beset with soldiers, he fell by his own hands. This was the issue of the insurrection of the Treveri.

43. Amongst the Æduans the revolt was an affair of more magnitude, in proportion as the state was more opulent, and the forces to suppress it lay at a greater distance. Augustodunum, the capital of the nation, was siezed by Sacrovir, and in it all the most illustrious youth of Gaul, who were there occupied in learning the liberal

arts. By securing these pledges he aimed at attaching to his interest their parents and relations; and at the same time distributed to the young men arms which he had caused to be secretly made. He had forty thousand men, the fifth part armed like our legions, the rest with poles, hangers, and other weapons used by hunters. To the number were added such of the slaves as had been appointed to be gladiators; these were covered, after the fashion of the country, with a complete plate of iron, and styled Crupellarii; too much encumbered to use their own weapons, and yet impenetrable by those of others. These forces were still increased by volunteers from the neighbouring cities, where, though the public body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of individuals exerted itself: they had likewise leisure to increase from the contention of the two Roman generals; who were disputing which should take the conduct of the war, while each demanded it. At length Varro, old and infirm, yielded to the superior vigour of Silius.

44. Now at Rome was reported, "not only the insurrection of the Treveri and of the Æduans, but likewise, that sixty-four cities of Gaul had revolted; that the Germans had joined in the confederacy, and that Spain was wavering; all which was believed in this exaggerated form, as is usual in matters of rumour. All the worthiest men grieved, from concern for their country: many from hatred of the present state of things and thirst of change, rejoiced even in their own perils: they inveighed against Tiberius, "that in a commotion so extensive, he spent his time upon the informations of the state accusers." They asked, "would Julius Sacrovir be tried for treason before the senate?" They exulted, "that there were at last found men who would with arms restrain the bloody orders for private murders," and declared, "that even war was a happy change for a miserable peace." So much the more studiously Tiberius assumed an air of security and unconcern; neither changing his place nor countenance, but conducting himself at that critical time as at others; whether it arose from the depth of his dissimulation, or that he had learnt that it was no great matter, and of less importance, than rumour represented it.

45. Silius meanwhile sent forward a band of auxiliaries, and marching slowly with two legions ravaged the villages of the Sequanians, a people at the extreme confines of Gaul, bordering upon the Æduans, and their associates in arms. He then advanced rapidly towards Augustodunum; the standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the

common men indignantly desiring "that they might not wait to take their usual repose, nor intermit their march by night; let them only see and confront the foe; they wanted no more to be victorious." Twelve miles from Augustodunum Sacrovir appeared with his forces upon the plains: in the front he had placed the troops in iron armour, his cohorts in the wings; the half-armed in the rear: he himself, on a superb charger, and attended by the other chiefs, rode from rank to rank, and addressing them, reminded them "of the glorious achievements of the ancient Gauls; the defeats they had given the Romans; how honourable their liberty regained by victory, and how much more intolerable their servitude if again subdued."

46. The speech was brief; and the hearers out of heart; for the embattled legion's approached, while the crowd of townsmen, ill-appointed and novices in war, were scarcely collected enough to see or hear. On the other side, Silius, although the confidence with which the completion of their hopes was anticipated rendered exhortation unnecessary, yet called to his men, "that they might be with reason ashamed that they, the conquerors of Germany, should be thus led against a rabble of Gauls as against an equal enemy: one cohort had lately defeated the Turonian rebel; one regiment of horse the Trevirian; a handful of this very army had routed the Sequanians: and now as to the Æduans, since as they are more exuberant in wealth, and prodigal in voluptuousness, they are so much the more unwarlike, show how far you are superior to them, but spare those who fly from the field." His words were received with a mighty cry. Instantly the horse attacked the foe on both flanks; the foot attacked their front; the business was soon settled in the wings: the men in iron armour stood their ground for a while, as their iron plates resisted the strokes of sword and pike: but the soldiers had recourse to their hatchets and pickaxes, and, as if they had battered a wall, hewed their bodies and armour: others with clubs, or forks, beat down the unwieldy mass, and as they lay stretched along, without the least power to raise themselves up, they were left like dead men. Sacrovir fled first to Augustodunum; and thence, fearful of being surrendered, to a neighbouring town, accompanied by his most faithful adherents: there he slew himself, and the rest smote each other, having first set fire to the town over their heads, in the flames of which they were all consumed.

47. Then at length Tiberius wrote to the senate about this war, and at once acquainted them with its rise and

conclusion, neither aggravating nor extenuating the facts; but added "that it was conducted by the fidelity and bravery of his lieutenants, and that he had himself aided them by his counsels." He likewise assigned the reasons why neither he, nor Drusus, went to that war; alleging in lofty terms "the great extent of the empire; and urging that it became not the dignity of a prince, upon the revolt of one or two towns, to desert the capital, which was the source of government to the whole; but now that he could not be supposed to be under any apprehension, he would go and look into the state of those nations and adjust their affairs." The senate decreed vows and supplications for his return, with other marks of honour. Only Cornelius Dolabella, while he strove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous sycophancy, and moved "that from Campania he should enter Rome in ovation." This was followed by a letter from Tiberius; in which he declared, "he was not so destitute of glory, that after having in his youth subdued the fiercest nations, and enjoyed or slighted so many triumphs, he should now in his old age seek empty honours from a short progress about the suburbs of Rome."

48. About the same time he desired of the senate, that "the decease of Publius Quirinius might be celebrated by a public funeral." Quirinius was born at Lanuvium, a municipal town, and nowise related to the ancient patrician family of the Sulpicii; but being a brave soldier, was for his active services rewarded with the consulship under Augustus; and soon after with a triumph, for driving the Homonades out of their strongholds in Cilicia: next when the young Caius Cæsar was sent to settle the affairs of Armenia, Quirinius was appointed his governor, and at the same time had paid court to Tiberius, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the emperor represented now to the senate; he extolled the kind offices of Quirinius, and branded Marcus Lollius as the author of the perverse behaviour of Caius Cæsar to himself, and of all the jarring between them. But the memory of Quirinius was not agreeable to the rest of the senate, by reason of the danger he brought upon Lepida, as I have before related, and his sordid meanness and overbearing conduct in the latter part of his life.

49. At the end of the year, Caius Lutorius Priscus, a Roman knight, who had composed a celebrated poem, bewailing the death of Germanicus, and received a reward from Tiberius, was laid hold of by an informer. His charge was, "that during an illness of Drusus, he had composed

another, which, if the distemper proved fatal, he hoped to publish with a reward still greater." This poem Lutorius had, in the fulness of vanity, rehearsed at the house of Publius Petronius, in the presence of Vitellia, mother-in-law to Petronius, and many other ladies of quality: when the informer appeared, the other witnesses yielded to their fears and gave testimony: Vitellia alone persisted that she had heard nothing. But the evidence tending to destroy him had most credit; and it was the sentence of Haterius Agrippa, consul elect, that the accused should suffer the extreme penalty of the law.

50. This was opposed by M. Lepidus, who spoke on this wise: "Conscript fathers, if we only regard with what abominable effusions Lutorius Priscus has defiled his own soul, and the ears of men; neither dungeon, nor rope, nor indeed the punishments peculiar to slaves, are sufficient for him. But though immoralities and enormities exceed all measure; yet the clemency of the prince and the precedents of our ancestors and yourselves, moderate the severity of punishments and remedial visitations; there is a difference between vanity and villany, empty words and nefarious deeds: there is room left for a middle judgment, by which neither his offence need escape unpunished, nor we repent either of our lenity or our severity. I have often heard our prince bewailing the event, when any criminal had, by a voluntary death, prevented the exercise of his mercy. The life of Lutorius is still untouched: to save it, will not endanger the state; to take it away will be of no benefit as an example to others. His pursuits, as they exhibit nothing but the creations of a disordered imagination, so are they powerless and ephemeral; nor is anything important or serious to be apprehended from one who thus betrays his own follies, and seeks to work upon the minds not of men, but silly women: let him however be banished from Rome, interdicted from fire and water, and forfeit his goods: and this punishment I award him, in like manner as if he were convicted of high treason."

51. Among those of consular rank, only Rubellius Blandus assented to this opinion of Lepidus; the rest voted with Agrippa. Priscus was led to the dungeon, and instantly put to death. Tiberius complained of this proceeding before the senate in his usual see-saw style; he magnified "their loyalty in avenging thus with severity injuries done to the prince, though slight;" but he entreated them, "not to be so precipitate in punishing for mere words;" he praised Lepidus, and censured not Agrippa. Hence a decree was made, "that the decrees of

senate should not in less than ten days be carried to the treasury, and that the life of the condemned should be spared for that interval." But to the senate was given no liberty of revising their judgments; nor was Tiberius ever softened by time.

52. Caius Sulpicius and Decimus Haterius were the next consuls. Their year was exempt from disturbances abroad; but at home some severe measures were apprehended against luxury, which was carried beyond all bounds in everything which involved a profuse expenditure. But the more pernicious instances of extravagance were covered, as the cost was generally a secret; while from the sums spent in gluttony and revelry, as they were the subject of daily animadversion, apprehensions were raised of some severe corrective from a prince who observed himself the ancient parsimony. For, Caius Bibulus having begun the complaint, the other ædiles took it up, and declared, "that the sumptuary laws were despised; the pomp and expense of plate and entertainments, in spite of restraints, increased daily, and by moderate penalties the evil could not be stopped." This grievance thus represented to the senate, was by them referred entire to the emperor. Tiberius having long weighed with himself whether such propensities to prodigality could be stemmed; whether the stemming it would not bring heavier evils upon the public; how ignominious it would be to attempt what could not be effected, or which could only be effected by the disgrace and degradation of the most illustrious citizens; wrote at last to the senate in this manner:

53. "In other matters, conscript fathers, perhaps it might be more expedient for you to consult me in the senate, and for me to declare there what I judge for the public weal: but in the debate on this affair, it was best that my eyes were withdrawn; lest, while you marked the countenances and trepidation of individuals charged with scandalous luxury, I too should have observed them, and, as it were, caught them in it. Had the vigilant ædiles first asked counsel of me, I know not whether I should not have advised them rather to wink at overpowering and inveterate corruptions, than only make it manifest what enormities are too strong for us: but they in truth have done their duty, as I would have all other magistrates fulfil theirs. But for myself, it is neither commendable to be silent, nor yet to speak out; since I neither bear the character of ædile, prætor, or consul: something still greater and higher is required of a prince. Every one is ready to assume to himself the credit of whatever is well done,

while upon the prince alone are thrown the miscarriages of all. But what is it that I am first to prohibit, what excess retrench to the ancient standard? Am I to begin with that of our country seats, spacious without bounds; and with the number of domestics, from various countries? or with the quantity of silver, and gold? or with the pictures, and statues of brass, the wonders of art? or with vestments, promiscuously worn by men and women? or with what is peculiar to the women, those precious stones, for the purchase of which our coin is carried into foreign or hostile nations?

54. "Nor am I ignorant that at entertainments and in parties these excesses are censured, and a regulation is demanded; and yet if an equal law were made, if equal penalties were prescribed, these very censors would loudly complain, 'that the state was utterly overturned, that every illustrious house was menaced with ruin, and that every citizen was exposed to criminal informations.' And yet as bodily diseases grown inveterate and strengthened by time, cannot be checked but by potent and violent remedies, so the morbid fire which rages in the mind, corrupted and corrupting, is not to be quenched but by remedies equally strong as its own flaming lusts. So many laws made by our ancestors, so many added by the deified Augustus; the former being lost in oblivion, and (which is more heinous) the latter in contempt, have only served to render luxury more secure; for when we covet a thing yet unforbidden, we are apt to fear that it may be forbidden; but when once we can with impunity overleap prohibited bounds, there remains afterwards nor fear nor shame. Why then did parsimony prevail of old? It was because every one was a law to himself; it was because we were then the citizens of one city: nor afterwards, while our dominion was confined to Italy, had we the same incentives to voluptuousness. By foreign conquests we learned to waste the property of others, and by civil wars to consume our own. How small is the evil of which the ædiles warn us! how lightly does it weigh in the balance with others? It is wonderful that nobody lays before the senate that Italy stands in need of foreign supplies; that the lives of the Roman people are daily exposed to the mercy of uncertain seas and tempests: were it not for our supplies from the provinces; supplies by which the masters, and their slaves, and their estates, are maintained; will our groves forsooth, and villas maintain us? This duty, conscript fathers, devolves upon the prince; and if it were neglected, the utter ruin of the state would follow.



The remedies for the other maladies are all within our own breasts: some of us shame will reclaim; necessity will mend the poor; satiety the rich. Or if any of the magistrates, from a confidence in his own strictness of principle and energy, will undertake to stem the progress of so great an evil, he has my praises, and my acknowledgment that he disburdens me of part of my labours; but if their will is merely to declaim against abuses, and when they have gained applause for the same leave me to bear the odium of proposing the measures they recommend, believe me, conscript fathers, I too am not fond of giving offence: and though I am content to encounter heed, and for the most part unmerited animosities, for the good of the commonwealth, I am justified in deprecating such as are uncalled for and superfluous; and can be of no service either to me or to yourselves."

55. The senate, upon reading the emperor's letter, declined interfering in an affair of this nature, and sent it back to the ædiles: and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of Actium to the revolution by which Galba obtained the empire, a space of a hundred years, was practised with the most costly profusion, began then gradually to decline. The causes of this change I would investigate. Formerly, noble families who were distinguished for opulence or the splendour of their fame, frequently fell into decay from a passion for magnificence: for even then it was allowed to court the good graces of the Roman people, the allies and potentates, and to be courted by them: each was distinguished for popularity and the number of clients, in proportion to his affluence, the splendour of his house, and the figure he made. But when tyrants shed the blood of their subjects, and the greatness of reputation formed a motive for destruction, those who escaped grew wiser: besides, men of no family frequently chosen senators from the municipal towns, from the colonies, and even from the provinces, brought with them the frugality they observed at home; and though, by good fortune or industry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former habits continued. But Vespasian was the great promoter of parsimonious living, himself a pattern of primitive strictness in his person and table: hence the compliance of the public with the manners of the prince; and the gratification of imitating him, operated more powerfully than the terror of laws and all their penalties. Or perhaps all human things go a certain round, and there are revolutions in manners analagous to the vicissitudes of the seasons: nor indeed have our an-

cestors excelled us in all things; our own age has produced many bright examples in moral conduct and the arts, to excite the emulation of posterity. But for these we are indebted to our forefathers: and may these contests for pre-eminence in virtue continue.

56. Tiberius, having gained the fame of moderation because he had checked the presumptuous expectations of the informers, wrote to the senate to desire the tribunician power for Drusus. Augustus had devised this designation of supreme power, that while avoiding the title of king or dictator, he might yet have some appellation by which he would overtop all the other authorities. He afterwards shared it with Marcus Agrippa; and, upon his death, chose Tiberius for his associate; that none might doubt who was to be his successor. By this means, he conceived, he should prevent the aspiring views of others; while he confided in the moderation of Tiberius, and the extent of his own authority. By his example, Tiberius now advanced Drusus to the supreme magistracy; whereas, while Germanicus yet lived, he had shown no preference to either. In the beginning of his letter he besought the gods "that they would prosper his counsels in behalf of the republic;" and then added a guarded testimony to the qualities of the young prince, without any false additions; "that he had a wife and three children, and was of the same age with himself when called by the deified Augustus to that office: that Drusus was not now adopted precipitately by him as a partner in the toils of government; but after having had eight years' proof of him in seditions suppressed, wars concluded, the honour of a triumph and two consulships."

57. The senators had anticipated this address; hence they received it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could devise nothing to decree, but "statues to the two princes, altars to the gods, arches," and other usual honours: only that Marcus Silanus, in his zeal to honour the princes, would have degraded the consulate: he proposed "that all monuments, public and private, should, as a record of their date, be inscribed not with the names of the consuls, but of those who exercised the tribunician power." But Haterius Agrippa, by moving to have "the decrees of that day engraved in letters of gold, and hung up in the senate," became an object of derision; since as he was an old man he could reap from his most abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

58. In the mean time, as the province of Africa was continued to Junius Blæsus, Servius Maluginensis, priest

of Jupiter, demanded that of Asia. He insisted "that it was vainly alleged that such priests were not allowed to leave Italy: that he was under no other restriction than those of Mars and Romulus; and if the latter were admitted to the lots of provinces, why were those of Jupiter debarred? There were no decisions of the people on this subject, nor could anything be found in the books of ceremonies. That frequently, when the priests of Jupiter were prevented by sickness or public duty, their function was supplied by the pontiffs. That there was no priest appointed in his room for two and seventy years together, after the death of Cornelius Merula, and yet the exercise of religion never ceased. Now if in such a series of years, religion could subsist unimpaired, without the creation of any such priest at all; how much easier might his absence be borne in the exercise of the proconsular power, for one year? That it was the effect of private piques, that formerly the priests of Jupiter were by the chief pontiffs debarred from the government of provinces. But now, by the goodness of the gods, the chief of pontiffs was also the chief of men; a pontiff with whom emulation, hatred, and other personal prepossessions, had no influence."

59. To these his reasonings various answers were made by Lentulus the augur, and others; the result was "to wait for the decision of the supreme pontiff." Tiberius postponing his notice of the pretensions of the priest of Jupiter, qualified the honours decreed to Drusus on his assuming the tribunician power; and especially censured the "extravagance of the motion, and the golden letters, as contrary to the custom of Rome." Letters from Drusus were likewise read, and though modest in expression, they were construed to be full of haughtiness; "had things then come to this pass, they said, that even a youth, just distinguished with such high honour, deigned not to visit the gods of Rome, nor appear in senate; nor take the initiatory auspices in his native city? A war, forsooth, detained him; he had a journey to make from remote countries, while he was doing nothing more than diverting himself upon the lakes and shores of Campania. Thus was the ruler of the earth trained for his task; and this the lesson he had learnt from the maxims of his father! The emperor himself, now in the decline of life, might indeed be averse to living under the eye of the public, and plead exhausted energies and the toils he had endured; but what except insolence could prevent Drusus?"

60. Tiberius, while he fortified himself in the prince-

dom, amused the senate with a shadow of their ancient jurisdiction; by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the provinces. For there had now prevailed amongst the Greek cities a latitude of instituting sanctuaries at pleasure. Hence the temples were filled with the most profligate slaves: here debtors found protection against their creditors; and hither were admitted such as were pursued for capital crimes. Nor was any authority sufficient to bridle the licentiousness of the people, who protected the crimes of men as if they were ceremonies appertaining to the gods. It was therefore ordered that these cities should send deputies and their muniments. Some of the cities voluntarily relinquished the nominal privileges which they had arbitrarily assumed: many confided in the antiquity of their superstitions, or in the merits of their kind offices to the Roman people. Glorious was the spectacle on that day, when the grants from our ancestors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances even of kings who had reigned before the Roman power, and even the sacred ceremonies of their gods, were now all subjected to the inspection of the senate; their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or abolish.

61. First of all the Ephesians appeared. They alleged, that "Diana and Apollo were not, according to the credulity of the vulgar, born at Delos: in their territory flowed the river Cenchri, where also stood the Ortygian grove: there the teeming Latona, leaning upon an olive-tree, which even then remained, was delivered of these deities; and thence by their appointment the grove became sacred. Thither Apollo himself, after his slaughter of the Cyclops, retired from the wrath of Jupiter: soon after, the victorious Bacchus pardoned the suppliant Amazons, who sought refuge at the altar of Diana: by the concession of Hercules, when he reigned in Lydia, the sanctity of the temple was increased; nor during the Persian monarchy were its privileges invaded: they were next maintained by the Macedonians, and then by us."

62. The Magnesians next asserted their claim, founded on the ordinances of Lucius Scipio, and Sylla: the former after the defeat of Antiochus; the latter after that of Mithridates, having, as a testimony of the faith and bravery of the Magnesians, dignified their temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodisians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from Cæsar the dictator, for their early services to his party; and another lately from Augustus, with a commendation inserted, "that with zeal

unshaken towards the Roman people, they had borne the irruption of the Parthians." But these two people adored different deities: Aphrodisium was a city devoted to Venus; that of Stratonicea maintained the worship of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Those of Hierocæsarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, "that they possessed the Persian Diana, and her temple consecrated by king Cyrus." They likewise pleaded the authorities of Perpenna, Isauricus, and of many more Roman captains, who had allowed the same sacred immunity not to the temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Those of Cyprus pleaded right of sanctuary to three of their temples; the most ancient, dedicated by Ærias to the Paphian Venus; another by his son Amathus, to the Amathusian Venus; the third, to the Salaminian Jupiter by Teucer, the son of Telamon, when he fled from the fury of his father.

63. The deputies of other cities also were heard. But the senate tired with so many, and because there was a contention of parties, referred to the consuls "to search into the validity of their several pretensions, and if in them any fraud was involved, to lay the whole matter once more before the senate." The consuls reported, that besides the cities already mentioned, "they had found the temple of Æsculapius at Pergamos to be a genuine sanctuary; the others rested upon titles obscured by the mists of antiquity. Smyrna particularly pleaded an oracle of Apollo, in obedience to which they had dedicated a temple to Venus Stratoniceis; as did the isle of Tenos on an oracle from the same god, to erect to Neptune a statue and temple. Sardis urged a later authority, namely, a grant from the great Alexander; Miletus insisted on one from king Darius: as to the deities of these two cities, one worshipped Diana, the other Apollo. And Crete too demanded the privilege of sanctuary to a statue of the deified Augustus." Hence diverse orders of senate were made, by which, though great reverence was expressed towards the deities, yet the extent of the sanctuaries was limited; and the several people were enjoined "to hang up in each temple the present decree engraven in brass, as a sacred memorial, and a restraint upon any attempts to exceed their due claims, under the colour of religion."

64. At the same time, the severe illness of Livia obliged the emperor to hasten his return to Rome; for hitherto the mother and son lived in real unanimity, or dissembled hate. It was indeed not long before, that Livia, having dedicated a statue to the deified Augustus, near the theatre of Marcellus, had the name of Tiberius inscribed after

her own. This he was believed to have resented heinously, as degrading to the dignity of the prince; but to have buried his resentment in dark dissimulation. Upon this occasion, the senate decreed "supplications to the gods; with the celebration of the greater Roman games, under the direction of the pontiffs, the augurs, the college of fifteen, assisted by the college of seven, and the fraternity of the Augustal priests." Lucius Apronius had moved, that "with the rest might preside the company of heralds." Tiberius opposed it; he distinguished between the jurisdiction of the priests and theirs, and referred to precedents: "for that at no time," he said, "had the heralds arrived to so much pre-eminence; but as for the Augustal fraternity, they were added because they exercised a priesthood peculiar to that family for which the present vows and solemnities were made."

65. It is no part of my place to detail the votes that were given, unless they are distinguished for integrity, or notable for infamy: this I conceive to be the principal use of annals, that instances of virtue may be recorded; and that by the dread of future infamy and the censures of posterity, men may be deterred from depravity in word or deed. But such was the pestilential character of those times, so contaminated with adulation, that not only the first nobles, whose obnoxious splendour found protection only in obsequiousness, but all who had been consuls, a great part of such as had been prætors, and even many of the inferior senators, strove for priority in the fulsomeness and extravagance of their votes. There is a tradition, that Tiberius, as often as he went out of the senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, 'How fitted for slavery are these men!' Yes, even Tiberius, the enemy of public liberty, nauseated the crouching tameness of his slaves.

66. Hence by degrees they proceeded from acts of abasement to those of vengeance. Caius Silanus, proconsul of Asia, accused by our allies of rapine and extortion, was further impleaded by Mamercus Scaurus, once consul, Junius Otho, prætor, and Brutidius Niger, ædile: they charged him with "violating the divinity of Augustus, and with despising the majesty of Tiberius." Mamercus boasted, that he imitated the great examples of old; "that Lucius Cotta was accused by Scipio; Servius Galba by Cato the censor; Publius Rutilius by Marcus Scaurus." As if such crimes were avenged by Scipio and Cato; or by that very Scaurus, whom this same Mamercus his great grandson, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now disgracing by the vile occupation of an informer! The

original employment of Junius Otho, was that of a school-master. Thence being by the influence of Sejanus created a senator, he laboured by deeds of shameless daring to triumph over the meanness of his original. Brutidius abounded in worthy accomplishments; and, had he proceeded in the direct road, would have succeeded to all the highest honours; but over-eagerness hurried him out of his course, while he strove to outdo first his equals, afterwards his superiors, and at last his own anticipations; a conduct which has been fatal to many even virtuous men, who, scorning slow but safe advancement, have grasped at honours before they were ripe for them, and brought ruin upon themselves.

67. Gellius Poplicola, and Marcus Paconius, joined the ranks of the accusers; the former quæstor to Silanus, the other his lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accused was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beset by disadvantages, dangerous even to the innocent; besides so many senators his open foes, he had to reply alone and unaided to the most eloquent pleaders of all Asia, and therefore chosen purposely to accuse him; ignorant as he was of pleading, and under personal fear; a circumstance which disables even practised eloquence: neither did Tiberius refrain from browbeating him, addressing him in a harsh tone, frowning upon and asking him incessant questions; nor was he allowed leisure to refute or evade them; nay, he was often forced to confess, lest the emperor should have asked in vain. The slaves too of Silanus, in order to be examined by torture, were delivered in sale to the city-steward; and that none of his relations might engage in his defence, or aid him under such a heavy prosecution, crimes of treason were subjoined; a sure bar to all help, and a seal upon their lips. Having therefore requested an interval of a few days, he abandoned his defence, and tried the emperor by a memorial, in which he blended remonstrances with prayers.

68. Tiberius, the better to palliate by precedent his purposes against Silanus, caused to be recited the record of Augustus, concerning Volesus Messala, proconsul of the same province, and the decree of senate made against him. He then asked Lucius Piso his opinion: Piso, after a long preface about the emperor's clemency, proposed "to interdict Silanus from fire and water, and to banish him into the island Gyarus." The rest voted the same thing; only that Cneius Lentulus moved "that the estate descending from his mother Cornelia should be distinguished from his own, and restored to his son; inasmuch

as his own mother was a different person from her from whom he inherited the property in question." Tiberius assented. But Cornelius Dolabella, pursuing his old strain of adulation, and having first inveighed against the morals of Silanus, added "that no man of profligate manners, and branded with infamy, should be eligible to the government of provinces; and of this the prince was to judge. Transgressions, he said, were punished by the laws; but how much more merciful would it be to prevent transgressions! more merciful to the men themselves, and advantageous to the provinces."

69. Against this Tiberius reasoned, "that in truth he was not ignorant of the prevailing rumours concerning the conduct of Silanus; but decrees must not be built upon rumours: in the administration of provinces, many had disappointed our hopes; and many our fears. Some, by the magnitude and importance of their duties, were roused into amendment; others sunk under them: the prince could not within his own view comprise everything; nor was it at all expedient for him to be answerable for the ambitious proceedings of others. Laws were therefore appointed against acts committed, because all things future are hid in uncertainty. Such were the institutions of our ancestors; that if crimes preceded, punishments were to follow: nor should they change establishments wisely contrived and always approved. The prince had already a sufficiency of burdens, and even a sufficiency of power: the rights of individuals decreased when that of the prince advanced; nor was sovereignty to be exercised where the laws would serve." This speech was listened to with the greater delight as manifestations of popular principles were rare with Tiberius. He added, prudent as he was in mitigating extremes, where his own personal resentments did not impel him, "that Gyarus was an inhospitable island, and devoid of human culture; that, in favour to the Junian family, and as a patrician lately of their own order, they should allow him for his place of exile the isle of Cythera: that this too was the request of Torquata, the sister of Silanus, a vestal virgin of primitive sanctity." This motion prevailed.

70. The Cyrenians were afterwards heard; and Cæsius Cordus charged by them, and impleaded by Ancharius Priscus, for plundering the province, was condemned. Lucius Ennius, a Roman knight, was impeached of treason, "for that he had converted an effigy of the prince into the ordinary purposes to which silver is applied;" but Tiberius would not allow him to be arraigned. Against



this acquittal Ateius Capito openly declared his protest, with an air of liberty: "for the emperor," he said, "ought not to force from the fathers the power of determining; nor ought so great an iniquity to pass unpunished: he might indeed be passive under his own grievances, but let him not make free with the indignation of the senate and the injuries done the commonwealth." Tiberius considered rather the drift of these words than the expression, and persisted in his interposition. The infamy of Capito was the more noted, because, learned as he was in laws human and divine, he thus obstructed the public good, and cast a stain upon his own personal accomplishments.

71. The next was a religious debate, in what temple to place the gift vowed by the Roman knights to Fortune, styled the Equestrian, for the recovery of Livia: for, though in the city were many temples to this goddess, yet none had that title. At last it was discovered that at Antium was one thus named: and as all the religious institutions in the cities of Italy, all the temples and statues of the deities, were included in the jurisdiction and sovereignty of Rome, the gift was ordered to be presented there. While matters of religion were in agitation, the answer lately deferred, concerning Servius Maluginensis, priest of Jupiter, was now produced by Tiberius, who recited a statute of the pontiffs, "that when the priest of Jupiter was taken ill, he might, with the consent of the chief pontiff, be absent two nights, except on days of public sacrifice, and never more than twice in the same year." This regulation made under Augustus, sufficiently showed that a year's absence and the administration of provinces, were not allowed to the priests of Jupiter. He likewise quoted the example of Lucius Metellus, chief pontiff, who restrained to Rome Aulus Postumius, who was in that capacity. So the lot of Asia was conferred on that consular who was next in seniority to Maluginensis.

72. At this time, Lepidus asked leave of the senate to strengthen and beautify, at his own expense, the Basilica of Paulus; a peculiar monument of the Æmilian family. For even then it was usual with private men to be magnificent in public works. Nor had Augustus opposed Taurus, Philippus, or Balbus, for applying their overflowing wealth, or the spoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the city, and the perpetuation of their own renown. By their example Lepidus, though but moderately rich, meant now to revive the glory of his ancestors. But Tiberius undertook to rebuild the theatre of Pompey, which was accidentally burnt, because none of the family

were equal to the charge; still however to be called by the name of Pompey. At the same time, he celebrated the praises of Sejanus, and to his vigilance and efforts ascribed it, that a flame so violent was stopped at one building only. Hence the fathers decreed a statue to Sejanus, to be placed in the theatre of Pompey: nor was it long after that the emperor, when he dignified Junius Blæsus with the ensigns of triumph, declared "that in honour to Sejanus he did it;" for Blæsus was the uncle of Sejanus.

73. And yet the actions of Blæsus were entitled to such a distinction. For Tacfarinas, though often repulsed, yet still repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arrived at such a pitch of arrogance, that he sent ambassadors to Tiberius with demands "for a settlement for himself and his army;" otherwise he threatened to involve him in "endless war." They say that upon no occasion was Tiberius ever so deeply affected at an insult offered to himself and the Roman name; "that a deserter and a robber should thus, like a regular enemy, offer to treat! Not even to Spartacus was granted permission to treat for peace, while after the slaughter of so many consular armies, he still carried fire and desolation through Italy with impunity, though the commonwealth, then engaged in two wars of surpassing magnitude with Sertorius and Mithridates, was tottering under them. Much less was Tacfarinas, a freebooter, when the Roman people were in their most glorious elevation, to be bought off by terms of peace and the concession of lands." Hence he commissioned Blæsus "to engage all his followers, by the hopes of indemnity, to lay down their arms; but to get into his hands the leader himself, by whatever means."

74. And on these terms of pardon many were brought over; and the war was forthwith prosecuted against him by stratagems not unlike his own. For as he, who in strength of men was unequal, but in arts of stealth and pillaging superior, made his incursions in separate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, while at the same time he planted ambushes; so on our side, three distinct routes were resolved upon, and three several bodies set in motion. Scipio, the proconsul's lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence Tacfarinas made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongst the Garamantes: in another quarter the younger Blæsus led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the Cirtensians from ravages: between both marched the proconsul himself, with the flower of the army, erecting forts and casting up entrenchments in convenient places, thus

hemming the enemy in by a complete chain of positions, so that whichever way they turned, still some party of the Roman forces was upon them; in front; in flank; and often in the rear; and by this means were many slain, or made prisoners. This triple army was again split by Blæsus into bands still smaller, and over each a centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as usual at the end of the season, draw off his forces from the field, or dispose them in winter-quarters in the old province; but, as if in the threshold of the war, having raised more forts, he despatched light parties, acquainted with the deserts, who drove Tacfarinas before them, continually shifting his huts; till having captured his brother, he retreated; too hastily however for the good of the province, as there were still left behind the means of rekindling the war. But Tiberius took it for concluded, and likewise granted to Blæsus that he should be by the legions saluted 'Imperator:' an ancient honour, usually rendered to the old Roman captains, who, upon their successful exploits for their country, were saluted with shouts of joy and vehement exultation from their victorious armies: and there have been at once several Imperators; without any pre-eminence of one over the rest. It was a title vouchsafed to some even by Augustus; and now, for the last time, by Tiberius to Blæsus.

75. This year died two illustrious men; the first, Asinius Saloninus, distinguished as the grandson of Marcus Agrippa and Asinius Pollio; half-brother of Drusus, and the intended husband of the emperor's granddaughter. The second, Ateius Capito, mentioned above: in civil acquirements, the most eminent man in Rome; for pedigree, his grandfather was only a centurion under Sylla, but his father attained the rank of prætor. Augustus had pushed him early into the consulship, that, by the honour of that office, he might set him above Antistius Labeo, who excelled in the same accomplishments; for, that age produced together these two ornaments of peace: but Labeo possessed the genuine spirit of liberty, and therefore enjoyed a larger share of popularity; while Capito gained by obsequiousness greater credit with those who bore rule. The former, as he was never suffered to rise beyond the prætorship, derived favour from the injustice done him: the other, from having obtained the consulate of which he was considered unworthy, was on that account an object of aversion.

76. Junia too, now sixty-four years after the battle of Philippi, finished her course; by birth the daughter of the

sister of Cato, sister of M. Brutus, and wife of C. Cassius. Her will was the subject of much talk amongst the populace; since being immensely rich, and having honourably distinguished with legacies almost all the great men of Rome, she omitted Tiberius: an omission which drew from him no indications of offended dignity, nor did he hinder her panegyric from being pronounced from the rostra, nor her funeral from being celebrated with all the other customary solemnities. The images of twenty of the most illustrious families, the Manlii, the Quintii, and other names of equal splendour, were carried before it. Those of Brutus and Cassius were not displayed, but for that very reason they shone with pre-eminent lustre.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK IV.

WHEN Caius Asinius and Caius Antistius were consuls, Tiberius was in the ninth year of his reign; during the whole of which he saw the state undisturbed by commotion and his family flourishing, (for he regarded the death of Germanicus as one of the lucky events which had befallen him); but now, on a sudden, fortune began to work confusion and trouble; Tiberius himself to tyrannise, or encourage and support others in tyrannical proceedings. The origin and cause of this change is attributable to Ælius Sejanus, commander of the prætorian guards, whose prevailing influence I have already mentioned. I will now unfold the particulars of his birth, his character, and the atrocious act by which he sought to grasp the sovereign power. He was born at Vulsinii; his father was Sejus Strabo, a Roman knight; in early youth he attached himself to Caius Cæsar, grandson of the deified Augustus; and was reported to have prostituted himself to Apicius, a rich man and a noted spendthrift. Soon after, he gained such an ascendancy over Tiberius by various arts, that though he was close and mysterious in his intercourse with others, he threw off all restraint and reserve with him. This was not so much effected by superior sagacity (for it was in this that he was surpassed by Tiberius) as the displeasure with which the gods regarded the Roman state, to which he was equally fatal in the height of his power and in his death. His person was hardy and equal to fatigues; his spirit daring; expert in disguising his own iniquities, prompt to spy out the failings of others; at once fawning and imperious; with an exterior of assumed modesty, his heart insatiably lusted for supreme domination; and with this view he engaged sometimes in profusion, largesses, and luxury; but more frequently gave himself to business and watching, practices no less dangerous, when counterfeited by ambition for the acquisition of empire.

2. The authority of his commission over the guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one camp all the prætorian cohorts then dispersed over the city; that thus united, they might receive his orders simultaneously, and by continually beholding their own numbers and strength, and by familiar intercourse, conceive a confidence in themselves and strike terror into others. He pretended, "that the soldiers, while they lived scattered, became debauched; that when gathered into a body, in any hasty emergency, a larger force might be brought up at once to give aid; and that when their camp was fixed remote from the allurements of the town, they would in their discipline be more exact and severe." When the encampment was finished, he began gradually to creep into the good graces of the soldiers, by conversing with, and addressing them by name: he also chose the centurions, and the tribunes himself. Nor did he fail to strengthen his interest in the senate by getting those who were of his party invested with honours and the command of provinces; Tiberius yielding to him in everything, and seconding his views with such zeal, that not in conversation only, but in his speeches to the senate and people, he frequently made honourable mention of him as his associate in the toils of government; nay, he allowed his effigies to be adored in the several theatres, in the forum, and at the head-quarters of the legions.

3. But the imperial house full of Cæsars; the emperor's son in the vigour of manhood, and his grandsons grown up, were obstacles to his ambition: and because to cut them all off at once was dangerous, the success of his treacherous plot required that the horrid deeds should be perpetrated at intervals. He however chose the more secret method, and to begin with Drusus; against whom he was impelled by recent motives of resentment. For Drusus, impatient of a rival, and in temper irascible, had lifted his hand against Sejanus, in an altercation which happened to arise between them, and, as he prepared to resist, given him a blow on the face. Carefully considering therefore every means of revenge, the most opportune seemed to be to have recourse to Livia, his wife: she was the sister of Germanicus, and though in her younger days she was not handsome, she grew up surpassingly beautiful. Pretending to be violently enamoured of her, he tempted her to adultery; and having once triumphed over her honour (nor will a woman who has sacrificed her chastity stick at any other iniquity) he led her on to entertain the project of a marriage with him, a partnership in the empire, and

the murder of her husband. Thus the niece of Augustus, the daughter-in-law of Tiberius, the mother of children by Drusus, disgraced herself, her ancestors, and her posterity, by a connection with an adulterer from a municipal town; exchanging an honourable certainty, for guilty prospects which might never be realised. Eudemus, the friend and physician of Livia, who, under colour of his profession, was frequently with her in private, was admitted into the plot. Sejanus too, to avoid the jealousy of his mistress, repudiated Apicata his wife, by whom he had three children. But still the enormity of the crime induced fear, delay, and frequently opposite counsels.

4. In the beginning of this year, Drusus, one of the offspring of Germanicus, put on the manly gown; and upon him the senate conferred the same honours decreed to his brother Nero. A speech was added by Tiberius, with high encomiums on his son, "that he showed the tenderness of a father to the children of his brother." For Drusus, however difficult it be for power and unanimity to subsist between equals, was esteemed kind, certainly not ill disposed, towards these youths. Now again was revived by Tiberius his stale and oft counterfeited purpose of a progress into the provinces. He pretended "the multitude of veterans to be discharged, and the necessity of recruiting the armies; for there was a deficiency of volunteers, or if there were a sufficient supply, they were inferior in courage and conduct, as those who volunteered were generally desperate and loose characters." He likewise cursorily recounted the number of the legions, and what countries they defended: a detail which I think it behoves me also to repeat; that thence may appear what was then the complement of the Roman forces, what kings their confederates, and how much more narrow the limits of the empire were then than now.

5. Italy was guarded by two fleets, in the two seas; one at Misenum, one at Ravenna; and the nearest coast of Gaul, by the galleys taken by Augustus at the battle of Actium, and sent ably manned to Forojulium. But the chief strength lay upon the Rhine; it consisted of eight legions, a common resource against the Germans and the Gauls. Spain, lately subdued, was held in subjection by three. King Juba had received Mauritania by gift from the Roman people: the rest of Africa was occupied by two legions; and Egypt by a similar number. Four legions kept in subjection all that is comprehended in the vast range of country commencing with Syria, and extend-

ing as far as the Euphrates and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other territories, whose princes are protected against foreign powers by our greatness. Thrace was held by Rhemetaces, and the sons of Cotys; and both banks of the Danube by four legions; two in Pannonia, two in Mœsia. In Dalmatia likewise were placed two; who, by the situation of the country, were at hand to support the former in their rear, and had not far to march into Italy, were any sudden succours required there: though Rome too had her peculiar soldiery; three city cohorts and nine prætorian, levied chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman colonies. In convenient stations in the several provinces were the fleets of the several confederates, squadrons of the allied cavalry, and auxiliary cohorts and battalions; an extent of forces not much differing from the others: but the particular detail would be uncertain, since, according to the exigency of times, they often shifted stations, sometimes were increased in number and sometimes reduced.

6. I consider this a fitting occasion to review also the other parts of the administration, and by what measures it was hitherto conducted; since in this year commenced the pernicious changes introduced by Tiberius. In the first place, then, all the public, and every private business of moment, was managed by the senate: to the leading members he allowed liberty of debate: those who deviated into flattery, he himself checked: in conferring preferments, he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, renown in war, and distinguished civil accomplishments; insomuch that it was agreed, that none had greater pretensions. The consuls and the prætors retained the usual distinctions of their offices; inferior magistrates the exercise of their authority; and the laws, except the inquisition for treason, were beneficially administered. The tithes, taxes, and all public receipts, were directed by companies of Roman knights: the management of his affairs he committed only to men of eminent probity; and to some from their reputation, though unknown to him: and when once engaged, they were continued, without any restriction of term; since most of them grew old in the same employments. The people were indeed distressed by the dearth of provisions; but without any fault of the prince: nay, he spared no possible expense nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenness in the earth, and storms at sea. He took care that the provinces should not be oppressed with new impositions; and that the existing burthens should



not be rendered intolerable by rapacity or severity in the magistrates: corporal punishments, and confiscations of goods, were unknown.

7. The emperor's lands in Italy were small, and thinly scattered; the behaviour of his slaves modest; the freedmen in his house few; his disputes with private individuals were determined by the courts and the law. All these regulations he observed, though in his manner not mild and gracious, but harsh, and not unfrequently ferocious; yet still he retained them, till on the death of Drusus they were reversed: for, while he lived they continued; because Sejanus, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, studied to recommend himself by good counsels. He had too, an avenger to dread, who disguised not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints: "that with a son alive, a stranger was called in as coadjutor in the government; nay, how little was wanting to his being declared colleague? That the first advances to sovereignty are steep and perilous; but, once entered on, and you find plenty of zealous friends and agents. Already a camp for the guards was formed, at the pleasure of the captain: into his hands the soldiers were delivered: in the theatre of Pompey his statue was beheld: in his grandchildren would be mixed the blood of the Drusi with that of Sejanus. After all this, what remained but to pray that he might set bounds to his ambition, and be satisfied with what he had got." Nor was it rarely that he threw out these taunts, or to a few; besides, his wife being debauched, all his secrets were betrayed to Sejanus.

8. Sejanus therefore judging that he must despatch, chose such a poison as by operating gradually, might give the appearance of a casual disease. This was administered to Drusus by Lygdus, the eunuch, as, eight years after, was discovered. Now during all the days of his illness, Tiberius disclosed no signs of apprehension (perhaps from ostentation of a firmness of spirit), nay, when he had expired, and while he was yet unburied, he entered the senate; and finding the consuls placed upon the ordinary benches in testimony of their grief, he admonished them of their dignity and proper place: the senators burst into tears, but Tiberius suppressing even a sigh, in a speech uttered without hesitation, thus animated them. He said "that he was perfectly aware that he might be censured for having thus, in the first throbbings of sorrow, exposed himself to the view of the senate; most of those who mourn, can scarce endure the soothings of their kindred, scarce look upon the face of day: neither were they to be

condemned of weakness: but he had sought more manly consolations, from throwing himself into the bosom of the commonwealth." He then lamented "the extreme age of his mother, the as yet tender years of his grandsons, his own time of life, now verging towards its close;" and desired that "as the great alleviation of the present evils, the children of Germanicus might be introduced." The consuls therefore went for them, and having with kind words cheered the young princes, escorted them to the house, and placed them before the emperor. He took them by the hand and said, "Conscript fathers, these fatherless youths I committed to their uncle; and besought him that, though he had issue of his own, he would rear and nourish them no otherwise than as his own blood; and train them up so that they might be worthy of himself and posterity. Drusus being snatched from us, to you I address the same prayers; and in the presence of the gods, in the face of your country, I conjure you, receive into your protection, take under your tuition the great-grandchildren of Augustus; children descended from ancestors the most glorious in the state: towards them fulfil your own, and my duty. To you, Nero and Drusus, these senators are in the place of fathers; and such are the circumstances of your birth, that the good and evil which befalls you, must extend to the commonwealth."

9. All this was heard with much weeping, and followed by benedictions: and had he observed a medium in his speech, he had left the minds of his hearers full of sympathy and veneration. But, by recurring to that hollow and oft ridiculed proposition of his, about restoring the republic, and that the consuls, "or some one else, should undertake the administration," he threw suspicion upon what was commendable and sincere. To the memory of Drusus were decreed the same solemnities as to that of Germanicus, with many superadded; the natural effect of flattery, which gathers strength as it grows older. The funeral was signally splendid in the procession of images; as Æneas, the father of the Julian race; all the kings of Alba, and Romulus, founder of Rome; next the Sabine nobility, Attus Clausus, and the effigies of the rest of the Claudian family, were displayed in lengthened train.

10. In relating the death of Drusus, I have followed the majority, and the most trustworthy historians: I would not however omit a rumour which in those times was so prevailing that it is not extinguished in ours; "that Sejanus, having by adultery gained Livia to the murder, had likewise engaged by constupration the concurrence of Lygdu

the eunuch; because Lygdus was, on account of his youth and form, dear to his master, and one of his chief attendants: that when the time and place of poisoning were concerted by the conspirators, Sejanus carried his boldness so far as to change his plan, and charging upon Drusus a design of poisoning Tiberius, secretly warned the emperor to shun the first draught offered him in an entertainment at his son's: that the old man, deceived by this fictitious treason, after he had sat down to table, having received the cup delivered it to Drusus, who, unconsciously and in all the gaiety of youthful spirits, drank it off: a circumstance which heightened suspicion of his guilt, as if through fear and shame he inflicted on himself the death he had contrived for his father."

11. These common rumours, besides that they are supported by no certain author, may be easily refuted. For, who of ordinary prudence (much less Tiberius, so practised in affairs of moment) would to his own son, without hearing him, present the poisoned cup; with his own hands too, and when there was no retracing his step, so as to reverse the act upon reconsideration? He would rather have applied the torture in finding out the minister of the poison and its author. And lastly, have observed towards his only son, a son hitherto convicted of no iniquity, that inherent hesitation which he showed even towards strangers. But as Sejanus was reckoned the framer of every wickedness, therefore, from the excessive fondness of Tiberius towards him, and from the hatred of all others towards both, even fabulous and monstrous things, were believed of them; besides that common fame is ever more fraught with tales of horror as to the departure of princes. The truth is, the plan and process of the murder were first discovered by Apicata, wife of Sejanus, and confirmed upon the rack by Eudemus and Lygdus. Nor has any writer appeared so hostile as to charge it upon Tiberius; though in other instances they have sedulously collected and inflamed every action of his. My purpose in relating and refuting this rumour, was, under so glaring an example, to destroy the credit of groundless hearsays; and to request of those into whose hands my present undertaking shall come, that they would not prefer vague and improbable rumours, unscrupulously credited, to the narrations of truth unadulterated with romance.

12. To proceed; when Tiberius was pronouncing in public the panegyric of his son, the senate and people assumed the port and accents of mourners, in appearance rather than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to see

the house of Germanicus begin to revive. But this dawn of popular favour, and the conduct of Agrippina, ill disguising her hopes, quickened its overthrow. For Sejanus, when he saw the death of Drusus pass unrevenge upon his murderers, and unregretted by the public: undaunted as he was in villany since his first efforts had succeeded, revolved with himself how he might extirpate the sons of Germanicus, whose succession to the empire was now unquestionable. They were three, and, from the eminent fidelity of their governors, and inviolable chastity of Agrippina, poison could not be administered to all at once. He began to inveigh against the contumacy of Agrippina; to rouse the old hatred of Augusta the elder, and the guilty mind of his recent accomplice, Livia; that they might persuade the emperor, "that proud of her numerous offspring, and relying on the affections of the people, Agrippina had designs upon the sovereignty." And in addition to these things, by means of crafty calumniators, [and amongst the rest she had selected Julius Posthumus, a man every way qualified for her purposes; as he was the adulterer of Mutilia Prisca, and thence a confidant of her grandmother's; for over the mind of the empress Prisca had powerful influence]; she rendered the old woman, in her own nature anxious for power, utterly irreconcilable to the widow of her grandson. Such too as were nearest the person of Agrippina, were prompted to be continually goading on her naturally haughty spirit.

13. Tiberius meanwhile nowise relaxing in the cares of government, but deriving relief from his occupations, attended to the administration of justice at Rome, and despatched the petitions from the provinces. By a decree of senate, at his motion, the city of Cibyra in Asia, and that of Ægium in Achaia, which had both suffered from earthquake, were eased of tribute for three years. Vibius Serenus too, proconsul of Further Spain, was condemned for violence in his administration; and for the ferocity of his conduct banished to the Isle of Amorgos. Carsidius Sacerdos, charged with supplying corn to the enemy Tacfarinas, was acquitted; as was Caius Gracchus of the same crime. This Caius was in his childhood carried by his father Sempronius into the island Cercina, a companion in his exile: he grew up there amongst fugitives and men destitute of liberal education; and afterwards sustained himself by trafficking in a small way between Africa and Sicily: nor did he escape the perils that wait on elevated fortune: and had not Ælius Lamia and Lucius Apronius, proconsuls of Africa, protected his in-

nocence, he would have been swept away in the tide which overwhelmed that illustrious but ill-starred family, and have been involved in the calamitous fate of his father.

14. This year also brought deputations from the Grecian cities; one from the people of Samos; one from those of Cos; the former to request that the ancient right of sanctuary in the temple of Juno might be confirmed; the latter for that of Æsculapius. The Samians claimed upon a decree of the council of Amphictyon, the supreme judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks by their cities founded in Asia, possessed the maritime coasts. Nor had they of Cos a weaker title to antiquity; to which were added the pretensions of the place to the friendship of Rome: for they had lodged in the temple of Æsculapius all the Roman citizens there, when by the order of king Mithridates, they were being massacred throughout all the cities of Asia and the Isles. And now after many and generally ineffectual complaints from the prætors, the emperor at last made a representation to the senate, concerning the licentiousness of the players; "that in many instances they seditiously violated the public peace; and, in many promoted debauchery in private families: that the Oscan Farce, formerly only the contemptible delight of the vulgar, had risen to such a pitch of depravity, and exercised such an influence on society, that it must be checked by the authority of the senate." The players were then driven out of Italy.

15. The same year carried off one of the twins of Drusus, and thence afflicted the emperor with fresh woe; nor with less for the death of a particular friend. It was Lucilius Longus, the inseparable companion of all the vicissitudes of his fortune, prosperous or adverse; and, of all the senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reason, though not a man of family, the senate decreed him a censorian funeral, and a statue to be placed, at the expense of the treasury, in the forum of Augustus. For by the senate even yet all affairs were transacted; insomuch that Lucilius Capito, the emperor's comptroller in Asia, was, at the accusation of the province, put upon his defence before them: the emperor protesting with great earnestness, "that from him Lucilius had no authority but over his slaves, and in collecting his domestic rents: that if he had usurped the jurisdiction of prætor, and employed military force, he had so far violated his orders; they should therefore hear the allegations of the province." Thus the accused was upon trial had condemned. For this just vengeance, and that

inflicted the year before on Caius Silanus, the cities of Asia decreed a temple to Tiberius, and his mother, and the senate; and obtained leave to build it. For this concession Nero made a speech of thanks to the senators and his grandfather; while all who heard him were thrilled with delight, for as the image of Germanicus was still fresh in their minds, they fancied it was him they heard, and him they saw. The young man also possessed a modesty and gracefulness of person worthy of a prince, which derived additional charms from the danger to which he was exposed from the known antipathy of Sejanus.

16. About the same time the emperor made a discourse "about the choice of a new priest of Jupiter, in the room of Servius Maluginensis, deceased; and the proposal of a new law in this matter: for that it was the ancient custom to nominate three patricians, born of parents who had in their nuptials observed the form of confarreation, one of whom was elected: but now that the solemnity of confarreation was quite omitted, or by few observed, there remained not then as formerly the same scope for choice." He adduced "several reasons for that omission; the principal was a want of zeal both in men and women for that right; to this were added the difficulties attending the ceremony itself, which prompted them to avoid it; besides, that the paternal authority was for ever lost over any son who acquired that priesthood; and over any daughter who became subject to him by a marriage contract. A remedy therefore ought to be applied by a decree of the senate, or by a law; after the example of Augustus, who had softened some rigid usages of antiquity, and adapted them to the genius of the times." The senate therefore discussing the subject of religious ceremonies, agreed "to make no change from the first institution." Only a law passed, "that the priestess of Jupiter should, in the administration of things sacred, be under the dominion of her husband; but enjoy, in other things, the ordinary privileges of women." Maluginensis, the son, was appointed to succeed his father. And that the estimation of the priesthood might increase, and the zeal of the priests themselves for the sacred solemnities might be encouraged, a present of two thousand great sesterces was decreed to the vestal virgin, Cornelia, chosen in the place of Scantia; and to Augusta a privilege granted, that as often as she went to the theatre, she should sit amongst the vestals.

17. In the consulship of Cornelius Cethegus and Visellius Varro; the pontiffs, and by their example the other

priests, when they offered vows for the prosperity of the emperor, commended likewise Nero and Drusus to the care of the same gods: not so much from any tenderness towards these youths, as from flattery; a practice which, in corrupt times, it is equally dangerous to exceed in, and to fail in altogether. For Tiberius, never kindly disposed to the house of Germanicus, now lamented passionately that "no difference was made between their youth and his years;" and sending for the pontiffs, examined them, "whether to the entreaties or menaces of Agrippina, they had had made this concession?" And though they denied both, he gave them a tolerable reprimand; for most of them were her kinsmen, or men of the first distinction in Rome. But in a speech to the senate he warned them for the time to come, "that no one should encourage the giddy minds of young men to indulge in presumptuous aspirations by premature distinctions. For Sejanus goaded him on, and complained that the state was separated into opposite parties as in a civil war: that already there were those who called themselves the partizans of Agrippina; and if no stop were put to it, the faction would increase. Nor was there any other remedy for the prevailing spirit of faction, than the cutting off one, or two of the ringleaders."

18. With this view he commenced an attack upon Caius Silius and Titius Sabinus. The friendship of Germanicus was fatal to both; but other considerations helped to ruin Silius: he had for seven years commanded a powerful army; he had for his exploits in Germany been distinguished with the ensigns of triumph; he had subdued the revolting Gauls under Sacrovir; and the greater the shock of his prostration, the greater the terror it would spread among others. It was believed by many that by his own intemperate speeches he had heightened the displeasure conceived against him; while he boasted extravagantly "that his soldiers persisted in obedience, when others lapsed into sedition; nor had the empire remained to Tiberius, if in those legions too there had been a thirst of change." By these pretensions of his the emperor thought his own state was disparaged, and that it was unequal to the recompense of such important services. For benefits are only so far acceptable as they seem capable of being requited; but when they have much exceeded the power of remuneration, they are recompensed with hatred instead of gratitude.

19. Sosia Galla was the wife of Silius, and for the love Agrippina bore her, frowned on by Tiberius. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to postpone for a time

the trial of Sabinus. Against them was engaged as an accuser, Varro the consul, who under colour "of revenging his father's quarrel," gratified, by his own infamy, the malice of Sejanus. The request of the accused for a short respite till Varro ceased to be consul, was opposed by the emperor; "for that it was customary for magistrates to put private persons upon trial; nor ought the privilege of a consul to be infringed; since upon his vigilance it depended that no damage accrued to the commonweal." It was a policy peculiar to Tiberius, to shelter under venerable names the villainies of modern invention. The senate was therefore summoned with great formality, as if Silius were to be dealt with according to the laws, or as if Varro had been in substance a consul, and protecting the public, or as if the present domination had been the ancient republic. Silius remained silent; or if he made an effort to speak in his defence, it was but to declare the truth, that struggled in his breast, that he was the victim of a tyrant's resentment. The charges brought against him were, "his long connivance at the machinations of Sacrovir, arising out of his being an accomplice with him; his victory tarnished with abominable avarice; and the behaviour of his wife, Sosia." And certainly they could not exculpate themselves from the charge of extortion: but the whole accusation was carried on as a question of treason; and Silius prevented by a voluntary death, the condemnation that inevitably awaited him.

20. His estate however was eagerly seized upon; not that the money extorted from those who paid tribute might be refunded, for none of these claimed it; but what he had received from the bounty of Augustus, was rigorously exacted; and a specific calculation made of all the effects of Silius claimed by the exchequer. This was the first instance in which Tiberius showed a covetousness of the property of others. Sosia was sentenced to banishment, at the motion of Asinius Gallus, who proposed, "that half her effects should be forfeited, half left to her children." Marcus Lepidus on the contrary, voted "the fourth part to the accusers, as the law required; all the rest to the children." This Lepidus I find to have been, for those times, a wise and sedate man; for, by him the torrent of flattery was frequently turned, and many of its cruel suggestions mitigated: nor was he at all deficient in tact and management, as he contrived to maintain at the same high and unvarying level his influence and favour with Tiberius. Hence I am driven to raise the question, whether the inclination of princes to some men, and their antipathy



to others, as well as the other things of the same class, are to be ranked among the uncontrollable contingencies of nature, or whether they depend upon our own counsels, and we may if we please preserve a course equally remote from rash contumacy and unseemly complaisance, exempt from ambition and the dangers which attend it. Cotta Messalinus, a man descended from ancestors no less illustrious than Lepidus, but of a different spirit, moved to provide by a decree of senate, "that the magistrates of the several provinces, however innocent themselves, and even unacquainted with the mismanagement of others, should be punished for the crimes of their wives, committed in the provinces, equally as for their own."

21. The next proceeding was against Calpurnius Piso, a man of noble descent, and undaunted spirit. For, it was he who, as I have related, protested with so much vehemence in the senate, "that he would abandon Rome, to escape the conspiracies of the informers;" and in defiance of the court influence of Augusta, dared to prosecute her favourite Urgulania; and summon her from the palace of the emperor. All which Tiberius treated at the time in a manner suitable to a citizen of a free state; but in a soul like his, that brooded over vengeance, though the transports of resentment had abated, the impression remained deep in his memory. Quintus Granius charged Piso with treasonable words uttered privately; and added, "that he kept poison in his house, and came into the senate armed with a dagger:" an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropped. But for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was to be put upon his trial; which on account of his destroying himself on purpose to avoid it, was not gone through with. Then too came before them the business of Cassius Severus, the exile; a man of mean origin and wicked life, but a powerful speaker; who in consequence of the enemies he had wantonly made, had occasioned an order of senate, passed with the solemnity of swearing, for his banishment into Crete: where, by persisting in his wonted practices, he drew upon himself his former enemies and fresh ones in addition: so that he was now stripped of his goods, interdicted from fire and water, and doomed to wear out his existence on the rocky island of Seriphos.

22. About the same time Plautius Silvanus, the prætor, for what cause is uncertain, killed Apronia his wife, by throwing her down headlong from a window. When he was brought by Apronius his father-in-law before the emperor, he answered in confusion of mind; "as if while he

was sound asleep, and therefore unaware of what she was doing, his wife had destroyed herself." Tiberius instantly hastened to the house and inspected the chamber; and in it the marks of his violence and her struggling were apparent. This he reported to the senate; and judges being appointed, Urgulania, the grandmother of Plautius, sent him a dagger; which it was believed she did by the advice of Tiberius, in regard of the friendship of Augusta for her. The criminal having in vain essayed to use the steel, caused his veins to be opened. Soon after, Numantina, his former wife, was accused of having by charms and potions disordered the understanding of her husband; but was adjudged innocent.

23. This year at last relieved the Romans from the long war with Tacfarinas the Numidian. For the former generals, as soon as they believed their exploits had entitled them to the honour of triumphal distinctions, always abandoned the enemy. Insomuch that there were already in Rome three statues adorned with laurel, but still Tacfarinas was ravaging Africa, reinforced by auxiliaries from the Moors, who had exchanged for war the oppression of the king's freedmen, and the commands of slaves, to which they were subject under the government of Ptolemy, son of Juba, who from his youth and inexperience, suffered things to take their own course. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the king of the Garamantes: not that this king marched at the head of an army; but only sent out light parties, which were magnified by report as coming from a distance. From the province itself too flowed in all that were bankrupt in fortune, all that were disorderly in their lives; the more readily, because the emperor after the feats performed by Blæsus, as if there had no longer remained any enemy in Africa, had ordered the ninth legion to be withdrawn: nor durst Publius Dolabella, proconsul there in that year, retain it; as he dreaded more the orders of the prince than the casualties of the war.

24. Tacfarinas therefore disseminated a rumour, "that several other nations also were tearing piecemeal the Roman power: that hence their forces were by degrees being drawn off from Africa: and that the remainder might be wholly destroyed, if all to whom liberty was dearer than bondage would exert themselves in the cause." By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he besieged the city of Thubuscum. But Dolabella drawing together what soldiers were there, at his first approach raised the siege, by the terror of the Roman name, and because the Numi-

dians cannot stand a regular encounter with our foot. He likewise established fortified posts in convenient situations; and at the same time executed the chiefs of the Musulanians, who were on the point of commencing a revolt. Then, since from many expeditions against Tacfarinas, it was manifest that an enemy so desultory in his motions could not be brought to close quarters by a heavily equipped army, and by bearing upon him with a single force, he therefore called to his aid king Ptolemy, with a body of his subjects, and formed four bands, commanded by lieutenant-generals and tribunes; while predatory bands were led on by chosen Moors; the proconsul himself superintending the whole operations.

25. Not long after, tidings came, "that the Numidians had pitched their huts near a decayed fort called Auzea, which they had formerly set fire to; trusting now to its situation, because it was shut in on every side by wild and extensive forests." The light infantry and allied cavalry were then hastily marched off at a rapid pace, not knowing whither they were being led; and just at dawn of day, with trumpets sounding and terrific shouts, they came upon the Numidians, still half asleep, their horses tethered, or straggling loosely at grass. The Romans were come prepared for battle: their foot in close array, their cavalry marshalled: the enemy, on the contrary, utterly surprised and bewildered, without arms, or order, or plan, were, with all the passiveness of sheep routed, slaughtered, or captured. The soldiers, exasperated by the remembrance of their toils, and encountering a foe that had so often eluded the wished-for opportunity, severally took their fill of vengeance and of blood. Through all the ranks the word ran, "that they must all try to get hold of Tacfarinas, known to them in so many conflicts: that there would be no rest from war unless he were killed." As for Tacfarinas, his guards slain around him, his son a prisoner, and the Romans pouring upon him on all sides, he rushed upon the darts and escaped captivity by a death not uncompensated with the blood of his foe. And thus an end was put to the war.

26. Dolabella solicited triumphal ornaments, but was refused by Tiberius, in consideration of Sejanus; that the fame of his uncle Blæsus might not lose its lustre. But the fame of Blæsus shone no brighter for this; while to Dolabella increase of glory accrued from withholding the honour due to him, for he had reaped the renown of taking illustrious prisoners, slaying the general, and terminating the war with a smaller army. He was also attended by

ambassadors from the Garamantes; a rare sight in Rome! that nation struck with the death of Tacfarinas, and not unconscious of guilt, had sent them to appease the resentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of Ptolemy during that war was known, a custom of remote antiquity was revived in his favour, and one of the senators sent to deliver him an ivory sceptre and painted robe; (the ancient presents of the senate,) and to salute him as 'King, Friend, and Confederate.'

27. The same summer the seeds of a servile war spread through Italy, were prevented from developing themselves by a lucky accident. The author of the commotion was Titus Curtisius, formerly a soldier of the prætorian guards. First by clandestine meetings at Brundisium, and the neighbouring towns; afterwards by orders publicly issued he was inviting to liberty the agrarian slaves, through the wild and remote forests, and such as were of a turbulent spirit; when, as it were by the bounty of the gods, three galleys destined for the necessities of those who frequented that sea, landed there. Curtius Lupus too, the quæstor, was then in these parts, for to him had fallen, according to ancient custom, the province of Cales. Lupus marshalled the mariners, and dissipated the conspiracy then just breaking out. Staius the tribune, despatched thither by the emperor with an efficient force, haled the leader himself and his most resolute partizans, to Rome; already in a state of alarm, on account of the multitude of slaves that were augmenting immensely, while the freeborn commonalty daily dwindled away.

28. During the same consulship there were brought before the senate a father as defendant and his son the accuser, both named Vibius Serenus; a deplorable example of wretchedness and inhumanity; the father dragged from exile, covered with filth and squalid from neglect, and moreover bound in chains, heard himself impleaded by his son. The young man dressed for the occasion with studied elegance, his countenance cheerful and elated, alleged, "a plot framed against the emperor, and that some of the conspirators were sent into Gaul to instigate a rebellion there;" at once a witness and an informer. He likewise charged "Cæcilius Cornutus, formerly prætor, with having furnished money." But he, from the pain of anxiety, and because the accusation was regarded as tantamount to destruction, anticipated death by his own hand. The accused, on the other side, with a spirit undismayed, turning full upon his son, and clanking his chains, invoked "the avenging gods, that to himself they would give back his

place of banishment, where he might dwell far away from such practices; and that just vengeance might one day overtake his son." He insisted too, "that Cornutus was innocent, and only terrified with forged crimes; as might be easily learnt if other accomplices were produced; for it was not probable that, with one confederate only, he should have meditated the murder of the prince, and a change of the state."

29. The accuser then named Cnæius Lentulus and Scius Tubero, to the great confusion of Tiberius; when men of the first rank in Rome, his own intimate friends, Lentulus in extreme old age, Tubero worn out with infirmities, were charged with seditious movements and designs of innovation. But they indeed were instantly acquitted. Against the father his slaves were examined upon the rack; and their examination went against the accuser; who, distracted with guilt, and frightened besides with the language of the populace, who menaced him with the dungeon, the rack, and the punishment of parricides, fled the city. He was dragged back from Ravenna, and compelled to prosecute his accusation; Tiberius not concealing his old hatred to the exile Serenus: for after the condemnation of Libo, he had by letters upbraided the emperor, that such signal zeal as he had shown in that trial remained without reward: he had likewise inserted some expressions more contumacious than safe in the ears of a prince proud and prone to take offence. These matters were eight years after revived by Tiberius, who charged him with many misdemeanours during that interval, though through the obstinacy of his slaves nothing, he said, could be discovered by torture.

30. The votes being then taken, and Serenus sentenced "to death according to the custom of antiquity;" Tiberius, to soften the public odium, interposed. Then Asinius Gallus moved, "to confine him to the Isle of Gyarus or Donusa:" a motion which Tiberius also rejected; arguing, "that both these isles were destitute of water; and that to whom they granted life, the conveniencies of life ought likewise to be granted." So Serenus was carried back to Amorgos. And now as Cornutus had died by his own hands, it was moved, "to abrogate the rewards of informers, as often as any person charged with treason, should, before judgment passed, put an end to his own life." And this motion was being carried, but Tiberius in behalf of the informers, openly complained, with sternness, and contrary to his custom, "that the laws would be defeated, and the commonwealth placed in imminent peril:

that they should rather dissolve the laws than dismiss their guardians." Thus the informers, a description of men called into existence to prey upon the vitals of society, and never sufficiently restrained even by penalties, were now encouraged by rewards.

31. This so continued and so sad a series of events was interrupted by a degree of joy from the pardon extended by Tiberius to Cominius, who had been convicted of writing defamatory verses upon him, at the instance of his brother, a senator. An event which made it the more astonishing, that he who knew better things, and the fair fame that waits on clemency, should prefer severity. For neither did he err from want of discernment; nor is it difficult to distinguish when the doings of princes are applauded with sincerity, and when they are received with simulated satisfaction. Nay, Tiberius himself, upon other occasions studied and artificial in his manner, and as if struggling to give utterance to his sentiments, yet, whenever he spoke as an advocate, delivered himself with readiness and volubility. But Publius Suius, formerly quaestor to Germanicus, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a judge, and for which he was about to be sentenced to be excluded from Italy; the emperor adjudged him to banishment into an island, with such earnestness of feeling, that with the solemnity of an oath he declared it "for the interest of the commonwealth:" a proceeding which though at the time regarded as harsh, turned afterwards to his praise, when Suius returned to Rome: a following age saw that exile possessed of extravagant power; abandoned to venality, and employing his friendship with Claudius which he long enjoyed, in all cases for his own advancement, but never in the cause of virtue. Catus Firmius the senator was adjudged to the same punishment, "for having forged charges of treason against his own sister." Catus, as I have before declared, had involved Libo in guilt by insidious arts, and then, by informing against him, procured his overthrow. Tiberius, mindful of this service, but pretending other motives, deprecated the sentence of banishment; but made no opposition to his expulsion from the senate.

32. I am aware that most of the transactions which I have related, or shall hereafter relate, may perhaps appear unimportant, and too trivial to be recorded. But, none must compare these, my Annals, with the writings of those who compiled the history of the ancient Roman people. They had for their subjects mighty wars, cities

sacked, kings routed and taken captive: or if they turned from these to treat of domestic affairs, they had before them an unlimited field of digression in the dissensions between the consuls and the tribunes, the agrarian laws, the corn laws, and the contests between the commons and the patricians. The matter on which I am occupied, is circumscribed and unproductive of renown to the author—a state of undisturbed peace, or only interrupted in a limited degree, the sad condition of affairs in the city, and a prince indifferent about extending the bounds of the empire. Not unprofitable however will it be to investigate matters which, though unimportant in a superficial view, frequently give the first impulse to events of magnitude.

33. For, all nations and cities are governed either by the populace, by the nobility, or by single rulers. The form of government consisting of elements selected from these and blended together, is easier applauded than realised; or if realised, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the republic, either when the power of the people prevailed, or when the senate bore the chief sway, it was necessary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what measures they were to be managed; and such too as were most thoroughly acquainted with the spirit of the senate and leading men, were esteemed skilful in the times, practical and wise statesmen: so now, under an altered condition of affairs, when the government of Rome is no other than the arbitrary rule of one man, it will be of advantage to collect and record these matters; since few can by their own foresight distinguish between honesty and knavery, between counsels pernicious and profitable; but most men are instructed by the examples of others. But this detail, as conferring future benefit, is far from affording present gratification. For the descriptions of countries, the alternations of success in war, the fate of illustrious generals, engage the attention of readers and prevent it from flagging. For myself, I have only to record the mandates of despotism, incessant accusations, faithless friendships, the ruin of innocence; one unvarying repetition of causes terminating in the same event, and presenting no novelty from their similarity and tiresome reiteration. Besides that the old historians are rarely censured; nor is any man now concerned whether they laud with greater zeal the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under Tiberius suffered punishment, or were branded with infamy, the posterity are still subsisting; and though the families themselves may be extinct, you will find those who from a similitude of manners, think

that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themselves are censured: nay, even virtue and a glorious name create enemies, as they expose the opposite characters by too close a contrast. But I return to my undertaking.

34. Whilst Cornelius Cossus and Asinius Agrippa were consuls, Cremutius Cordus was arraigned for that, "having published annals and in them praised Brutus, he had styled Cassius the last of the Romans:" a new crime, and then first heard of. Satrius Secundus and Pinarius Natta were his accusers; creatures of Sejanus. This circumstance, and the fact that Tiberius received his defence with a countenance of settled austerity, formed a fatal omen to the accused; who having made up his mind to die, thus expressed himself: "As to facts I am so guiltless, conscript fathers, that my words only are accused: but neither are any words of mine pointed against the emperor, or his mother; who are the only persons comprehended in the law of violated majesty. It is alleged that I have praised Brutus and Cassius; men whose lives and actions have been compiled by many writers, but by none without encomiums. Titus Livius, an historian eminently renowned for eloquence and veracity, signalised Pompey with such abundant praises, that he was by Augustus named Pompeianus; nor did this interfere with their friendship. Neither Scipio, nor Afranius, nor even this same Cassius, nor this same Brutus, are any where mentioned by him as ruffians and parricides; the common appellations now bestowed on them; but often as great and distinguished men. The writings of Asinius Pollio have handed down the memory of the same men in honourable characters. Corvinus Messala gloried to have had Cassius for his general: and yet both Pollio and Corvinus continued in the uninterrupted enjoyment of wealth and honours under Augustus. That book of Cicero's, in which he exalted Cato to the skies; what other animadversion did it draw from Cæsar the dictator, than a written reply, as if appealing to judges? The letters of Mark Antony; the speeches of Brutus, are full of reproaches against Augustus; unfounded indeed, but urged with signal asperity; the poems of Bibaculus, and those of Catullus, filled with virulent satires against the Cæsars, still are read. But even the deified Julius, even the deified Augustus, bore all these invectives and passed them over; whether with greater moderation or wisdom, it were difficult to say. For, if they are despised, they fade away; if you show displeasure, they seem to be admitted as true.

35. "I refer not to the Greeks: with them not the free-



dom only, but even the licentiousness of speech, is unpunished: or if any correction is applied, it is only by revenging words with words. It has been ever freely allowed, without exciting the censure of any one, to pass our judgment upon those whom death had withdrawn from the influence of affection and hate. Are Cassius and Brutus now in arms? do they at present fill with armed troops the fields of Philippi? or do I fire the Roman people by inflammatory harangues, to stir up the spirit of civil war? Brutus and Cassius, who fell now more than seventy years ago, are still known in their statues, which even the conqueror did not abolish: and as these exhibit their persons, why not the historian their characters? Posterity renders to every man his proper praise: nor will there be wanting such as, if my death is determined, will not only revive the story of Cassius and Brutus, but even mine." Having thus said, he withdrew from the senate, and starved himself to death. The fathers condemned the books to be burned by the ædiles; but there remained copies, which were concealed and afterwards brought out: whence we may with the greater justice deride the stupidity of those who imagine that they can, by an exertion of contemporary power, extinguish the memorial of events among succeeding generations: for, on the contrary, the punishment of authors of genius, exalts the credit of the writings: nor have foreign kings, or any others who have resorted to the same severity, produced any other effect than infamy to themselves and glory to the sufferers.

36. To proceed: this whole year there was such an uninterrupted series of accusations, that even during the solemnity of the Latin festival, when Drusus, for the purpose of his inauguration as præfect of the city, had ascended the tribunal, he was accosted by Calpurnius Salvianus with a charge against Sextus Marius; a proceeding openly re-sented by the emperor, and which led to the banishment of Salvianus. The city of Cyzicus was next accused, "of not observing the established worship of the deified Augustus;" with additional crimes, "in acts of violence committed upon Roman citizens." Thus that city lost her liberties; which by her behaviour during the Mithridatic war, she had earned, having sustained a siege; and as much by her own bravery, as by the aid of Lucullus, repulsed the king. But Fonteius Capito, who had as pro-consul governed Asia, was acquitted, upon proof that the crimes brought against him by Vibius Serenus were forged: and yet the forgery drew no penalty upon Serenus: for the public hate rendered him the more secure:

for every accuser, the more eager and busy he was, the more he resembled one whose person is sacred and inviolable: those who practised on a small scale and were not in repute, were punished.

37. About the same time, the furthestmost Spain besought the senate by their ambassadors, "that after the example of Asia, they might erect a temple to Tiberius and his mother." Upon this occasion, the emperor, always resolute in contemning honours, and now judging it proper to confute those, who represented him as chargeable with having deviated into ambition, spoke in this manner: "I know, conscript fathers, that it is ascribed to a defect of firmness in me, that when the cities of Asia lately preferred the same petition, I withstood them not. I shall therefore now unfold at once the motives of my silence then, and the rules which for the future I am determined to observe. Since the deified Augustus had not opposed the founding at Pergamus of a temple to himself and the city of Rome; I, with whom all his actions and sayings have the force of laws, have followed an example already approved, the more cheerfully, because to the worship bestowed upon me, the adoration of the senate was annexed. But as the admission of it in one instance will find pardon, so a general latitude of being hallowed through every province under the representations of the deities, would denote a vain spirit; a heart swelled with ambition. The homage paid to Augustus will also fade, if it is made common by indiscriminate and unmerited acts of adoration.

38. "For myself, conscript fathers, that I am a mortal man; that I am confined to the functions of human nature; and that if I well supply the principal place amongst you, it suffices me, I solemnly assure you, and I would have posterity remember it. They will render enough to my memory, if they believe me to have been worthy of my ancestors; watchful of your interests; unmoved in perils, and, in defence of the public weal, fearless of private enmities. These are the temples I would raise in your breasts; these are the fairest effigies, and such as will endure. As for those of stone, if the judgment of posterity changes from favour to dislike, they are despised as no better than sepulchres. Hence it is I here invoke the gods, that to the end of my life they would grant me a spirit undisturbed, and discerning in duties human and divine: and hence too I implore our citizens and allies, that whenever my dissolution comes, they would celebrate my actions and the odour of my name, with praises and benevolent testimonies of remembrance." And thenceforward he per-

severed in slighting upon all occasions, and even in private conversation, this worship of himself. A conduct which was by some ascribed to modesty; by many to distrust of his merit; by others to degeneracy of spirit. "For men of the most exalted virtue, have ever coveted the highest honours: thus Hercules and Bacchus amongst the Greeks, and with us Romulus, were added to the society of the gods: Augustus had chosen the nobler part, who hoped for deification: all the other gratifications of princes were presently procured: one object only was to be pursued insatiably; the applauding voice of posterity. For by contemning fame, the virtues that acquire it are contemned."

39. Now Sejanus, infatuated with excess of fortune, and moreover stimulated by the importunity of Livia, who with the restless passion of a woman, craved the promised marriage, composed a memorial to the emperor. For, it was then the custom to apply to him in writing, though he were present. The form in which it was conceived was this: "That he had been so familiarised to the kindness of Augustus, and subsequently to the numerous decisions of Tiberius in his favour, that he would not address his hopes and prayers to the gods rather than to the ears of princes: nor of them had he ever sought the glare of honours: watching and toils, like one of the common soldiers, for the safety of the prince, had been his choice. However what was most glorious for him he had attained; to be thought worthy of alliance with the emperor. Hence the foundation of his present hopes: and, since he had heard that Augustus, in the disposal of his daughter, had not been without thoughts even of some of the Roman knights; he therefore begged that if a husband were sought for Livia, Tiberius would remember his friend; who would seek no other advantage than the high honour of the alliance: for he would not solicit exemption from the duties imposed upon him; but hold it sufficient that his house was fortified against the injurious animosity of Agrippina; and in this he only consulted the security of his children; for himself, his own life would be abundantly long, if he might continue it during the life of such a prince."

40. In answer, Tiberius, having praised the loyalty of Sejanus, recapitulated cursorily the instances of his own favours towards him, and required time, as it were for a thorough deliberation, and then added: "that all other men were, in their deliberations, guided by views of their own interest: far different was the lot of princes, who were in their most important actions to consider fame: he therefore did not resort to that trite subterfuge in his reply;

that Livia could herself determine whether, after Drusus, she ought again to marry, or patiently continue under the same household gods, that she had a mother and grandmother, advisers more nearly related to her. He would deal more candidly with him: and first, as to the enmity of Agrippina; it would flame out with far more fury, if by the marriage of Livia, the family of the Cæsars were rent as it were into two contending parties: that even as things stood, the emulation of these ladies broke out, and by their animosities, his grandsons were assailed by conflicting influences. What would be the consequence; if, by such a marriage, the strife were inflamed? For you are deceived, Sejanus, if you think to continue then in the same rank as now; or that Livia, she who was first the wife of the young Caius Cæsar, and afterwards the wife of Drusus, will be of a temper to grow old with a husband no higher than a Roman knight: nay, allowing that I suffered you afterwards to remain what you are; do you believe that they who saw her father, her brother, and the ancestors of our house, enjoying the highest dignities, will ever suffer it? You indeed propose, yourself, to stand still in the same station: but the great magistrates and nobles, who, in spite of you, break in upon you, and consult you in all affairs, make no secret of complaining that you have long exceeded the equestrian eminence, and far outgone in power all the confidants of my father; and from their envy of you, they also censure me. But still you say, Augustus deliberated about giving his daughter to a Roman knight. It is a wonderful thing to be sure, if, perplexed with a crowd of distracting cares, and foreseeing that the man would be raised to an unbounded height, whomsoever he dignified with such a match, he talked of Proculius, and certain others like him, remarkable for their retired habits, and not at all mixed up with politics! But if we are influenced by the hesitation of Augustus, how much more powerful is his decision; since he bestowed his daughter on Agrippa, and then on me? These are considerations which in friendship I have not withheld: however, neither your own inclinations, nor those of Livia, shall be thwarted by me. The secret purposes of my own heart towards you, and with what further ties of affinity, I am contriving to bind you to me, I shall at present forbear to recount. Thus much only I will disclose, that there is nothing so high which those virtues of yours, and your zeal towards me, do not merit: and when opportunity presents, either in the senate, or in a popular assembly, I shall not suppress my sentiments."

41. In answer to this, Sejanus, no longer solicitous about the marriage, but filled with higher apprehensions, besought him "to resist the dark suggestions of suspicion; the pratings of the vulgar; and the assaults of envy." And lest by refusing admission to the suitors, who incessantly thronged his house, he might impair his power; or by encouraging them, furnish a handle to his accusers, he adopted the expedient of urging the emperor to pass his time in some agreeable situation far from Rome. From this counsel he foresaw many advantages: upon himself would depend all access to the emperor; the letters would, as the soldiers were the carriers, be for the most part under his direction; in a little time the prince, now declining in years, and enervated by retirement, would more easily transfer to him the whole charge of the empire: the envy felt towards himself would be diminished by getting rid of the crowd of visitors, and though the empty parade of power was removed, he would possess more of its essentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of business at Rome, the throng of people, the conflux of suitors, applauding "retirement and quiet; which afford the greatest facilities for deliberation on the most important matters, unwearied by importunities and unexposed to annoyance from the dissatisfied."

42. There happened too, about that time, the trial of Votienus Montanus, a celebrated wit; which induced the hesitating Tiberius to resolve upon shunning all assemblies of the fathers, and the true and painful reflections which were there unsparingly uttered to his face. For, as Votienus was charged with calumnies spoken against Cæsar, Æmilius the witness, of the military profession, from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehearsed every tittle he had heard; and notwithstanding the clamour raised to stop his mouth, he persisted in the detail with obstinate pertinacity. Tiberius heard the reproaches by which he was secretly lacerated; and he was so struck, that he exclaimed passionately, "that he would instantly clear himself on a judicial investigation:" and the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, were scarcely sufficient to calm him. Votienus indeed suffered the pains of treason; but Tiberius persisted with so much more obstinacy in the harshness imputed to him, that he punished Aquilia with exile, for adultery with Varius Ligur; though she were sentenced by Lentulus Getulicus, consul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law. He also erased Apidius Merula from the roll of senators, "because he had not sworn upon the acts of the deified Augustus."

43. Next were heard ambassadors from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, about their claim to the temple of Diana Limnatis; which the Lacedæmonians asserted to be theirs, "founded in their territory, and dedicated by their ancestors," and offered as proofs the ancient records of their annals, and the hymns of the old poets; "but it had been taken from them forcibly by Philip of Macedon, having been at war with him; but restored afterwards by the sentence of Julius Cæsar and Mark Antony." The Messenians, on the contrary, pleaded, "the ancient partition of Peloponnesus amongst the descendants of Hercules; and that the territory Denthelia, where the temple stood, had fallen to their king; memorials of which event still remained, engraven on stone and old tables of brass: but, if the testimony of histories and poets were appealed to, they themselves had the most and the fullest. Nor had Philip, in his decision, acted by virtue of his power, but from equity: the same was the adjudication of king Antigonus; the same that of the general Mummius. Thus too the Milesians had awarded, who were by both states chosen arbitrators: and thus lastly it had been determined by Atidius Geminus, prætor of Achaia." It was given therefore in favour of the Messenians. The citizens also of Segesta applied to have "the temple of Venus on Mount Eryx, which had fallen into decay through age, restored." They represented the well-known, and to Tiberius gratifying, story of its origin, who willingly took upon himself the charge, as a kinsman to the goddess. Then was discussed the petition from the citizens of Marseilles, and the precedent of Publius Rutilius was approved: for Rutilius, though by a law expelled from Rome, had been by the Smyrnæans adopted a citizen: and as Volcatius Moschus, another exile, had found at Marseilles the same privilege and reception, he had left his estate to their republic, as his country.

44. Those noble Romans, Cnæius Lentulus and Lucius Domitius, died this year. Lentulus, to the consulship, and the ensigns of triumph over the Getulæ, had added that of poverty honourably borne; and afterwards a splendid fortune, virtuously acquired and modestly enjoyed. Upon Domitius devolved the lustre of his father, who in the civil war held the dominion of the sea, till he espoused first the interest of Mark Antony, and then that of Augustus: his grandfather had fallen for the cause of the senate in the battle of Pharsalia. He himself was chosen for the husband of the younger Antonia, daughter of Octavia: he afterwards led an army over the Elbe, and ad-

vanced further into Germany than any Roman before him, for which he obtained the insignia of triumph. Then also died Lucius Antonius, of a race highly illustrious, but unhappy: for, Julius Antonius his father, having suffered death for adultery with Julia, Augustus removed this Lucius, then a child, and the grandson of his sister, to the city of Marseilles, where under pretence of pursuing his studies, the name of exile might be veiled. Funeral honours were however paid him, and by a decree of senate his bones were deposited in the tomb of the Octavii.

45. During the same consulship, an atrocious crime was perpetrated in Nether Spain, by a peasant of the Terrestinian nation, who surprised and struck dead with a single wound, Lucius Piso, governor of the province, as he travelled careless and unattended, as in a state of peace. The assassin however escaped to a forest by the fleetness of his horse, and there dismissed him: from thence travelling over rocks and pathless places, he baffled his pursuers: but he did not long escape detection; for his horse being taken and shown through the neighbouring villages, it was discovered who was the owner. When found and put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaimed with a loud voice, in the language of his country, "that in vain they questioned him; his associates might stand by and look on: that no force of torture could extort the truth from him." Next day, as he was dragged back to the rack, he burst with so vehement an effort from his guard, and dashed his head so violently against a stone, that he instantly expired. But Piso is believed to have been assassinated from a plot of the Terrestinians; as in exacting the repayment of some public money, which had been embezzled, he acted with more asperity than a barbarian people could endure.

46. In the consulship of Lentulus Getulicus and Caius Calvisius, the insignia of triumph were decreed to Popæus Sabinus for having routed some clans of Thracians, who, living wildly on the high mountains, conducted themselves with the greater contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, in addition to the savage genius of the people, was their scorn at having recruits raised amongst them, and all their stoutest men enlisted in our armies; accustomed as they were not even to obey their native kings excepting according to their caprice, nor to aid them with forces but under captains of their own choosing, nor to fight against any enemy but their own borderers. A rumour was then also current amongst them, that they were to be dispersed and mixed with other nations, and

thus dragged away to distant countries. But before they took up arms, they sent ambassadors to Sabinus, to represent "their past friendship and submission, and that the same should continue, if they were provoked by no fresh impositions: but if like a people subdued by war, they were doomed to bondage, they had able men and steel, and souls determined upon liberty or death." The ambassadors at the same time pointed to their strong holds founded upon precipitous rocks; whither they had conveyed their wives and parents; and threatened a war intricate, hazardous, and sanguinary.

47. Sabinus, who amused them with gentle answers till he could draw together his army; when Pomponius Labeo arrived with a legion from Mœsia, and king Rhemetalcès with an auxiliary body of his countrymen who had not renounced their allegiance. With these and what forces he had of his own, he marched towards the foe, now disposed in the passes of the forest: some more bold presented themselves upon the hills: then the Roman general approaching gave them battle, and without difficulty drove them thence, but with small slaughter of the Barbarians, because they had refuge at hand. Here he soon after raised an encampment, and with a stout band took possession of a hill, which extended with an even narrow ridge to the next fortress, which was garrisoned by a great host of armed men and rabble: and as the most resolute were, according to the custom of the nation, gambolling without the fortification in dances and songs, he forthwith despatched against them a select body of archers. These, while they only poured in volleys of arrows at a distance, wounded many with impunity; but, approaching too near, were by a sudden sally thrown into disorder. They were however supported by a cohort of the Siganbrians, a people prompt in encountering danger, and no less terrible from their war-cries and the clangour of their arms, which Sabinus had posted at a short distance.

48. He afterwards moved his camp nearer to the enemy; leaving in his former entrenchments the Thracians, who, as I have mentioned, had joined us, with permission "to lay waste, burn, and plunder, on condition that their ravages were confined to the day; and that, at nights, they kept within the camp, secure and under guard." This restriction was at first observed; but, soon lapsing into luxury, and enriched with plunder, they neglected their guards, and resigned themselves to excessive feasting, or wallowed in sleep and intoxication. The enemy therefore apprised of their negligence, formed themselves into two



bands; one to set upon the plunderers, the other to assault the Roman camp, not with the hope of taking it, but that the soldiers, alarmed with shouts and darts, and each intent upon the danger which threatened himself, might not hear the din of the other battle: moreover to heighten the terror, night was chosen for the operation. But those who assailed the lines of the legions were easily repulsed; the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the sudden assault; some of them lying near the entrenchments, many roaming without them; they were slain with the more relentless vengeance, as they were charged with "being fugitives and traitors, who bore arms to enslave their country and themselves."

49. Next day Sabinus drew up his army in view of the enemy, on level ground; to try if, elated with their success by night, they would venture a battle: and, when they still kept within the fortress, or on the chain of hills, he began a siege by means of the works he was then fortifying, and which were convenient for the purpose: and then forming a fosse and circumvallation, he carried his lines round for a space of four miles. Then to deprive them of water and forage, he streightened his barriers by degrees, and hemmed them in still closer. A rampart was also raised, whence, upon the enemy now within reach, were discharged stones, darts, and brands. But nothing distressed them so much as thirst, as only a single fountain remained amongst a huge multitude of armed men and their families: their horses too and cattle, penned up with them, after the manner of the country, perished for want of provender: near them lay the bodies of men; some who had died of thirst, some of their wounds; everything foul and tainted with gore, stench, and infection. To these distresses was also added, that consummation of all calamities, dissension: some were disposed to surrender; others proposed present death, and to fall upon one another. There were some too who advised a sally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were these last mean men, though dissenting from the rest.

50. But of their leaders, one named Dinis, a man stricken in years, and by long experience acquainted with the rigour and clemency of the Romans, argued, "that they must lay down their arms; which was the sole remedy for their pressing calamities:" and he first submitted, with his wife and children, to the conqueror. He was followed by all that were weak through sex or age, and such as had a greater love of life than glory. The young men were divided under Tarsa and Turesis; both determined to fall

with liberty: but Tarsa declared earnestly "for instant death; and the severance of all hopes and fears at once:" and setting an example, buried his sword in his breast. Nor were there wanting some who despatched themselves the same way. Turesis and his band stayed for night: of which our general was aware. The guards were therefore strengthened with more numerous parties; and now came on a night dark and cloudy in the extreme; and the enemy now with tumultuous shouts, and now with profound silence, alarmed and embarrassed the besiegers. Sabinus therefore went round the camp and warned the soldiers, "that they should not allow an opportunity to the insidious arts of the enemy, deceived by ambiguous noises, or counterfeited stillness; but keep immoveably to their several posts; nor throw their darts at random."

51. Meanwhile the Barbarians, pouring down in separate troops, now with stones as large as they could grasp, poles hardened at the point in the fire, and with the limbs of trees lopped off, they batter the palisade; now with hurdles, fagots, and dead bodies, they fill the trench: by others, bridges and ladders, which they had framed beforehand, were planted against the battlements; these they grasped and tore down, and struggled hand to hand with those who opposed them. The Romans, on the other side, beat them back with their bucklers, drove them down with darts, hurled upon them great mural javelins, and rolled down heaps of stones. These derived additional courage from the confidence inspired by the advantage already gained, and the more signal disgrace if they gave way: those, from the fact that this was their only hope of safety for their wives and mothers, who stood near them, and urged them on by the lamentations they uttered. The night ministered to the daring of some, to the fears of others; blows were dealt at random, wounds were received they knew not whence; there was no possibility of distinguishing friend or foe. The shouts, reverberated from the cavities of the mountain, seeming to proceed from their rear, involved everything in such confusion that the Romans abandoned some of their works, believing them to have been carried: and yet such of the enemy as broke through were very few. The rest, all their most resolute champions being wounded or slain, were at the returning light driven back to the high ground on which their fort stood, where they were at length forced to surrender; and the neighbouring villages submitted voluntarily: the remainder could not be reduced by storm or siege, as they were protected by the setting in of win-

ter, usually premature and inclement in the regions of mount Hæmus.

52. At Rome the tranquillity of the prince's family was disturbed: and, to begin the series of destructions which was to end in Agrippina, Claudia Pulchra her cousin was prosecuted; Domitius Afer the accuser. This man, just out of the prætorship, of small estimation, but eager to signalise himself by some notable exploit however heinous, alleged against her the "crimes of prostitution, adultery with Furnius, with witchcraft and spells against the emperor." Agrippina, ever vehement, and then in a flame on account of the perilous situation of her kinswoman, flew to Tiberius, and by chance found him sacrificing to the emperor his father. When, availing herself of the circumstance to upbraid him, she told him "that it was inconsistent in him to offer victims to the deified Augustus and to persecute his children: his divine spirit was not transfused into dumb statues: the genuine images of Augustus were the living descendants from his celestial blood: she herself was one; one sensible of impending danger, and now in the mournful state of a supplicant. In vain was Pulchra set up as the object of attack; when the only cause of her overthrow was her affection for Agrippina, foolishly carried even to adoration, forgetful of Sosia, a sufferer for the same fault." These words elicited an expression of his sentiments from the close-minded Tiberius; a rare occurrence with him; and he rebuked her; admonishing her in a Greek verse, "that she was only hurt because she did not reign:" Pulchra and Furnius were condemned. Afer having thus spread the fame of his genius, and afterwards received an attestation from Tiberius, in which he pronounced him justly entitled to the appellation of "eloquent," was ranked with the most celebrated orators: afterwards in prosecuting accusations, or in protecting the accused, he enjoyed a greater reputation for eloquence than integrity, except that in the latter part of his life he lost much of his oratorical power, still retaining his inability to hold his tongue when his energies were exhausted.

53. Agrippina, who continued inflexible in her resentment, was seized with a fit of illness. The emperor paid her a visit, when after a long silence, during which she shed a profusion of tears, she at length accosted him with expostulations and prayers "that he would relieve her solitude, and give her a husband. She was still young enough for the married state; to virtuous women there was no consolation but that of marriage; and Rome af-

forded men who would think it no dishonour to receive the wife of Germanicus and his children." Tiberius was not ignorant what power in the state was involved in that request, but, that he might betray no tokens of resentment or fear, he left her, though instant with him, without an answer. This passage, not related by the authors of our annals, I found in the Commentaries of her daughter Agrippina; who was the mother of the emperor Nero, and has published her own life and the fortunes of her family.

54. Agrippina, still grieving and not anticipating any thing of the kind, was yet more deeply wounded by an artifice of Sejanus, who employed emissaries under colour of friendship, to warn her, "that poison was prepared for her, and that she must avoid eating at her father-in-law's table." She was a stranger to all dissimulation: so that as she sat near him at table, she continued speechless, not moving a muscle of her face, or touching any of the viands. At length Tiberius observed her, whether accidentally, or that he was before apprised; and to put the matter to a severer test, praising the apples that stood before him, he presented some with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only increased the suspicion of Agrippina; and, without ever putting them to her mouth, she delivered them to the servants. For all this, the reserved Tiberius let not a word drop from him openly; but, turning to his mother, "there was no wonder," he said, "if he took rigorous measures with her who thus charged him as a poisoner." Hence a rumour spread, "that her doom was meditated; and that the emperor not daring to accomplish it publicly, some secret method of perpetrating the deed was sought."

55. Tiberius, to divert the popular talk, assiduously attended the senate, and heard for many days ambassadors from Asia, who were contending, "in what city should be built the temple lately decreed." For this honour eleven cities strove, with equal zeal, though dissimilar in importance: nor did the pleas urged greatly vary; namely, "the antiquity of their original, and their distinguished zeal for the Roman people, during their several wars with Perseus, Aristonicus, and other kings." But, the Tralians, the Laodiceans, the Magnesians, and those of Hy-pæpa, were at once passed over as unequal to the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who represented, "that Troy was the mother of Rome," any superior advantage, besides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnassians created some little hesitation: they asserted, "that

for twelve hundred years no earthquake had shaken their town; and that they would fix in a solid rock the foundations of the temple." It was thought enough for the inhabitants of Pergamus that they had a temple erected there to Augustus, though on that very circumstance they grounded their claim. The Ephesians and Milesians seemed to have given sufficient employment to their states in the ceremonies of their own deities; the former of Diana, the other of Apollo. Thus the dispute was confined to Sardis and Smyrna. The first recited a decree of the Etrurians, which owned them for kinsmen: "for that Tyrrhenus and Lydus, sons of king Atys, having divided their people, because of their multitude, Lydus remained in his native country, and it became the lot of Tyrrhenus to find out a fresh residence; and by the names of these chiefs the parted people came afterwards to be called, Lydians in Asia, Tyrrhenians in Italy. That the opulence of the Lydians spread yet further, by their colonies sent under Pelops into Greece, which afterwards took its name from him:" They likewise urged "the letters of our generals; their mutual leagues with us during the war of Macedon; their fertilising rivers, tempered climate, and the richness of the surrounding country."

56. The Smyrnæans having appealed to their ancient records to show "whether Tantalus, the son of Jupiter; or Theseus, the son also of a god; or one of the Amazons, were their founder;" proceeded to considerations in which they chiefly trusted, their friendly offices to the Roman people, having aided them with a naval force, not in their foreign wars only, but in those which they had endured in Italy. "It was they who first reared a temple to the city of Rome, in the consulship of Marcus Porcius; when the power of the Roman people was already great, but not yet raised to its highest glory; for the city of Carthage still stood, and potent kings governed Asia. They referred also to Lucius Sylla as having experienced their generosity when his army was in the most imminent peril from the inclemency of the winter and a scarcity of clothes; for when it was reported to the citizens of Smyrna then assembled, all that were present divested themselves of their garments, and sent them to our legions." Thus when the votes of the senators were gathered, the Smyrnæans were preferred. It was also moved by Vibius Marsus, that Lentulus, to whom had fallen the province of Asia, should be attended by an extraordinary legate to superintend the building of the temple; and as Lentulus himself modestly declined to

choose one, Valerius Naso was chosen by lot from among those of prætorian rank.

57. In the mean time, according to a design long meditated, and from time to time deferred, Tiberius at last retired to Campania; under pretence of dedicating a temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to Augustus; but in truth, determined to remove for ever from Rome. The cause of his departure I have before referred to the intrigues of Sejanus; but though in this I have followed most of our authors, yet, since after the execution of Sejanus, he persisted for six successive years in the same retirement, I am frequently induced to entertain strong doubts whether his absence was not more justly ascribable to his wish to indulge his cruel and libidinous disposition with greater effect, in the secrecy of a retired situation. Some believed that, in his old age, he was ashamed of the style of his person; for he was exceedingly emaciated, tall, and stooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and thickly patched with plaisters: he was wont too, during his recess at Rhodes, to avoid the public, and practice his debaucheries in secrecy. There is also a tradition that he was driven from Rome by the restless spirit of his mother, whom he scorned to admit as a partner in the sovereignty; nor yet could entirely exclude, since as her gift he had received the sovereignty itself. For, Augustus had deliberated about placing Germanicus at the head of the Roman state, his sister's grandson, and one applauded by all men: but subdued by the solicitations of his wife, he adopted Tiberius, and caused Tiberius to adopt Germanicus. With these services Livia upbraided him, and demanded a return for them.

58. He was attended on his journey by a slender retinue; one senator, Cocceius Nerva, formerly consul, an accomplished lawyer; and, besides Sejanus, the only person of distinguished rank was Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight. The rest were men of letters, chiefly Greeks; whose conversation might amuse him. The astrologers declared, "that he had left Rome in such a conjunction of the planets, as for ever to exclude his return." This was a source of destruction to many, who conjectured his end to be at hand, and published their conjectures: nor indeed could they anticipate so improbable a contingency as that for eleven years he should of choice withdraw himself from his country. Subsequently it appeared how narrow is the limit which divides the deductions of the art from falsehood, and what obscurities envelope the truth. 'That he should

never return to Rome,' proved not to be falsely said : as to everything else about him they were perfectly in the dark ; since he sojourned sometimes in the adjacent country, sometimes on the neighbouring coast, often under the very walls of the city ; and died at last in the fulness of years.

59. About that time, an accident, which placed the life of Tiberius in imminent danger, gave encouragement to these idle predictions ; while to himself it furnished matter of increased confidence in the friendship and constancy of Sejanus. They were taking a repast in a native cave at a villa, called Spelunca, between the Amyclæan sea and the mountains of Fundi, when the stones giving way its mouth fell suddenly in, and buried some of the attendants : all were thrown into a state of alarm, and the company fled ; but Sejanus, hanging over the emperor with his knees, face, and hands, intercepted the falling substance : such was the posture he was found in by the soldiers who came to their relief. He derived increased influence from the circumstance, and whatever he advised, though it might tend to death and destruction, he obtained the credit of sincerity with the emperor, as he now seemed to have no thought about himself : so that he assumed the office of a judge against the offspring of Germanicus, and suborned such as were to act the parts of accusers, and especially to persecute Nero, the next in succession ; a young prince modest indeed, but for the most part forgetful of what his present situation required, while his freedmen and dependents, eager to acquire power, goaded him on to show a spirit erect and confident ; alleging that it was what the Roman people wished, what the armies desired : nor would Sejanus dare then to oppose him, though he now equally trampled upon the imbecility of an old man and the supineness of a young one.

60. While he listened to these suggestions, and such as these, though he exhibited no indications of meditated depravity, yet upon occasions he would let fall intemperate and unadvised expressions, which were caught up by the spies set over him, and charged against him with aggravations : neither was he allowed the privilege of clearing himself. Whereupon materials for solicitude presented themselves in a variety of forms ; for some cut him, others merely returning his salute, turned instantly away : many, after commencing a conversation, abruptly terminated it ; while the creatures of Sejanus who were near, made a dead set at them, and jeered them. As for Tiberius, he received him either sternly or with a countenance smiling

treacherously; and whether the youth spoke or said nothing, crimes were founded on his words, crimes on his silence: nor was he safe even in the night; since his watchings, his dreams, his sighs, were, by his wife, divulged to her mother Livia, and by Livia to Sejanus; who had also drawn his brother Drusus into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate prospect of empire, if his elder brother, already sinking, were once set effectually aside. The genius of Drusus, naturally morose, in addition to the desire of power, and the usual jealousies between brothers, was inflamed with envy because his mother, Agrippina, was fonder of Nero. However, Sejanus did not so far favour Drusus, but that against him too he meditated plans of future destruction; as he knew him to be of an ungovernable spirit, and thence the more obnoxious to insidious machinations.

61. In the end of this year, the following eminent persons died; Asinius Agrippa, of a family rather illustrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of it: and Quintus Haterius, of a senatorian family, and himself, while he yet lived, famous for eloquence: but the specimens of his genius, since published, are not equally esteemed. In truth, he prevailed more by rapidity than accuracy: and as depth of thought and diligence confer lasting fame upon the works of others, so the melody of voice and fluency of Haterius perished with him.

62. A sudden calamity occurred in the consulship of Marcus Licinius and Lucius Calpurnius, which equalled the havoc of the most destructive wars; its beginning and end were simultaneous. One Atilius had undertaken to erect an amphitheatre at Fidenæ, there to exhibit a combat of gladiators: he was of the race of freedmen, and as he engaged in the business from no exuberance of wealth, nor to acquire popularity amongst the inhabitants, but as a matter of sordid gain, he neither put it upon solid foundations nor employed braces to strengthen the wooden fabric which formed the superstructure. Thither flocked from Rome persons of every sex and age, eager for such shows, as during the reign of Tiberius they were debarred from diversions at home, and in greater crowds from the nearness of the place: hence the calamity was the more disastrous; for the theatre being crowded so as to form a dense mass, and then rent asunder, some portions tumbling inwards, other bulging towards the outer parts, a countless number of human beings, either intent upon the spectacle, or standing near around the place, were either borne headlong to the ground or buried under the ruins.



Those indeed who were killed by the shock of the first crash, escaped as far as was possible in such a disaster the misery of torture: much more to be pitied were those, who with portions of their bodies torn away, were not yet forsaken of life; those who by day beheld their wives and children, and by night distinguished them by their groans and cries. And now others, summoned to the spot by the sad tidings, bewailed one his brother, another his kinsman, a third his parents: even they whose friends or kindred were absent on a different account, were yet terrified; for as it was not as yet distinctly known who had fallen in the calamity, the alarm spread wider from the uncertainty.

63. When the ruins began to be removed, they crowded round the dead, embracing them and kissing them; and frequently there arose a contest about their identity, where distortion of the features, personal resemblance, or similarity of age had created a liability to error in those who claimed them. Fifty thousand souls were crushed to death or maimed by this sad disaster: it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of senate "that no man under the qualification of four hundred thousand sesterces, should exhibit the spectacle of gladiators; and no amphitheatre should be founded but upon ground of proved solidity." Atilius was punished with exile. However, immediately upon this destructive calamity, the doors of the great were thrown open; medicines and physicians were furnished to all; and at that juncture the city, though under an aspect of sorrow, presented an image of the public spirit of the ancient Romans; who, after great battles, relieved and sustained the wounded by their liberality and attentions.

64. The sensation created by this terrible blow had not yet subsided, when the city was visited with a fire, which raged with unusual violence, and entirely consumed mount Cælius. "It was a mournful year, they said, and under ill-boding omens the prince had formed the design of his absence." Such is the way of the multitude; who are wont to ascribe fortuitous events to evil counsels. But the emperor dissipated their murmurs, by bestowing on each sufferer money to the value of his damage: hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the senate; and was rewarded with applause by the populace, "for that without any views of ambition, or the importunities of friends, he had of his own free will sought out the sufferers though unknown to him, and relieved them by his bounty." It was likewise moved and decreed in senate, "that mount Cælius should be for the future styled 'Mount Augustus,'

since there the statue of Tiberius, standing in the house of Junius the senator, alone escaped unhurt, while the flames devoured all around; that the same had formerly happened to Claudia Quinta; that her statue, twice spared by the rage of fire, had been solemnly deposited by our ancestors in the temple of the mother of the gods; that the Claudian race were sacred and dear to the deities; and therefore the place, where the gods had testified such distinguished honour towards the prince, ought to be dignified with religious reverence."

65. It will not be improper to mention here, that this mount was of old named Querquetulanus, from a thick and exuberant grove of oaks which grew upon it. It was afterwards commonly called mount Cælius, from Cæles Vibenna, who having led to Rome a body of Tuscan auxiliaries, was presented with that settlement by Tarquinius Priscus, or some other of our kings; for in this particular writers differ: about other circumstances there remains no dispute; that these forces were very numerous, and had their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the forum. Hence the Tuscan-street, so called after these strangers.

66. But as the zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the prince, had solaced the sufferers under the events of fortune, so the fury of the informers, which grew daily more fierce and relentless, continued its career without alleviation. Quinctilius Varus, a wealthy man and the emperor's cousin, was assailed by Domitius Afer, the same who had procured the condemnation of Claudia Pulchra, his mother: nor did any man wonder that he who had lived long in poverty, and had squandered the reward lately earned, should address himself to fresh iniquities: the wonder was, that Publius Dolabella appeared as his associate in the accusation; because as he was nobly descended, and related to Varus, he was going to efface the glory of his house, and shed kindred blood. The senate however stopped the process, and voted "that the emperor's return was to be waited:" the only course which afforded even a temporary escape from this overwhelming evil.

67. Tiberius, having dedicated the temples in Campania, though he had by an edict warned the public, "that none should interrupt his retirement;" and though parties of soldiers were posted to prevent the conflux of persons from the neighbouring towns; nevertheless, hating the municipalities, and the colonies, and all continental situations, secluded himself in Capreæ, an island disjoined from

the point of the cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I am strongly inclined to believe that he was taken with its perfect solitude, for the sea in its neighbourhood is void of havens, and the stations even for smaller vessels are few, while none could put in unperceived by the coast-guards. The temperature of the climate is mild in winter, from the shelter of a mountain, which intercepts the rigour of the winds: its summers are refreshed by gales from the west, and are rendered delightful from the wide expanse of sea which the island commands: before the fiery eruptions of mount Vesuvius had changed the face of the country, there was also a prospect of the lovely bay of Naples. Tradition records that the Greeks occupied the opposite region, and that Capreeæ was inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, Tiberius chose for his retreat twelve villas, having separate names, and of considerable magnitude. And the more intent he had formerly been upon public cares, he became now so much the more abandoned to secret debaucheries, and mischievous privacy; for there still remained in him his old unreflecting proneness to suspicion and credulity; qualities which even at Rome Sejanus had always fostered, and here excited with increased assiduity; his devices against Agrippina and Nero being no longer conducted in secret. Soldiers were set to watch them, by whom every petty circumstance, the messages they sent or received, their visits and company, their open acts, their private proceedings, were all as it were minuted in journals. Even persons were suborned to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany; or that embracing the statue of the deified Augustus when the Forum was crowded, they would there implore the aid and protection of the senate and people of Rome. And these counsels, though rejected by them, they were charged with having entertained.

68. Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva being consuls, the year began with a disgraceful transaction: Titius Sabinus, an illustrious Roman knight, was hurried to prison on account of his friendship for Germanicus; whose wife and children, he alone of all his followers, never ceased to reverence, to attend them at home, and accompany them in public: a conduct applauded by the good, but offensive to their persecutors. There combined against him, Latinius Latiaris, Porcius Cato, Petilius Rufus, and Marcus Opius, who had been all prætors, and were now looking up to the consulship, to which there was no access but by Sejanus, and the kindness of Sejanus was to be purchased only by iniquity. It was settled amongst them that Lati-

aris, who had a slight acquaintance with Sabinus, should lay the snare, the rest be witnesses, and then begin the accusation. Latiaris therefore accosted him at first with incidental remarks, and then proceeded to praise his constancy, "that he had not, like others, been only a friend to that family when in its glory, and deserted it in affliction." He at the same time spoke in commendation of Germanicus, and bewailed Agrippina. This affected Sabinus; and, as the heart of man is easily wrought upon in calamity and sorrow, he burst into tears, followed immediately by complaints: he now inveighed more boldly against Sejanus, his cruelty, his pride, his traitorous designs; nor, in truth, did Tiberius escape his invectives. And now, as between men who had communicated to each other their secret guilt, these conversations led to a show of close friendship: so that Sabinus henceforward sought Latiaris, frequented his house, and laid open to him all his griefs, as to a most faithful confidant.

69. The persons I have mentioned next consulted how to have these things uttered in the hearing of more: for the place in which they met must wear the appearance of privacy; and if they stood behind the door, there was danger of being seen, or heard, or of suspicion arising from some accident. Into the space between the roof and the ceiling, a concealment as vile as the treachery was execrable, three Roman senators stowed themselves, and applied their ears to the chasms and crannies. Latiaris meanwhile found Sabinus abroad, and, as if about to tell him some late discoveries, drew him home, and into the chamber: there he recounted the past and present cruelties (for of both there was store) with an accumulation too of fresh and impending terrors. Sabinus took up his former detail with the greater prolixity in proportion as griefs once broached are with difficulty restrained. The accusation was forthwith despatched; and in a written memorial to Tiberius, these senators opened the order of the fraud, and became narrators of their own infamy. At no time was the city in a state of deeper anxiety and alarm, never was there greater need of caution against a man's nearest relatives; men were afraid to meet, afraid to discourse: silence and distrust extended alike to strangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided: even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, were regarded with apprehension.

70. The emperor sent a letter to the senate on the calends of January, and after offering the usual prayer at the entrance of the new year, he turned to Sabinus: he

charged him with "having corrupted some of his freedmen, and aimed at his own life;" and in no obscure terms required vengeance. The condemnation passed without delay, and the condemned was dragged away to instant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat pinched with a halter; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, "that these were the solemnities with which the year began! such were the victims slain to Sejanus!" Whichever way he cast his eyes, whithersoever he directed his words, nought appeared but the effects of universal terror, namely, flight and solitude; the streets and public places deserted: there were some who having fled, returned, and again exhibited themselves; terrified at this very thing, that they had discovered dread. "What day," they cried, "will be free from executions? when even in the midst of public assemblies, in the midst of vows and sacrifices; a time when custom has established a forbearance even from profane words, fetters and halters are introduced. That Tiberius knew what he was about in thus incurring so much odium: that it was a studied and preconcerted artifice that it might be considered that there was nothing to prevent the new magistrates from opening the prisons as well as the temples and the altars." There followed upon this a letter of thanks to the senate, "for having punished an enemy to the commonwealth:" and he added, "that he lived a life of fear and solicitude; in constant apprehensions of the snares of his enemies;" but named none: however it was not doubted that Agrippina and Nero were meant.

71. Were it not my purpose to refer the several incidents to their proper year; my spirit longs to anticipate, and instantly to relate the fate of Latiaris, Opsius, and the other contrivers of this atrocity, not only after Caligula came to the empire, but even while Tiberius yet reigned; who, though he would not suffer the ministers of his cruelties to be crushed by others, yet, as he generally became surfeited with their infamy, and as fresh ones daily presented themselves for the same vile services, was himself wont to strike down the old and overgrown: but I shall at the proper time relate the punishments of these and other culprits. Now, Asinius Gallus, to whose children Agrippina was aunt, moved "that the prince should be desired to explain his fears to the senate, and allow them to be removed." Tiberius was fonder of his dissimulation than of all his other virtues; for such he conceived it: he was therefore the more pained to find his secret purposes laid bare: but Sejanus soothed him; not from any love to

Gallus, but to wait the lingering gradations of the prince's vengeance; for he knew him to be slow in maturing his resolutions; but that when he once broke out, he would link sanguinary deeds to expressions of severity. About the same time died Julia, granddaughter to Augustus; by him condemned for adultery, and banished to the island *Trimetus*, not far from the coast of *Apulia*. She there suffered exile twenty years, sustained by relief from *Augusta*, who having by secret devices despatched, in the midst of their hopes and glory, *Caius* and *Lucius*, the brothers of *Julia*, made an open show of compassion towards others of the family when under the pressure of adversity.

72. The same year the *Frisians*, a people beyond the *Rhine*, rebelled; rather from our rapacity than their unwillingness to submit. The tribute laid on them by *Drusus* was easy, and suited to their contracted means; namely, "to furnish certain hides for military purposes." No one thought to insist on the particular size or thickness, till *Olennius*, the first centurion of a legion, being sent to govern them, picked out hides of some wild bulls, and demanded that according to their measure the tribute should be paid; a hard task even upon other nations, and to the *Germans* the more intolerable, as their forests abound in beasts of mighty bulk, and their domestic cattle are small. First they parted with the herds themselves, next they resigned their lands, last of all they surrendered their wives and children to bondage. Hence their indignation and complaints: but as these brought no relaxation, they sought relief by war. They seized the soldiers appointed over the tribute, and hanged them on gibbets: *Olennius* by flight prevented their vengeance, and found sanctuary in a neighbouring castle, its name *Flevum*, and garrisoned by a stout band of soldiers, *Romans* and auxiliaries, for the defence of the sea coast.

73. *Lucius Apronius*, *proprætor* of *Lower Germany*, as soon as he was apprised of the insurrection, summoned from the upper province some of the legionary veterans with a chosen band of auxiliary foot and horse; and sailing down the *Rhine* with both forces, made a descent on the *Frisians*; the revolted having now abandoned the siege of the castle, and marched back to cover their own country. He therefore, by bridges and causeways laid over the neighbouring *æstuaries*, rendered them passable for the heavier forces; and the meanwhile, having discovered certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the *Caninefates* and all the *German* foot in our pay, to move round to the rear of the enemy; who being already drawn

up for battle, repulsed the allied troops and even some legionary horse sent to support them: a fresh aid of three cohorts was then sent; and then two more; and, after some space, the whole squadron of cavalry: forces sufficiently strong, had they attacked them in a body, but as they advanced by intervals, they did not inspire fresh courage in those who were disordered, but were themselves carried away in the panic of the retreating troops. To Cethegus Labeo, who commanded the fifth legion, he committed the rest of the auxiliaries; but he too, being hard pressed, and his men in danger of giving way, despatched messages to implore the entire force of the legions: those of the fifth ran before the rest to his relief, and, in a sharp encounter, repulsing the foe, protected our cohorts and cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman general neither pursued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead; though many tribunes, many præfects, and many centurions of the first rank, were slain. It was afterwards learnt from deserters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themselves in the wood called Baduhenna, were every man cut off; and that another band of four hundred, having possessed themselves of the villa of Cruptorix, who formerly served in the Roman army, apprehending that they must surrender to the enemy, had fallen by the hands of each other.

74. Hence the name of the Frisians became renowned amongst the Germans; whilst Tiberius dissembled the public loss, that he might trust no man with the conduct of the war. As for the senate, it was no part of their anxiety, what disgraces were received in the extremities of the empire: domestic terror had possessed their souls; a malady for which they sought a cure from flattery: in-somuch, that though they met to deliberate upon far different matters, they decreed "an altar to clemency; an altar to friendship; and round them the statues of Tiberius and Sejanus;" and, with repeated supplications, importuned both "that they would deign to show themselves to the citizens." They however neither visited Rome nor the neighbourhood: to them, it seemed sufficient, to leave the island, and suffer themselves to be seen on the shore of Campania: thither crowded the senators, the knights, and great part of the people; all solicitous for admission to Sejanus, who was harder of access than the emperor; and therefore it was sought by means of intrigue or participation in his counsels. It was abundantly apparent that his natural arrogance was augmented, when one

looked upon that disgraceful crowd of slaves exposed to open view: for, at Rome, the continual hurrying to and from, is a familiar sight; and from the greatness of the city, it was a matter of uncertainty what was the business they were going upon. But here, they appeared lying along on the fields and shores, day and night, without distinction of rank; and bore with equal patience the favour and insolence of his porters; till at length even that was forbidden: and those whom he condescended not to see, others whom he deigned not to speak to, returned to the city in alarm; but some with ill-starred joy, for a dreadful issue of his disastrous friendship overhung them.

75. For the rest, Tiberius, having in person betrothed to Cnæius Domitius the younger Agrippina, his granddaughter and daughter of Germanicus, ordered the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In Domitius he preferred, besides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the Cæsars; for he had the honour of having Octavia for his grandmother, and through her Augustus for his great-uncle.



# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK V.

IN the consulship of Rubellius and Fusius, each surnamed Geminus, died Julia Augusta, the mother of Tiberius, in extreme old age. She belonged to a family of the highest nobility, being a member of the Claudian house; and adopted through her father into the Livian family; into the Julian by Augustus. Her first marriage was with Tiberius Nero; by whom she had children: her husband, at the time of the surrender of Perusia, in the civil war, became a fugitive; but, upon peace concluded between Sextus Pompeius and the triumvirate, returned to Rome. Afterwards, Octavius Cæsar, enamoured of her beauty, took her from her husband; whether against her inclination, is uncertain; but with such precipitation, that, without staying for her delivery, he brought her home while pregnant. She had no further issue; but, united in blood to Augustus by the marriage of Germanicus and Agrippina, her grandchildren stood in the same relation to him. In her domestic deportment she was formed after the model of primitive sanctity; but with more of affability than was allowed by ladies of old: as a mother, zealous and determined; as a wife, kind and indulgent; well adapted to the fastidious and complex character of her husband, and the subtle nature of her son: her funeral was plain, and her last will was long unfulfilled: her encomium was pronounced in public by Caligula, her grandson, afterwards emperor.

2. Tiberius excused himself to the senate by letter, for not having in person paid the last offices to his mother, on the score of the pressure of business; nor suffered the event to interfere at all with his enjoyments. He likewise abridged the ample honours decreed to her memory by the senate; under pretence of moderation, adding, "that no religious worship should be appointed her; for such was her own choice." Nay, in a part of the same letter, he censured female friendships; obliquely carping at the

consul Fusius, who had stood high in the favour of Augusta, and was an adept in winning the affections of women; he was also of a witty turn, and used to play upon Tiberius with cutting pleasantries; the impressions of which are long retained by those in high places.

3. From this period however his government assumed a character of furious and crushing despotism: for while Augusta lived, some refuge still remained, as the respect of Tiberius for his mother had all the force of habit; nor durst Sejanus attempt to supersede the authority of the parent: but now, as being free from restraint, they broke out with unbridled fury: letters were despatched against Agrippina and Nero; which, as they were read in the senate soon after the death of Augusta, the people believed to have been sent long before and by her suppressed. They contained expressions of refined barbarity; not imputing acts of armed hostility, or designs of treason: but he charged his grandson with "the love of young men, and lewdness:" against Agrippina he durst not even feign so much; but accused her "of haughty looks, and a turbulent spirit;" to the great consternation of the senate, who remained speechless, till a few, who had no hope of rising by honourable means, for verily public calamities are converted into occasions of personal favour, demanded, that "the question of the letters should be laid before the senate:" amongst these the foremost in zeal was Cotta Mesalinus, who expressed himself in terms of extreme severity; but the other leading men, and chiefly the magistrates, were embarrassed, for Tiberius, though he had inveighed against them bitterly, left the ulterior proceedings in uncertainty.

4. In the senate was one Junius Rusticus, appointed by the emperor to keep a journal of their proceedings, and therefore thought well acquainted with his purposes. This man, by some fated impulse (for he had never before shown any instance of magnanimity) or from shortsighted cunning, while forgetful of impending dangers, he dreaded future possibilities, joined the party that hesitated, and warned the consuls, "not to introduce the question:" he argued "that from impulses transient and inconsiderable in themselves, the most important affairs might take a bias; that one day the offspring of Germanicus might rise again, when the old man had had time to reconsider his conduct." At the same time, the people, carrying the images of Agrippina and Nero, gathered round the senate, and with prayers for the prosperity of the emperor, cried earnestly, "that the letters were counterfeit; and that the

prince was no party to the contrivance to ruin his family:" so that no dire resolution was come to on that day. There were also circulated several speeches, said to have been uttered by men of consular rank, against Sejanus; and framed with the greater petulance as most of them vented whatever their genius suggested in secret: whence Sejanus was the more enraged, and derived a pretext for complaining that the senate "had treated the affliction of the prince with contempt; that the people had renounced their allegiance; that revolutionary harangues were publicly heard and read: seditious acts of senate were passed: what more remained, but to take up arms and choose as their leaders and generals those whose images they had followed as standards?"

5. Tiberius therefore having repeated his accusations against his grandson and daughter-in-law; having rebuked the people by an edict, and complained to the senate, "that by the artifice of a single senator the imperial dignity was baffled and insulted, required that the whole affair should be left to himself, entire and untouched." Without further deliberation, they did not indeed resolve to come to a final decision, for that they were forbidden to do, but they testified their readiness to inflict vengeance, had they not been prevented by the authority of the prince.

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6. \*\*\* Upon this subject four-and-forty speeches were delivered; of which a few from fear, more from the habit  
 \*\*\*\*\* "I judged that either it would bring infamy upon myself or odium upon Sejanus \*\*\* the course of fortune is turned; and he who even chose him for his son-in-law and his colleague does not condemn himself. For the rest; as they brought disgrace upon themselves by caressing him while he lived, so now they incur a deeper guilt by reviling him when dead \*\*\* which is the more wretched fate, I can hardly decide; that of accusing a friend, or of being accused for showing him friendship \*\*\* I will put no man's cruelty, no man's mercy to the proof; but, free as I am, and approved by my own conscience, I will anticipate danger. I adjure you that you do not retain the memory of me in sorrow rather than with joy, adding me too to the number of those who, by a noble end, have escaped from the spectacle of their country's miseries."

7. He then spent part of the day in conversation with the several persons that came to him; either retaining them or despatching them, according as the purpose of

each was to attend him, or merely to speak with him: and while there was yet a throng of company remaining, all admiring his fearless and unaltered countenance, and imagining that there was still time to spare before the last sad scene, he fell upon his sword, which he had concealed in a fold of his gown. Nor did Tiberius, after his death, persecute his memory with reproaches, or blacken him with accusations: whereas he had loaded Blæsus with many and foul imputations.

8. The cases of Publius Vitellius and Pomponius Secundus were next brought before the senate. The first was charged by informers, "that he, when presiding over the exchequer, had offered to open the treasury and give the military fund in aid of a revolution." To the other, his accuser Considius, lately prætor, objected "the friendship of Ælius Gallus, who, after the execution of Sejanus, had fled to the gardens of Pomponius, as to a most secure shelter:" nor had the accused any other resource against the danger that menaced them than the constancy of their brothers, who came forward as their sureties. Soon afterwards, the trial having been frequently postponed, Vitellius, wearied out with fear and hope alike, called for a penknife, under pretence of writing, with which he opened his veins, but timorously and without effect; and at last died broken hearted. Pomponius, a man of great elegance of manners, and shining wit, bore his adverse fortune with equanimity, and outlived Tiberius.

9. Now though the rage of the populace was beginning to evaporate, and most men were mollified by former executions; it was determined to punish the remaining children of Sejanus. They were therefore both carried to prison, the boy sensible of his impending doom; but the girl so unconscious, that she frequently asked, "for what offence? and whither did they drag her? she would do so no more; and they might take the rod and whip her." The writers of that time relate, "that as it was held unprecedented for a virgin to suffer capital punishment, she was violated by the executioner just before he tied the rope; and then being both strangled, the tender bodies of these children were cast into the Gemoniæ." \* \* \* \*

10. About the same time Greece and Asia were dismayed by a rumour more rife than lasting; "that Drusus, the son of Germanicus, had been seen in the Cyclades, and soon afterwards upon the continent." And there was indeed a youth nearly of the same age, to whom some of the emperor's freedmen, as if he were recognised by them, attached themselves, with the purpose of betraying him.

The unwary were allured by the splendour of the name; the Greeks being prone to catch at anything new and marvellous. So much so that they imagined, and believed their own imaginings at the same time, "that, escaped from custody and proceeding to the armies of his father, he would invade Syria or Egypt." He was now attended by a crowd of young men, and thronged with eager partizans, elated with his present success and airy hopes of future greatness, when the story reached Poppæus Sabinus. He was at that juncture engaged in Macedonia, and likewise had charge of Greece: to obviate the mischief, whether the account were true or false, he hastily passed the bay of Toronis and that of Therme; and presently reached Eubœa, an island of the Ægean sea, and Piræus, on the coast of Attica; he then passed along the coast of Corinth, and the straits of the Isthmus; and, by another sea, entered Nicopolis, a Roman colony: there at length he learnt, that being shrewdly questioned, he had declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus; and that many of his followers having fallen off, he had embarked, as if he meant to sail to Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius, and further than this we have found nothing of the origin or issue of that affair.

11. Towards the conclusion of the year, a dissension between the consuls which had been long gathering strength, burst forth: for Trio, who was careless about making himself enemies, and a practised pleader, had obliquely censured "Regulus, as slow in crushing the tools of Sejanus." The last, a moderate and inoffensive man, unless provoked, not only repulsed the charge of his colleague, but summoned him to trial, as an accomplice in the conspiracy; though many senators besought them to lay down their animosities, as they tended to destruction, they continued in determined hostility, menacing each other, as long as they remained in office.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK VI.

CNÆIUS DOMITIUS and Camillus Scribonianus had begun their consulship, when the emperor, having crossed the channel between Capreæ and Surrentum, sailed along the shore of Campania; either unresolved whether he should enter the city, or else counterfeiting a show of coming, because he had determined otherwise. He often came down into the neighbourhood of the city, and even visited the gardens upon the Tiber, but went back again to the rocks and loneliness of the island, ashamed of his villanies and lusts; in which he rioted so inordinately, that after the fashion of foreign tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution: nor were beauty and gracefulness of person the only provocatives of his passion; but the modest deportment of some youths, the ancestral images of others. Then likewise were first devised the names, till then unknown, of 'Sellarii' and 'Spintriæ,' expressive of the abominable lewdness of the place, and the manifold methods of prostitution. Procurers were appointed to hunt out victims, and bring them to him. The willing they encouraged with presents, the backward they terrified with threats; and upon such parents or kindred as withheld their infants, they employed force, seizure, and just what they pleased, as upon so many captives.

2. At Rome, in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of Livia had been but just discovered, and not long since punished too, rigorous decrees were passed against even her statues and memory; with another, "that the effects of Sejanus should be taken from the public treasury, and placed in that of the emperor:" as if it made any difference. And yet such was the motion of the Scipios, the Silani, and the Cassii; who urged it, each almost in the same words, or with slight alterations introduced, and all with great apparent earnestness: when suddenly Tagonius Gallus, while he thrust his own meanness amongst

illustrious names, became an object of derision: for he besought the prince "to choose a body of senators of whom twenty, drawn by lot and under arms, should wait upon him and defend his person, as often as he entered the senate." He had been weak enough to credit a letter from the emperor, requiring "one of the consuls as a guard, that he might proceed in safety from Capreæ to Rome." Tiberius, however, whose custom it was to convey a sneer in the language of seriousness, thanked the senate for this instance of their regard; but asked, "what senators were to be chosen? what to be omitted? whether always the same, or a continued succession? whether young senators, or such as had borne dignities? whether those who were magistrates, or otherwise? And then, what a sight it would be to behold them taking their swords in the porch of the senate-house! in truth he held not his life of such importance, as to have it thus protected by arms." So much in answer to Tagonius, abstaining from any harshness of expression; nor did he urge them to anything beyond cancelling the motion.

3. But Junius Gallio, who had proposed "that the prætorian soldiers, having fulfilled their term of service, should thence acquire the privilege of sitting in the fourteen rows of the theatre allotted to the Roman knights," he rebuked vehemently; and, as if present, demanded "what business he had with the soldiers, whose duty bound them to observe only the orders of the emperor, and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards? Gallio had forsooth discovered what had escaped the sagacity of the deified Augustus! Or was it not rather a method invented by a satellite of Sejanus, to raise sedition and discord; an artifice by which, under pretence of conferring honour, he might stimulate the simple minds of the soldiery to break through the established regulations of the service?" This reward of his studied flattery had Gallio; who was forthwith expelled the senate, and afterwards Italy: nay, as it was alleged against him that he would experience no hardship from an exile at Lesbos, a celebrated and charming island, which he had selected for its place, he was haled back to Rome, and kept under guard in the house of a magistrate for the time being. Tiberius in the same letter doomed to destruction Sextus Paconianus, of prætorian rank, to the great joy of the senate, as he was daring and mischievous, prying into everybody's secrets, and chosen by Sejanus as an instrument for concerting the overthrow of Caligula. When this was now laid open, the hate long since conceived against him, broke out, and

had he not offered to make a discovery, he had been instantly condemned to capital punishment.

4. And when he impeached Latinus Latiaris, the accuser and the accused, both equally detested, exhibited a most gratifying spectacle. Latiaris, as I have recorded, had been the chief instrument in ensnaring Titius Sabinus, and was now the first that expiated the guilt of that affair. During these transactions Haterius Agrippa attacked the consuls of the preceding year: "how came they to be silent now, after threats of mutual accusation? fear, doubtless, and conscious guilt, operated as a compact of mutual forbearance. But the fathers must not suppress what they had heard." Regulus answered, "that he waited for the proper time to press for punishment, and that he would prosecute his colleague before the prince." Trio said that "the emulation between colleagues, and what they had uttered in the heat of dissension, were better blotted out of remembrance." Agrippa still persisting, Sanquinius Maximus, of consular rank, besought the senate "not to increase the cares of the emperor by wantonly hunting up matter for fresh severities; that the emperor himself was equal to the task of remedying the evils of the times." Thus Regulus escaped destruction; and Trio obtained a postponement of his doom. Haterius was the more detested, since enervated with sleep or nocturnal debaucheries, and protected by his voluptuous sloth against all peril from the prince, bloodthirsty though he was, he meditated in the midst of revelry and lewdness the ruin of illustrious citizens.

5. Next, Cotta Messalinus, the author of every the most sanguinary counsel, and therefore inveterately hated, was accused of a multitude of crimes, as soon as ever an opportunity was afforded; "that he had represented Caius Caligula as contaminated by incest;" that at a banquet among the priests on the birthday of Augusta, he had styled it a 'funeral supper;' and that, complaining of the influence of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius, with whom he had a suit about money, he had added, "they indeed will be supported by the senate, but I by my dear little Tiberius." Nor could he be convicted as to all these charges by men of the first rank in Rome; and when they pressed their suit, he appealed to Cæsar: soon after a letter came, which was a kind of defence of Cotta; in it he recounted "the beginning of their friendship," repeated "his many good services to himself," and desired "that words maliciously misconstrued, and the simplicity of convivial conversation, might not be wrested into crimes."



6. Most remarkable was the beginning of that letter; for in these words he commenced: "What to write you, conscript fathers, or in what manner to write, or what altogether not to write at this juncture, if I can determine, may all the gods and goddesses doom me to worse destruction than that by which I feel myself consuming daily." With such just retribution did his enormous crimes and atrocities recoil upon their author. Nor was it unadvisedly that the wisest of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of tyrants were bared to view, wounds and hideous lacerations would be seen in them; for as the body is torn by stripes, so is the heart by cruelty, lusts, and evil purposes. For assuredly not his imperial fortune, not his inaccessible solitude, could insure tranquillity to Tiberius, or prevent his acknowledging the anguish of his breast, and the penal tortures he had brought upon himself.

7. It was then left to the discretion of the senate to decide on the case of Cæcilianus the senator, "who had brought forward many charges against Cotta;" and it was resolved, "to subject him to the same penalties as were inflicted upon Aruseius and Sanquinius, the accusers of Lucius Arruntius." An event more gratifying to his pride never befel Cotta; who, of noble descent indeed, but beggared by extravagance, and infamous for his enormities, was, in the estimate of the redress due to him, placed upon a level with the immaculate character of Arruntius. Afterwards were arraigned Quintus Servæus and Minutius Thermus; Servæus, formerly prætor, and once the follower of Germanicus; Minutius, of the equestrian rank, and though distinguished yet never elated by the friendship of Sejanus: and hence the greater commiseration for both. Tiberius, on the contrary, charged them "as the leaders and principals in treason," and directed Caius Cestius the elder, "to declare to the senate what he had written to himself." Thus Cestius undertook the accusation. This was the most pestilent calamity of those times, that the principal members of the senate degraded themselves to perform the office of the meanest informers: some openly, many in secrecy; nor could you observe any distinction between kinsmen and aliens; friends and strangers; whether the acts imputed were recent or fetched from the obscurity of past times. Equally for words spoken in the forum, at entertainments, upon what subject soever uttered, the speakers were accused; according as everyone hastened to get the start and fix his man in the character of a defendant: some did it for their own protection, but the

generality infected as it were with the malady and contagion of the times. Minutius and Servæus were condemned; but to save themselves became evidence: and thus Julius Africanus and Seius Quadratus were drawn into the same predicament; the former from the Santones, a city of Gaul; whence the other was I have not discovered. Neither am I unaware that by most writers the trials and sufferings of many of the accused are wholly omitted; either sinking under their multiplicity, or apprehensive that the recital, which to themselves proved surfeiting and melancholy, would be equally irksome to their readers. But to me many events have presented themselves deserving to be known, however unrecorded by others.

8. For, at a juncture when all men else affected to renounce the friendship of Sejanus; a Roman knight, named Marcus Terentius, then upon his trial on this very account, dared to avow it before the senate in a speech on this wise: "In my present circumstances, to deny the charge were perhaps more expedient than to acknowledge it: but, whatever be the result, I will own that I was the friend of Sejanus, that I even sought to be his friend, and gloried in it when I had gained his friendship. I had seen him colleague with his father Strabo in the command of the prætorian cohorts, and soon afterwards discharging the functions of the civil and military department at the same time. His kinsmen and friends were covered with public honours; and prevalent with the prince was every man's credit in proportion to his intimacy with Sejanus. Those, on the contrary, under his displeasure, were exposed to the terrors of informations or charged as criminals. Instances I adduce not; but with myself I will vindicate, and at my own individual peril, all those friends of his, who like myself, were guiltless of his last designs. Sejanus the Vulsinian was not the man whom we courted: but Sejanus a member of the Claudian, of the Julian house, into which by alliance he was ingrafted: your son-in-law, Cæsar; your colleague in the consulship, and who administered your functions in the empire. To us it belongs not to judge whom above all others you exalt, nor for what reasons. Upon you the gods have devolved the supreme disposal of affairs; and to us is left the glory of obedience. Facts and things obvious we all behold: we perceive who it is upon whom you accumulate power and honours; who they are that have supreme influence in dispensing rewards and punishments: and that these were possessed by Sejanus, no man can deny: but to pry into the hidden thoughts of the prince, and the measures he

meditates in secret, is forbidden and hazardous; nor if attempted would one succeed. Do not, conscript fathers, confine your thoughts to the last day of Sejanus; but take in the whole sixteen years of his power; when we adored even such men as Satrius and Pomponius, and to be acquainted with his porters and freedmen was esteemed a high honour. What then! shall this defence be allowed indiscriminately and without exception? far from it: let just limits-bound it. Let conspiracy against the state; let murderous designs upon the prince, be punished: but as to the offices of friendship, and tokens of respect towards Sejanus, the same limitation is necessary to absolve you, Cæsar, and us."

9. The magnanimity of the speech, added to the joy that one was at last found who gave utterance to sentiments which all entertained in their hearts, produced such an effect, that his accusers were for this and former delinquencies sentenced to banishment or death. Next followed letters from Tiberius against Sextus Vestilius, of prætorian rank; whom, as a dear friend of his brother Drusus, he had adopted into the class of his own friends. The cause of offence was his either having composed an invective against the impurities of Caligula, or the credit given to a false statement that he had done so; and for this reason, being forbidden the prince's table, with an aged hand he tried the steel, and feebly pierced his veins, but bound them up again, and by a memorial sought pardon of Tiberius; but receiving a relentless answer, opened them again. Next were charged with treason, in one batch, Annius Pollio, Appius Silanus, with Mamercus Scaurus, Calvisius Sabinus, and Vinicianus added to his father Pollio; a band of illustrious men, all noble in descent, some distinguished with the first dignities. The fathers one and all trembled for the result; (for how few senators were unconnected by friendship or alliance with so many men of the highest quality?) but one of the evidence, named Celsus, tribune of a city-cohort, exculpated Appius and Calvisius: the trial of Pollio, Vinicianus, and Scaurus, was by the emperor postponed, that he himself might take cognizance of their cases with the senate. Towards Scaurus however he exhibited some ominous tokens of displeasure.

10. Nor could even women escape the peril of accusations. With designs to usurp the government they could not be charged; their tears are therefore made treason; and Vitia, mother to Fusius Geminus, once consul, sentenced to execution in old age, for bewailing the death of her son. These were the proceedings in the senate: nor

were they different before the emperor. Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus, were doomed to death; two of his oldest friends, men who had followed him to Rhodes, and never forsook him at Capreæ. Vesularius was his go-between in the plot against Libo: by the co-operation of Marinus, Sejanus had effected the ruin of Curtius Atticus. Hence it was hailed with the greater joy, that their pernicious examples had recoiled upon the authors of them. About the same time died Lucius Piso, the pontiff; and, by a felicity rare in one so distinguished, in the course of nature: never the spontaneous author of any servile motion, and ever wise in moderating them when necessity enforced his assent. That his father had sustained the office of censor, I have before recorded: he himself lived to fourscore years, and for his services in Thrace, had obtained the honour of a triumph. But his chief renown arose from his conduct in the office of præfect of the city, lately made perpetual, and the more odious, as the people were unused to its authority, but the rigour of which he qualified with admirable discretion.

11. For of old, in the absence of the kings, and afterwards of the consuls, that the city might not be without a ruler, a temporary magistrate was appointed to administer justice, and apply a remedy in cases of emergence: and it is said that by Romulus, Denter Romulius was deputed; Numa Marcius by Tullus Hostilius; and by Tarquin the Proud, Spurius Lucretius. Subsequently the delegation was made by the consuls; and there remains still a shadow of the old institution, when by reason of the Latin festival, one is authorised to discharge the consular function. Moreover, Augustus, during the civil wars, committed to Cilnius Mæcenas of the equestrian order, the government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when sole master of the empire, moved by the multitude of people and the slowness of relief from the laws, he chose one of consular rank to control the slaves, and such citizens as from their daring spirit are apt to run riot if they have not the fear of chastisement before their eyes. Messala Corvinus was the first invested with this authority, and in a few days dismissed, as a man incompetent to discharge it. It was then filled by Taurus Statilius, who, though very aged, sustained it with signal honour. After him Piso held it for twenty years, with equal credit; so that he was distinguished with a public funeral, by decree of the senate.

12. A motion was then made in the senate by Quinctilianus, tribune of the people, concerning a book of the Sybil, which Caninius Gallus, one of the college of fifteen,

had prayed "might be received amongst the rest of that prophethess, a decree being made to that effect." The decree passed without opposition, but was followed by letters from Tiberius, gently chiding the tribune, "as young, and therefore unskilled in the ancient usages;" he upbraided Gallus "that when it was not known who was the author of the book, he, who was so expereined in the science of sacred ceremonies, should, without taking the opinion of the college, without the usual reading and deliberation on the character of the composition, by the presidents of the college, should have transacted this business in a thin house." He also advised them "that Augustus, on account of the multitude of fictitious predictions circulated under that celebrated name, had ordained a day before which they should be carried to the city-prætor, and after which it was unlawful for any private person to hold them." The same had likewise been decreed by our ancestors, when after the burning of the Capitol in the social war, the verses of the Sybil (whether there were but one, or more) were everywhere sought, in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily, and all the Roman colonies, with injunctions to the priests that, as far as human wit could enable them, they would separate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occasion also, the book was subjected to the cognizance of the quindecimvirate.

13. Under the same consuls, matters proceeded to the verge of rebellion, from the dearth of provisions: The populace for many days urged their wants and demands in the public theatre, with an unusual licentiousness of language towards the emperor. This roused the emperor, who censured the magistrates and senate, "that they had not by the civil power restrained the people." And further stated "the supplies of grain which he had caused to be imported; from what provinces, and in how much greater abundance than those procured by Augustus." So that for correcting the populace, a decree passed framed on the model of ancient severity: nor less vigorous was the edict published by the consuls. His own silence was not, as he had hoped, ascribed to his regard for civil equality, but was imputed to scorn.

14. In the end of the year Geminius, Pompeius, and Celsus, Roman knights, were laid low by a conviction for conspiracy. Of these Geminius by lavish expenditure, and voluptuous living, had gained the friendship of Sejanus, but not for any serious matters. Celsus, a tribune, while in bonds, loosened his chain, and passing it over his head, by bearing in the opposite direction broke his neck.

But over Rubrius Fabatus a guard was set; as to him it was objected, that despairing of the Roman state, he meant to throw himself on the compassion of the Parthians. He was, certainly, apprehended in the Straits of Sicily, and when haled back to Rome by a centurion, he assigned no satisfactory motives for so long an excursion. He remained however unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

15. In the consulship of Servius Galba and Lucius Sylla, Tiberius having long deliberated upon whom to bestow his granddaughters, as now they were marriageable, chose for their husbands Lucius Cassius and Marcus Vinicius. The last was originally from Cales a municipal town, and of an equestrian family; but his father and grandfather had been consuls; himself of a gentle temper and polished eloquence. Cassius was a Roman of plebeian family, but ancient and honourable; was brought up under the strict tuition of his father, and more admired for the easiness than vigour of his spirit. To him the emperor married Drusilla, and to Vicinius Julia; both daughters of Germanicus; and upon this subject wrote to the senate with a slight commendation of the young men. Then assigning some extremely vague reasons for his absence, he proceeded to considerations more weighty, and the animosities towards him arising out of his zeal for the republic; and desired, "that Macro, præfect of the prætorian guards with some few tribunes and centurions might always accompany him into the senate." To this purpose an ordinance passed, comprehensive, and without limitation as to number or condition: yet so far was Tiberius from coming near the council of the nation, that he never entered the walls of Rome: generally travelling on indirect roads round his country and shunning it.

16. In the meanwhile, the whole band of accusers broke loose upon those who augmented their wealth by usury, in contravention of a law of Cæsar the dictator, "in which provision is made respecting the terms of lending money, and holding property in Italy;" a law formerly neglected, because the public good is posthabited to private gain. Usury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the cause of ever-recurring discord and seditions, and therefore restrained even in ancient times, when the public manners were less corrupt. For, first it was ordained by the XII Tables, "that no man should take higher interest than one per cent. per annum;" when, before, it was exacted at the pleasure of the rich. Afterwards by a regulation of the tribunes it was reduced to one half, and at

last usury was forbidden. By the people, too, repeated statutes were made for obviating frauds, which though so frequently repressed, yet by strange devices sprang up afresh. But at this time Gracchus the prætor, whose office it was to inquire and determine on this matter, appalled by the multitude of those involved, had recourse to the senate. The fathers also were dismayed (for of this fault not one was guiltless), and sought indulgence from the prince; and a year and six months were granted for every one to adjust his domestic finances to the directions of the law.

17. Hence a great scarcity of current money: as all debts were at once called in; and so many being condemned, and their effects sold, the current coin stagnated in the public treasury, or in that of the emperor. Moreover, the senate had provided, "that two-thirds of his capital should by every one be laid out upon lands in Italy." But the creditors called in the whole; nor was it reputable for the debtors to break faith. So that at first, meetings and entreaties were tried; then the tribunal of the prætor was beset with clamorous applicants. And the project resorted to as a remedy, namely, that the debtor should sell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation: for the usurers hoarded up all their money for purchasing lands; and the plenty of estates to be sold lowering the price, the more men were indebted the more difficult they found it to sell. Many, from a state of affluence, were plunged into utter ruin; and the destruction of private property hurled down with it both rank and character. At length the emperor brought relief, by placing a sum of a hundred thousand great sesterces at the different bankers, with liberty to borrow for three years without interest, provided the debtor gave security to the people to double the value in lands. Thus credit was restored; and by degrees private lenders too were found: neither was the order of the senate enjoining the purchase of lands observed; like most other projects of the kind, having been eagerly embraced at first, it was in the end treated with neglect.

18. After this Rome was revisited with her former terrors, Considius Proculus being put on his trial for treason. While he was celebrating his birthday, devoid of all apprehension, he was hurried to the senate, and was at once condemned and executed. Sancia too, his sister, was interdicted fire and water at the accusation of Quintus Pompeius; a man of turbulent temper, who pretended "that he followed these and similar practices, to ingratiate himself with Tiberius, and thus to obviate the fate which

threatened his brother Pomponius Secundus." Pompeia Macrina was also sentenced to exile; her husband Argolicus and his father Laco, two of the prime nobility of Greece, had already fallen victims to the displeasure of Tiberius. Her father too, an illustrious Roman knight, and her brother, of prætorian rank, when they saw the condemnation that awaited them, slew themselves. The crime imputed to them was, "that their grandfather, Theophanes of Mytelene, had been one of the confidants of Pompey the Great; and that to Theophanes, when dead, Grecian flattery had paid divine honours."

19. These were followed by Sextus Marius, the most wealthy man of Spain. He was accused of incest with his daughter, and thrown headlong from the Tarpeian rock: and lest it should be doubted that the extent of his riches proved his ruin, his mines of gold, though forfeited to the state, were by Tiberius appropriated to himself; and, exasperated rather than appeased by past executions, all who were in prison under accusation of attachment to Sejanus, were by his command put to death. There lay the countless mass of slain; of every sex and age; the illustrious and the mean; some dispersed, others collected in heaps: nor was it permitted to their friends or kindred to attend them in the hour of death, to shed a tear over them, or any longer even to go and see them; but guards were placed around, who marked signs of sorrow in each; and attended the putrid bodies till they were dragged to the Tiber; where floating in the stream, or driven upon the banks, none dared to burn them, none to touch them. Even the natural sympathy for human woes was intercepted in its offices by the violence of fear; and in proportion as cruelty prevailed, commiseration was stifled.

20. About the same time, Claudia, daughter to Marcus Silanus, was given in marriage to Caligula, who had accompanied his grandfather to Capreæ. Concealing a ferocious spirit under an artful guise of modesty; even upon the condemnation of his mother, and the exile of his brothers, not a word escaped him. Closely aping Tiberius, he put on the same dress as he did from day to day, and in his language differed little from him. Whence the shrewd observation of Passienus the orator, afterwards so famous, "that never was a better slave nor a worse master." Neither would I omit the presage of Tiberius concerning Galba, then consul. Having sent for him and sifted him on several subjects, he at last told him in Greek, "and thou, Galba, shalt hereafter taste of empire;" intimating his late and brief reign; by virtue of his skill in



the astrology of the Chaldæans, which he acquired in his retirement at Rhodes under the tuition of Thrasullus, whose skill he proved in the following way :

21. As often as he sought information on any subject of this sort, he retired to the roof of the house, trusting with his secret one freedman only, a man of great personal strength but illiterate, who conducted the astrologer, whose art Tiberius had resolved to test, by an unfrequented and precipitous path, for the house was seated on the brow of a rocky eminence, and, as he returned, if any suspicion of vain pretension or fraud arose, plunged him headlong into the sea beneath, that he might not live to betray the secret. Thrasullus being therefore led over the same rocks, and having astonished the emperor by the replies to his interrogatories ; for he revealed to him, by the power of his art, his succession to the empire, and a series of future events. Tiberius asked him, “ whether he had calculated his-own nativity, and what was to befall him that same year, nay, that very day ? ” Thrasullus, surveying the aspects and positions of the stars, at first hesitated, then quaked, and however much he examined them, the more and more dismayed with astonishment and dread, he at last cried out, “ that over him hung a danger imminent and all but fatal.” Forthwith Tiberius embraced him, congratulated “ him upon his foresight of perils, and assured him that he should suffer no harm ; ” and esteeming his predictions as oracular, continued him among his most intimate friends.

22. For myself, while I listen to these and similar relations, my judgment wavers, whether human affairs are regulated by fate and immutable necessity, or left to roll on at random. For upon this subject you will find the wisest of the ancients and the followers of their sects are of opposite sentiments ; and that many are of opinion, “ that the gods take no interest in the beginning or the end of our course, or in short in humanity in any aspect : and thence so eternally calamities afflict the upright, while prosperity attends the wicked.” Others hold the contrary position, and believe “ that events proceed in accordance with fate ; but not a fate resulting from planetary influences, but referrible to the principles and concatenation of natural causes. Yet they leave us liberty of election in our course of life ; but after the choice is made, they say the chain of consequences is inevitable : neither is that good or evil which passes for such in the estimation of the vulgar : many who seem to struggle with adversity are yet happy ; numbers that wallow in wealth,

are yet most wretched: as when the former bear with magnanimity the pressure of adverse fortune; and the latter make an unwise use of her bounties." However, very many men remain still convinced that "the future fortunes of each are determined at the moment of their birth: or if some events thwart the prediction, that it is owing to the errors of such as pronounce without understanding the subject; and thus the credit of an art is impaired, which, both in ages past and in our own, has afforded signal instances of its certainty." In fact, the prediction of the son of this same Thrasullus, that Nero would be emperor, will be recorded at the proper time; but not here, lest I should digress too much from the matter in hand.

23. During the same consulship the death of Asinius Gallus became generally known: that he perished through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord, or by constraint, was held uncertain. The emperor was consulted, "whether he would suffer him to be buried;" when he blushed not to grant it as a favour; and even went so far as to express dissatisfaction that a casualty should have carried off the accused before he was convicted publicly: as if during three intermediate years between his accusation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of the aged man, of consular rank himself, and the father of so many more. Next the light of Drusus was quenched, after having protracted his existence to the ninth day, by means of the wretched nutriment afforded by the stuffing of his bed. Some have related, that, in case Sejanus had attempted force, Macro had instructions to take the young man from his confinement (for he was kept in the palace) and set him at the head of the people: afterwards because a report was circulated "that the emperor was about to be reconciled to his daughter-in-law and grandson;" he chose rather to be accounted cruel than to have changed his purpose.

24. Nay, even after death he pursued him with invectives, and charged him with "having dishonoured his body; with a spirit breathing destruction to his own family, and hostility to the republic;" and ordered to be recited "the minutes of such of his words and actions, as had been daily registered." This was thought a proceeding of unparalleled atrocity; that for so many years spies should have attended him to note down his looks, his groans, his secret murmurs; and that his grandfather could hear the tale, read it, and expose it to the public, was scarcely credible, were it not for the letters of Actius

the centurion, and Didymus the freedman; which exhibited the names of the slaves accordingly as one struck him as he was coming out of his chamber, and another terrified him with menaces. The centurion too repeated, as matter of special merit, his own language to Drusus, language full of barbarity, with the words uttered by him while sinking under famine; in which at first feigning madness, he pronounced, as if in a phrenzy, deadly denunciations against Tiberius, and afterwards, when all hopes of life had fled, he poured forth studied and deliberate imprecations, "that as he had slaughtered his son's wife, the son of his brother, and his son's sons, and filled his whole house with carnage, so might he pay to the uttermost the penalty of his crimes, in justice to his name, the generations of his forefathers, and posterity." The senators indeed interrupted him, with exclamations of assumed horror at these imprecations: but their hearts were penetrated with consternation and amazement that he who was heretofore so wary, and threw so dense a covering over his iniquities, had arrived at such a pitch of hardihood as thus to remove, as it were, his prison walls, and exhibit his own grandson under the lash of a centurion, exposed to the violence of slaves, and imploring in vain the homeliest aliment of life.

25. Before the impressions of this grief were worn away, the death of Agrippina was announced. I suppose she had spun out her life upon the hopes she had conceived from the execution of Sejanus; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, voluntarily put an end to her life, unless it was that by bereaving her of nourishment, a mode of death was artfully resorted to, which might seem self-sought. For Tiberius indeed broke out with abominable imputations against her, charging her "with lewdness; adultery with Asinius Gallus; and that upon his death she became weary of life." But Agrippina, impatient of an equal lot, and eager to rule, had sacrificed to masculine ambition the vices of her sex. The emperor added, "that she departed the same day two-years on which Sejanus had suffered as a traitor, and that the same ought to be recorded." Nay, he boasted of his clemency, in "that she had not been strangled, and her body cast into the *Gemoniæ*." For this the senate thanked him, and decreed "that, on the seventeenth of October, the day of both their deaths, a yearly offering should be consecrated to Jupiter for ever."

26. Not long after, Cocceius Nerva, the constant companion of the prince, skilled in all laws, human and di-

vine, in unimpaired prosperity and perfect vigour of body, formed a resolution of dying. Tiberius having heard of it, sat down beside him, requested to know his motives, adding entreaties, and even confessed, "that it would disturb his peace of mind, and be a stain on his reputation, if the nearest of his friends should relinquish life, without any cause for dying." Nerva shunned conversing on the subject, and immediately began to abstain from food. It was alleged by such as knew his thoughts, that the more he saw into the miseries of the state, the more transported with indignation and fear, he resolved to die with honour while unscathed and unassailed. Moreover, the fall of Agrippina, which is hardly credible, drew with it that of Plancina. She was formerly married to Cnæius Piso; and though she exulted publicly in the death of Germanicus, yet when Piso fell, she was protected by the solicitations of Augusta, nor less by the animosity of Agrippina. When favour and hate had ceased to act, justice prevailed, and being prosecuted for notorious crimes, with her own hand she inflicted upon herself a punishment more tardy than unmerited.

27. While the city was saddened by so many subjects of mourning, one occasion of grief was that Julia, the daughter of Drusus, and lately the wife of Nero, was espoused to Rubellius Blandus, whose grandfather was remembered by many to have been only a Roman knight from Tibur. At the close of the year, the death of Ælius Lamia was celebrated with a public funeral. He was præfect of the city; having been at length discharged from the mock administration of Syria. He was a man of distinguished family, enjoyed a vigorous old age, and derived additional popularity from his province being withheld from him. Pomponius Flaccus, proprætor of Syria, died sometime after; when a letter from Tiberius was recited, in which he complained "that all the senators of distinction, and qualified to command armies, refused that office; in this difficulty he was driven to entreaties, in order to induce some of those of consular rank to undertake the provinces;" forgetting Arruntius, now for ten years prevented from going into Spain. The same year also died Marcus Lepidus, of whose wisdom and moderation I have in former books, as was fitting, said enough. Nor is it requisite to dwell long on the display of his nobility, since the Æmilian race is fertile in good citizens; and even those of the same family who lapsed into corruption, continued still to be distinguished by the splendours of fortune.

28. In the consulship of Paulus Fabius and Lucius Vellius, after a long series of ages, the bird called the phœnix arrived in Egypt, and furnished the most learned of the natives and Greeks with occasion for much speculation concerning that marvel. The circumstances in which they agree, with many others of a doubtful character, though not undeserving of record, I purpose reciting. That it is a creature sacred to the sun, and in the form of its head, and the varied tints of its plumage distinguished from other birds, all who have described its characteristics are agreed: as to the number of years it lives, accounts vary. The most generally received fixes it at five hundred years: but there are those who affirm that one thousand four-hundred and sixty one years intervene between its visits; and assert that the three former phœnixes appeared, the first in the reign of Sesostris, the next of Amasis; and that one was seen in the reign of Ptolemy, the third king of Egypt of the Macedonian race, and flew to the city of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vast retinue of other birds gazing with admiration on the beautiful miracle. But the accounts of antiquity are enveloped in doubt and obscurity: between Ptolemy and Tiberius the interval was less than two hundred and fifty years: whence some have believed that the present was a spurious phœnix, and did not proceed from the regions of Arabia, nor observed any of the instincts which ancient tradition constantly attributes to the genuine: for the latter having completed his course of years, on the approach of death builds a nest in his native land, and upon it sheds a generative power, from whence arises a young one, whose first care, when he is grown up, is to bury his father: neither does he go about this task unadvisedly, but taking up a heavy piece of myrrh, tries his strength in a long excursion; and as soon as he finds himself equal to the burthen and the passage, he takes his father's body upon his back, carries it all the way to the altar of the sun, and consumes it in the fire thereon. These accounts are not entitled to unqualified credit, and their uncertainty is increased by the admixture of matter palpably fabulous; but that this bird has been at some time seen in Egypt, is not questioned.

29. At Rome, the destruction of her citizens continued without intermission. Pomponius Labeo, who, as I have mentioned, was governor of Mœsia, opening his veins poured out his lifeblood; his wife Paxæa, in emulation of his example, did the same. The dread of falling by the executioner, made deaths of this sort a welcome resource;

in addition to which, those who were condemned forfeited their estates, and were debarred the rights of burial: of such as made away with themselves, the bodies were interred, and the wills were valid, the reward of their despatch! Tiberius, however, in a letter to the senate, argued, "that it was the usage of their ancestors, when they would renounce the friendship of any one, to forbid him their house; and thus put an end to all gracious intercourse; a usage he had repeated in the case of Labeo: but he who was pressed with a charge with maladministration, and other crimes, had sought to veil his guilt by an act reflecting odium upon others; while his wife had alarmed herself unnecessarily, for though guilty, she was nevertheless in no danger." Mamerus Scaurus was then arraigned afresh, a man of highly distinguished family, and an eminent pleader, but of profligate habits. In his overthrow, the friendship of Sejanus had no share, but an engine no less potent to destroy, the enmity of Macro, who pursued, but more secretly, the same arts. The subject of a tragedy composed by Scaurus, in which were some lines which might be made to apply to Tiberius, formed the groundwork of his information. But by the accusers, Servilius and Cornelius, the crimes objected were those of "adultery with Livia, and the mysteries of the magicians." Scaurus, as became the magnanimity of the ancient Æmilius, prevented condemnation, by the persuasion of Sextia his wife, who encouraged him to die and shared his fate.

30. And yet the informers, when opportunity occurred, were surrendered to vengeance; as were Servilius and Cornelius, who had acquired an infamous notoriety by the ruin of Scaurus, for accepting from Varius Ligur a bribe to drop a prosecution, for which they were interdicted fire and water, and banished to the islands. Abudius Rufus too, once ædile, whilst he brought a charge against Lentulus Gætulicus, under whom he had led a legion, "that he had marked out a son of Sejanus for his son-in-law;" was himself on the contrary condemned and banished Rome. Gætulicus was at this time commander of the legions in Upper Germany, and wonderfully beloved by them for his unbounded clemency and well-tempered discipline. Neither was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, through the interest of Lucius Apronius his father-in-law. Hence he was firmly believed to have dared to represent to the emperor in a letter, "that by no choice of his own had he set about an affinity with Sejanus, but in compliance with the counsel of Tiberius, and was as

liable as Tiberius to be deceived; nor ought one and the same error to pass unblamed in the prince only; and draw down destruction upon all others. He had never violated his allegiance; and if no plots were framed against him, it would continue unshaken. A successor he should receive as no other than the herald of death. It remained therefore that they should as it were establish a league, by which the prince should still enjoy all the rest of the empire, and he himself retain his province." This proceeding, however amazing, derived credit from hence, that he only of all that were allied to Sejanus, remained in safety, and even in high favour, Tiberius considering the public odium under which he laboured, his great age, and that his authority was upheld more by reputation than force.

31. In the consulship of Caius Sestius and Marcus Servilius, there came to Rome some noble Parthians, unknown to Artabanus their king. He had formerly, through dread of Germanicus, reigned with humanity towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Romans; but, afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his subjects with cruelty. His confidence grew out of the successful wars which he had waged against the circumjacent nations; from his contempt of Tiberius, as enfeebled through age and unwarlike, and from an avidity to possess Armenia; over which kingdom, upon the death of Artaxias, he set Arsaces, his eldest son. To this usurpation was superadded an insult, having sent to reclaim "the treasure left by Vonones in Syria and Cilicia;" as also "the re-establishment of the ancient boundaries between the Persians and Macedonians:" he even threw out in a menacing and vain-glorious style, "that he would invade all the countries possessed by Cyrus, and since by Alexander." Of this secret embassy from the Parthians the most energetic promoter was Sinnaces, of a noble family and corresponding wealth; and, next to him, Abdus the eunuch, a description of person not despised amongst the Barbarians, but, on the contrary, possessing influence. These two, in concert with others of the nobles, sent to Rome for Phrahates, son of king Phrahates, since of all the race of the Arsacidæ, many having been murdered by Artabanus, and the rest too young, there were none whom they could set upon the throne. The deputies represented, "that there needed nothing more than a name and a sanction;—nothing more than that a descendant of Arsaces, with the concurrence of Cæsar, should show himself upon the banks of the Euphrates."

32. This was what Tiberius wished. He furnished

Phrabates with every requisite, and equipped him for the recovery of his father's throne; still holding to his determination to transact his foreign affairs by policy and counsels only, and avoid engaging in war. Artabanus meanwhile informed of the combination, was at one time paralysed by apprehensions, at another fired with the desire of revenge. And yet, by Barbarians delay is reckoned a mark of a servile mind; but instant execution is considered the attribute of royalty. Expediency however so far prevailed, that he invited Abdus to a banquet, under pretence of friendship, and tied him up by a dose of slow poison: Sinnaces he managed to hold back by dissimulation, presents, and engaging him in business at the same time. Now Phrabates arriving in Syria, and laying aside the Roman dress and manners, to which for so many years he had been accustomed, to assume the customs of the Parthians, proved unequal to the hardship of adopting the habits of his country, fell sick and died. Tiberius did not abandon the enterprise: but set up Tiridates, of the same blood, as a competitor with Artabanus; and for the recovery of Armenia, chose Mithridates the Iberian, and reconciled him to his brother Pharasmanes, who inherited the sovereignty of Iberia; and over the east, for executing all his projects there, he placed Lucius Vitellius. I am aware that in Rome this man was in bad odour, and that many odious acts are related of him: yet in governing provinces he acted with primitive uprightnes. It was after his return thence, that his dread of Caligula, and then his intimacy with Claudius, transformed him into a slave so abject, that he is reckoned as an example to posterity of the deformity of flattery: his last state swallowed up his first, and the excellencies of his younger years are obliterated by a flagitious old age.

33. Of the petty kings, Mithridates was the first in motion, and incited Pharasmanes to promote his efforts against Arsaces, by force and stratagem; instruments of corruption were found, who, by large presents of gold, urged his servants to murder him: at the same time the Iberians made an irruption into Armenia with numerous forces, and gained the city Artaxata. When Artabanus heard of this, he despatched his son Orodes, at the head of the Parthian army, to take vengeance on the enemy, and sent emissaries to hire auxiliaries. Pharasmanes, on the other hand, united the Albanian forces to his own, procured troops from the Sarmatæ, whose princes engaged themselves on both sides; according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in opposite quarrels. But the



Iberians were masters of the passes, and thence poured the Sarmatæ by the Caspian way into Armenia: whereas those that came to join the Parthians, were easily prevented from proceeding; the enemy having shut up every approach, except one between the sea and the uttermost mountains of Albania, which was impassable in the summer, for then, by the force of the Etesian winds, the shallows are filled with water; but in the winter, the southwest wind rolls back the flood, and leaves the shallows upon the coast dry.

34. While Orodes was thus bereft of his allies, Pharasmanes strengthened with succours, challenged him to battle, and, as he declined it, insulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, cut off his foragers, and often hemmed him in, as it were in a siege, with parties of troops; till at length the Parthians, unable to brook these indignities, beset the prince and demanded battle. Their only forces were horse; but Pharasmanes was likewise powerful in foot: for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit regions covered with forests, are more inured to hardness and endurance. They say "that they are descended from Thesalians, at the time when Jason having carried away Medea, and had children by her, returned to Colchis, upon the death of Æetes, and took possession of the vacant throne." And many are the traditions which are current about him and the oracle of Phrixus; in reverence to which none of them will sacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe Phrixus to have been carried thither; whether the same were a ram, or only the figure head of a ship. However, both armies being drawn up in battle array, Orodes descanted upon "the empire of the east, the renown of the Arsacidæ; and, on the other hand, the ignoble character of the Iberians, with their hireling soldiery." Pharasmanes represented to his, that "they had ever kept themselves free from the Parthian yoke; that the higher their aims, the more renown to the victors: but if they fled, the greater reproach and danger." At the same time he bade them view and compare their own terrific array with the mass of Medes tricked out with gold; "here," pointing to them, he said, "is a band of heroes; there, a heap of booty."

35. But with the Sarmatæ, the voice of their general is not the only means of exhortation; they animate one another: "they must not," they said, "begin the fight by a discharge of arrows, but break in at once upon the foe and surprise them by a close engagement." And now the battle commenced; every mode of fighting might be seen:

the Parthians, accustomed with equal dexterity to pursue or fly, opened their ranks, seeking scope for their arrows: the Sarmatæ abandoning the bow, which they can use with effect but for a short time, rushed in with their swords and pikes: sometimes, as in an encounter of horse, alternately charging and flying; at another time in condensed array, breast to breast, and arms clashing with arms, they forced back the foe, or yielded to the shock themselves: and now the Albanians and Iberians grappled with the Parthians, dragged them from their horses, and confounded them by a twofold attack; for besides the assaults from the horse, they were still more closely galled by the foot. Meanwhile Pharasmanes and Orodes animating the brave by their presence, or supporting the wavering, might be seen by all, and therefore soon descried each other. In a moment they gallop to the encounter, with loud shouts and lances poised; but Pharasmanes with the greater impetuosity: he drove his weapon through his opponent's helmet, but could not follow up the blow, his horse hurrying him along; and the bravest of his guards protected the wounded Orodes. A false report that he was slain spreading through the ranks, dispirited the Parthians, and they yielded the victory.

36. Soon after, Artabanus marched with the whole strength of Parthia, to have his revenge; but the Iberians, from their superior knowledge of the country, had the advantage in the encounter. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that Vitellius, drawing together his legions, and spreading a rumour that he was about to invade Mesopotamia, made him apprehend a Roman war. Armenia was therefore abandoned, and the affairs of Artabanus were ruined; Vitellius inviting the Parthians "to renounce a king cruel in peace, and baneful to them in war from the disasters he experienced." Sinnaces therefore, whom I have mentioned as already incensed, consults his father Abdageses and others, who had hitherto disguised their disaffection, and finding them now less reserved from their continued overthrows, induces them to revolt. While those who had continued in allegiance through fear, rather than affection, but now having found leaders, had assumed courage, gradually joined them. None now adhered to Artabanus except some few foreigners, the guards of his person; outlaws and fugitives from their several homes, destitute of all sense of honour, and indifferent to disgrace; hirelings by profession, and the retained instruments of villany and blood. Taking these for his attendants, he hastily fled to remote regions, bor-

dering upon Scythia, in hope of succours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was connected by affinity: he hoped too meanwhile that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their princes after expulsion, but fickle and restless under their dominion, might undergo a change of sentiment.

37. Artabanus being fled, and the minds of the Parthians inclined to a new king, Vitellius exhorted Tiridates "to lay hold of the opportunity presented to him;" and, with the flower of the legions and auxiliaries, marched to the banks of Euphrates. Whilst they sacrificed to the river, the one after the rights of the Romans, a swine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horse; the neighbouring inhabitants informed them, "that the Euphrates, without any excess of rain, had of itself swollen immensely; that at the same time the white foam upon its surface curled into circles in the form of a diadem; an omen of a prosperous passage." Some interpreted with greater subtlety, "that the commencement of the enterprise would be attended with success, which however would not continue; and for this reason, that whereas reliance might be placed on portents exhibited in earth or heaven: rivers were in their nature unstable; and in the same instant that they vouchsafed their omens, withdrew them from the sense." A bridge of boats being constructed, the army crossed; and the first who arrived in the camp was Ornospades, with many thousand horse. He was formerly an exile, and had distinguished himself not a little by the aid he rendered Tiberius in putting the finishing stroke to the war in Dalmatia; a service for which he was presented with the freedom of the city. Afterwards having regained the friendship of his king, he rose to high honour; and was made governor of the plains, which being encompassed by the waters of those celebrated rivers Euphrates and Tigris, are called Mesopotamia. Soon after came Sinnaces with more forces; as also Abdageses, the pillar of the party, with the king's treasure and the regalia. Vitellius thought it enough to have countenanced them with a display of the Roman arms, and now admonished Tiridates and the chiefs; him "to remember his grandfather Phraohates, and Cæsar his foster-father; signal honours and equal incitements to glory:" upon them he pressed "obedience to their king, and reverence towards us; that they would each of them preserve their reputations unsullied, and their faith inviolate." Then immediately he repassed with his legions into Syria.

38. I have related in immediate succession, the trans-

actions of two summers; to afford the mind some repose from the contemplation of domestic calamities. For, Tiberius, though now three years had elapsed since the execution of Sejanus, was not so far appeased by time, supplications, and satiety of blood, means which are wont to soften all other men, but that he still punished even stale and dubious imputations, as the most heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread, Fulcinius Trio, unable to bear up against a host of informers who rushed upon him, inserted in his will many imputations of the most atrocious conduct against Macro and the emperor's principal freedmen: with regard to the emperor himself, he said that he was reduced to "a state of mental imbecility from old age; and spoke of his continued retirement, as a kind of exile." These invectives, which the heirs of Trio desired to suppress, were by Tiberius ordered to be recited; whether to parade his tolerance of a free expression of sentiment, and despising reflections upon his own character; or whether from having been long ignorant of the enormities of Sejanus, he afterwards chose to have them published in whatever language conveyed, and at least through the medium of reproaches to get at the knowledge of that truth which flattery smothers. During the same consulship, Granius Martianus, the senator, charged with treason by Caius Gracchus, laid violent hands upon himself; and Tattius Gratianus, who had been prætor, under the same law was sentenced to capital punishment.

39. Similar was the fate of Trebellienus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus. For, Trebellienus fell by his own hand; and Paconianus, for verses made in prison against the emperor, was there strangled. When Tiberius was made acquainted with these executions, he was not now separated from Italy by the sea, nor had the messenger far to travel, but he was in the neighbourhood of Rome; so near that he received and answered the letters from the consuls the same day, or only after the interval of a night; gazing, as it were, upon the bloody torrent as it rolled on from house to house; and watching the busy hands of the ministers of death. In the end of the year expired Popæus Sabinus, of no very high lineage, but by the friendship of the emperor he had acquired the consulship and triumphal honours. He was also entrusted for four and twenty years with the government of great provinces; not for any pre-eminent accomplishments, but because he had talents equal to business, and aspired no higher.

40. Quintus Plautius and Sextius Papinius were the following consuls. It was remarked as a matter of horror,

or surprise that Lucius Aruseius and \* \* \* underwent this year the pains of death: so familiar were civil miseries. But it was a terrifying spectacle when Vibulenus Agrippa, a Roman knight, after his accusers had finished their speeches, taking out the poison he had concealed under his gown, swallowed it in the very senate-house; and as he fell forward in the agonies of death, was by the hurried hands of the lictors dragged to the dungeon, where, though already lifeless, his neck was fretted with a halter. Not even Tigranes, who had once reigned in Armenia, but was now accused, could, with the title of king, escape the lot of the citizens. But Caius Galba, of consular rank, and the two Blæsi, fell by their own hands: Galba, upon receiving a dismal letter from Cæsar, which forbade him to undertake a province; the Blæsi, because the priest-hoods which in the prosperity of their family he had assigned them, and in its distress withheld, he now bestowed, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they understood as a signal of death, and obeyed it. Æmilia Lepida too, who, as I have related, was married to the young Drusus, who had pursued her husband with incessant accusations, and during the days of her father Lepidus remained unpunished, though detested, after his death was pounced upon by the accusers for adultery with a slave: nor was there any doubt of her guilt: renouncing therefore all defence, she put an end to her own life.

41. About the same time the Clitæans, a people subject to Archelaus the Cappadocian, aggrieved at being compelled after the Roman manner to make returns and pay tribute, seceded to the ridges of mount Taurus, and by the nature of the situation defended themselves against the unwarlike forces of the king; till Vitellius, president of Syria, despatched to their relief his lieutenant, Marcus Trebellius, with four thousand legionary soldiers and some chosen auxiliaries. Trebellius begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamped; the lesser named Cadra, the other Davara; those who attempted to sally out he put to the sword; the rest were reduced by drought. Tiridates, with the approbation of the Parthians, took possession of Nicephorium, Anthemusias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence called by Greek names; as likewise of Halus and Artemita, Parthian cities; the inhabitants vying with each other in expressing their joy for the change, as they execrated Artabanus, who was bred amongst the barbarous

Scythians, for his cruelty, but in Tiridates hoped to find a humane spirit, from his Roman education.

42. Excessive was the flattery displayed on this occasion by the citizens of Seleucia, a powerful city, surrounded with walls; nor had it lapsed into the barbarous usages of the Parthians, but still retained the institutions of Seleucus, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens, chosen for their wealth or wisdom, compose as it were a senate; the populace too have their share of power; and when all act with unanimity, they despise the Parthians; but when discord reigns, while each side invites foreign aid against their competitors, the power called in to support a party gets the mastery of all. This had lately been exemplified in the reign of Artabanus, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the nobles, with a view to his own advantage: for the sovereignty of the people verges on liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to absolute monarchy. Upon the approach of Tiridates they heaped upon him all the honours paid to ancient kings, with all the additions which the ingenuity of modern time has introduced, and with the praises of the new prince poured forth invectives against Artabanus, "that only by his mother was he of the blood of the Arsacidæ, in every other respect an alien from their race." Tiridates committed to the people the government of Seleucia; and soon afterwards, while deliberating about the day for solemnising his coronation, he received letters from Phrahates and Hiero, who were invested with the most influential præfectures, entreating a brief delay: it was agreed to await the arrival of men so high in power, and in the meantime the court proceeded to Ctesiphon, the seat of empire. But as from day to day they delayed coming, the Surena, before a numerous and applauding assembly, bound the royal diadem on the head of Tiridates, according to the custom of the country.

43. And had he at once proceeded into the centre of the kingdom and the further provinces, the hesitation of the wavering would have been overcome, and all would have been unanimous in acknowledging him. But by besieging a fortress, whither Artabanus had conveyed his money and concubines, he afforded opportunity for renouncing the compact. For, Phrahates and Hiero, with such others as had not joined in celebrating the day chosen for his coronation, some from fear, others from envy of Abdageses, who then ruled the new king and the court, went after their former king Artabanus. They found him in

Hyrkania, all filthy and neglected, and seeking precarious support with his bow. At first he was terrified, and apprehended treachery: when they assured him of their honour, and that they were come to restore him to sovereignty, he took courage, and asked, "whence the sudden change?" Hiero, in answer, inveighed against "Tiridates as a boy, and said that the empire was no longer administered by one of the Arsacidæ; but that the empty title of empire was possessed by one enervated by foreign luxury, while its powers were wielded by Abdageses and his family."

44. From long experience in reigning, he felt that, however false in friendship, their hate was unfeigned: and merely staying to get together some Scythian succours, he hastened away that he might anticipate the devices of his enemies, and the defection of his friends: neither changed he as yet his wretched apparel, that he might attract the commiseration of the populace; he left no expedient untried, nor prayers nor wiles, to engage in his interest such as wavered, to confirm such as were inclined to him. He was now approaching the neighbourhood of Seleucia, when Tiridates, hearing with dismay of the proceedings, and of the arrival of Artabanus at the same moment, was perplexed and undetermined in the plan he should pursue; whether to make head against him, or protract the war by a lingering policy. They who preferred a battle and a speedy issue, argued "that the enemy's forces were still in disarray, and their bodies exhausted with the length of their march; while not even their minds could be made up to obedience, betrayers and open enemies as they were so lately of that same prince whom now after expulsion they espoused." But Abdageses advised "a retreat into Mesopotamia, that there defended by the interposition of the river, they might have time to arm the Armenians and Elymæans, with other nations in their rear; and being thus strengthened by confederate troops, and such as the Roman general should send, they might try the fortune of war." This advice prevailed, as the influence of Abdageses was predominant, and Tiridates irresolute in facing dangers. But their departure had all the appearance of flight: for the Arabs beginning the desertion, the rest followed, and retired to their several homes or to the camp of Artabanus; so that at length Tiridates, with a few attendants, returning to Syria, relieved all from the disgrace of defection.

45. The same year the city suffered grievously from a fire, which burnt down the part of the Circus contiguous

to Mount Aventine and the mount itself: a loss which turned to the glory of the prince, as he paid the value of the houses and clusters of tenements destroyed. A hundred thousand great sesterces he expended in this bounty, which proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever sparing in his own private building: in truth, his public works never exceeded two, the temple of Augustus and the scene of Pompey's theatre; nor, when he had finished both, did he dedicate either, whether prevented by old age, or despising popularity. For ascertaining the damage of the several sufferers, the four sons-in-law of Tiberius were appointed, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, and Rubellius Blandus; assisted by Publius Petronius, nominated by the consuls. To the emperor likewise were decreed honours, devised according to the genius of those who proposed them. Which of these he would accept or reject, was a matter of uncertainty as he died in a short time. For not long after, Cnæius Acerronius and Caius Pontius commenced consuls; the last under Tiberius, when the power of Macro was excessive; for, as he had at no time neglected the favour of Caligula, he courted it now more and more earnestly every day; and after the death of Claudia, whom I have mentioned to have been espoused to the young prince, he constrained Ennia his own wife to inveigle Caligula by pretending she was in love with him, and to secure him by a promise of marriage, while he declined nothing that opened his way to sovereignty; for although naturally impetuous, yet in the bosom of his grandfather he had become an adept in the hollow arts of simulation.

46. The emperor was aware of this, and thence he was puzzled about naming a successor to the empire: and first as to which he should select of his grandsons, of whom the son of Drusus was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of affection, but as yet a child: the son of Germanicus had arrived at the vigour of youth, and the favour of the people attended him, a motive this with his grandfather, to hate him. He had even debates with himself about Claudius, as he was a sedate character and inclined to liberal studies; but his deficiency in mental vigour formed an impediment. In case he sought a successor apart from his own family, he dreaded lest the memory of Augustus, lest the name of the Cæsars should be scorned and degraded. For, it was not so much that he cared to gratify the present generation, as that he was desirous of standing well with posterity. Still wavering, and his strength decaying, he was soon induced to leave to the decision of



fortune a question for which he was unequal, though he dropped some expressions from which it might be gathered that he had an insight into futurity: for, he upbraided Macro, in no obscure and indirect terms, "with forsaking the setting sun and turning to the rising:" and of Caligula, who in some incidental conversation ridiculed Sylla, he foretold, "that he would have all Sylla's vices, and none of his virtues." At the same time, embracing the younger of his grandsons, not without many tears, while the countenance of Caligula assumed a stern and angry aspect, he said to him, "thou wilt slay him, and another shall slay thee." But, while his illness became more and more serious, he relinquished nothing of his libidinous excesses; affecting strength of constitution by showing how he could bear illness. He was wont too to ridicule the physician's art, and those who, after the age of thirty, needed to be informed by any one else, what benefitted or injured their constitutions.

47. At Rome, meanwhile, were sown the seeds that were destined to yield a harvest of blood after the decease of Tiberius. Lælius Balbus had charged Acutia, some time the wife of Publius Vitellius, with high treason; and, as the senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuser, Junius Otho, tribune of the people, interposed his veto: hence their mutual hate, and afterwards the exile of Otho. Then Albucilla, infamous for her many amours, who had been married to Satrius Secundus, the man who revealed the conspiracy of Sejanus, was impeached of impiety towards the prince. In the charge were involved, as her accomplices and her adulterers, Cnæius Domitius, Vibius Marsus, and Lucius Arruntius. Of the noble descent of Domitius I have spoken before: Marsus too was distinguished by the ancient dignities of his house, and his own fame for learning. The minutes, however, transmitted to the senate, imported, "that in the examination of the witnesses, and torture of the slaves, Macro had presided:" and as there came not any letter from the emperor against the accused, it was suspected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his privity, the accusations were in great measure forged, in consequence of the notorious enmity of Macro to Arruntius.

48. Domitius therefore by preparing for his defence, and Marsus by seeming determined to starve himself to death, protracted their lives. Arruntius, to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and eva-

sions, answered, "that the same measures were not honourable to all men alike: he had lived long enough; his only regret was, that exposed on all sides to derision and peril, he had submitted to bear thus far an old age loaded with anxieties; long obnoxious to the malice of Sejanus, now of Macro, always of some minion of power; not because he was guilty of any crime, but because he was intolerant of the grossest iniquities. Grant that the few and last days of Tiberius could be got over, yet how could he escape all that he would have to endure under the youth who threatened to succeed him? When the mind of Tiberius, a man of consummate experience, underwent such a convulsion and transformation from the potent influence of imperial power, was it likely that Caligula, who had scarce outgrown his childhood, ignorant of everything, or nursed and principled in the worst, would follow a course more righteous under the guidance of Macro; the same Macro, who, as the more expert villain, having been selected for the task of crushing Sejanus, had brought the commonwealth to a state of wretchedness the most abject, by his numerous atrocities? He had now before him," he said, "a prospect of slavery still more embittered; and therefore it was that he withdrew at once from the horrors which had been enacted, and those that impended." While pouring forth these warnings, with the intense emotion of a prophet, he opened his veins. That Arruntius was wise in resorting to suicide, the following events will testify. Albucilla, after inflicting an ineffectual wound upon herself, was by order of the senate dragged to prison. As to the ministers of her lusts, it was decreed, "that Carisidius Sacerdos, of prætorian rank, should be banished to an island; Pontius Fregellanus, expelled the senate; and that upon Lælius Balbus the same penalty be inflicted." The senators gave the latter judgment with feelings of joy, as he was accounted a man of turbulent eloquence, and zealous in his efforts against the innocent.

49. About the same time, Sextus Papinius, of a consular family, chose a sudden and frightful end, by throwing himself down from an eminence. The cause was ascribed to his mother, who, after many repulses, had by fondling and excitement brought him into a situation from which he could escape by death only. She was therefore accused in the senate; and, though she embraced the knees of the fathers, and pleaded "the natural tenderness of a mother's grief, and the greater weakness of a woman's spirit under such a calamity;" with other motives of pity

in the same doleful strain, she was banished Rome for ten years, till her younger son was past the slippery period of youth.

50. As for Tiberius, his body was now wasted and his strength exhausted, but his dissimulation failed him not. He exhibited the same inflexibility of mind, the same energy in his looks and discourse; and even sometimes by affected vivacity tried to hide his decaying strength, though too manifest to be concealed. And after much shifting of places, he settled at length at the promontory of Misenum, in a villa of which Lucullus was once lord. There it was discovered that his end was approaching in the following manner. In his train was a physician, named Charicles, noted in his profession, not indeed to prescribe for the prince in cases of indisposition, but that he might have some one to consult if he thought proper. Charicles, as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, and taking hold of his hand, under pretence of taking leave, felt his pulse. But he did not escape detection; for he instantly ordered the entertainment to be renewed; whether incensed, and thence the more concealing his displeasure, is uncertain: but, at table he continued beyond his wont, as if to do honour to his friend on his departure. Charicles however assured Macro "that life was ebbing fast, and could not outlast two days." Hence the whole court was in a bustle with consultations, and expresses were despatched to the generals and armies. On the seventeenth before the calends of April, he was believed to have finished his mortal career, having ceased to breathe: and Caligula, in the midst of a great throng of persons, paying their congratulations, was already going forth to make a solemn entrance on the sovereignty, when suddenly a notice came, "that Tiberius had recovered his sight and voice, and had called for some persons to give him food to restore him." The consternation was universal: the concourse about Caligula dispersed in all directions; every man affecting sorrow, or feigning ignorance: he himself stood fixed in silence; fallen from the highest hopes, he now expected the worst. Macro, undismayed, ordered the old man to be smothered with a quantity of clothes, and the doorway to be cleared. Thus expired Tiberius, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

51. His father was Nero, and he was on both sides a branch of the Claudian house, though his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian family. From his first infancy, his life was chequered by various vicissitudes and perils: for then as a voluntary

exile he followed his proscribed father; and when taken as a stepson into the family of Augustus, he struggled with many rivals, while Marcellus and Agrippa, and after them the Cæsars Caius and Lucius, flourished. His brother Drusus too enjoyed a greater degree of favour with the Roman people than himself. But his greatest embarrassment arose out of his marriage with Julia, whether he should connive at the prostitution of his wife, or repudiate her. Afterwards, upon his return from Rhodes, he found the prince's family bereft of heirs, and continued its sole support for twelve years. For near four-and-twenty years he ruled the Roman state with absolute sway. His manners also varied with the conditions of his fortune: his conduct was exemplary, and his reputation high, while in a private capacity or holding dignities under Augustus; but while Germanicus and Drusus were alive, his manners were reserved and mysterious, artfully assuming the merit of virtues to which he had no claim. And while his mother lived, his character exhibited a compound of good and evil. While he loved or feared Sejanus, though detested for his cruelties, he observed a secrecy and caution in the gratification of his lusts; but at last, when all restraints of shame and fear were removed, and he was left to the uncontrolled bent of his genius, he broke out at once into acts of atrocious villany and revolting depravity.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK XI.

\* \* \* \* FOR Messalina, who believed that Valerius Asiaticus, who had been twice consul, was engaged in an adulterous intercourse with Poppæa, was bent upon his ruin; and as she equally coveted his fine gardens, commenced by Lucullus, but carried out on an extended scale and adorned in a style of unexampled magnificence by himself, she suborned Suius to accuse both him and her. In the plot was joined Sosibius, tutor to Britannicus, who under the mask of friendship was to warn Claudius "to beware of power and wealth in private hands, as dangerous to the interests of princes; that Asiaticus had been the principal promoter of the assassination of Caligula, nor feared to avow it in a public assembly of the people, nor even to claim the glory of the atrocious deed: hence he had derived popularity in Rome: hence his fame was spread through the provinces: and even now he meditated putting himself at the head of the armies in Germany, for, born at Vienna, and supported there by numerous and powerful connections, he might whenever he chose excite an insurrection of his countrymen." Claudius, without further inquiry, speedily despatched Crispinus, captain of the prætorian guards, with a body of soldiers, as if a war had been to be crushed. He found him at Baiæ, and hurried him to Rome in chains.

2. Neither was he allowed a hearing before the senate; but was privately tried in a chamber in the presence of Messalina; Suius charging him "with corrupting the soldiery, whom by money and abominable lusts, he contended that he had engaged in his interest, associating himself with them in every kind of enormity; with his adultery with Poppæa; and, lastly, with unnatural defilements." On hearing this, unable to refrain from speaking, the accused broke out, and said, "ask your own sons, Suius, they will allow that I am a man;" and entering into his defence, he wrought powerfully upon Claudius,

and forced tears even from Messalina. But the empress leaving the room to dry her eyes, warned Vitellius, "not to suffer the accused to escape." She hastened herself to accomplish the doom of Poppæa, by suborning persons to drive her to a voluntary end by the terrors of imprisonment: a catastrophe of which the emperor was so utterly unapprised, that a few days after, as her husband Scipio was at table with him, he asked why he sat down without his wife? when Scipio answered, that she was no more.

3. Now as Claudius was deliberating about acquitting Asiaticus, Vitellius, weeping, reminded him of their ancient friendship, and the devotion which in common they had ever paid to Antonia, the prince's mother; and then recapitulating the services of Asiaticus to the commonwealth, and in his recent expedition against Britain, with every other argument calculated to excite compassion, proposed after all merely that he should grant him the free choice of his mode of death; a sort of clemency of which Claudius declared his approbation. Afterwards, when some urged him to resort to abstinence, and die an easy death, Asiaticus replied that he would not accept the indulgence; and persisting in his wonted exercises, he bathed, and even supped cheerfully: and after declaring that it would have been less ignominious to die by the dark artifices of Tiberius, or the fury of Caligula, than thus to fall by the base devices of a woman, and the unchaste lips of Vitellius, he opened his veins: but first he viewed his funeral pile, and directed its removal into another place, lest the smoke should injure the foliage of the trees and diminish the shade. Such was his composure in his last moments.

4. The senate was then summoned, and Suilius proceeded also to accuse the illustrious Roman knights, sur-named 'Petra.' The cause of their destruction was, that they had accommodated Valerius and Poppæa with the use of their house as a place of assignation; but to one of them was objected a vision during the stillness of the night, in which he had beheld Claudius crowned with a chaplet of the ears of corn, their beards downwards; whence he foretold a dearth of corn: others have related, that the chaplet he beheld was of vine branches with white leaves; which he construed to portend the death of the prince at the close of autumn. It is undoubted, that for a dream of some sort or other, both he and his brother were sacrificed. To Crispinus were decreed the insignia of the prætorship, and fifteen hundred thousand sesterces; and to Sosibius ten, on the motion of Vitellius, for ser-

vices rendered to Britannicus by his instructions, and to Claudius by his counsels. Scipio, who was also asked his opinion, said, "seeing I entertain of Poppæa's deeds the same opinion as all others, consider that I express the same vote:" thus observing a judicious mean between the dictates of conjugal affection and the compulsion he was under as a senator.

5. Suilius continued thenceforward an unremitting and merciless accuser; and many emulated his audacity. For, the emperor, by invading the authority of the magistrates, and assuming the arbitrary dispensation of the laws, had opened a field for rapine; nor of all commodities publicly exposed to sale, was aught so venal as the mercenary faith of the pleaders: insomuch that Samius, an illustrious Roman knight, having given Suilius a fee of four hundred thousand sesterces, and finding that he was playing false, fell upon his sword in the house of his advocate. The consequence was, that a complaint of this grievance being begun by Caius Silius, consul elect, whose power and overthrow I shall record in their place, the whole senate rose up as one man and demanded the revival of the Cincian law; which in ancient times afforded a barrier against any man's receiving money, or a present of any kind, for pleading a cause.

6. Hereupon the parties against whom this blow was levelled, raising a clamour against the motion, Silius, who was at variance with Suilius, urged it strenuously, quoting "the examples of the ancient orators, who esteemed the praises of posterity the fairest reward of eloquence: otherwise, he said, an accomplishment the most dignified of all others, would be debased by mercenary services: nor would even faith remain inviolate, where the greatness of the gains was regarded. But, if suits were matter of gain to none, there would be fewer of them; whereas now, enmities, accusations, animosities, and wrongs, were fomented; so that as the prevalence of diseases brought fees to physicians, so the corruption of the bar was a source of revenue to the pleaders. They might remember Caius Asinius and Marcus Messala, and more lately Arruntius and Eserninus; that they arrived at the highest dignities by a life unblemished, and eloquence unbought." This reasoning of the consul elect met with the concurrence of the senate, and a decree was about to pass, making them liable to the penalties of the law against extortion, when Suilius, Cossutianus, and the rest, who saw that the effect of the decree was not to put them on their trial, for their guilt was manifest, but to assign their punishment, ga-

thered round the prince, beseeching remission for what was passed; and after he had, by a motion of his head, signified his pleasure to hear them, they thus proceeded to argue the matter.

7. "Where was the man," they said, "so presumptuous as to anticipate an eternity of fame? That eloquence formed an useful resource in the ordinary transactions of life and in public affairs, to prevent any man's being trampled upon by his superiors in power from the want of advocates; neither was eloquence acquired without pains and expense; they who professed it neglected their own domestic concerns, to apply themselves to the business of others. Many supported themselves by the profession of arms, some by the cultivation of lands, but no man devoted himself to any pursuit except with a foresight of the advantages it produced. Easily might Asinius and Mesala, enriched as they were by the fruits of the war between Anthony and Augustus; easily might the Esernini and Arruntii, heirs of wealthy houses, assume that lofty tone; they too were furnished with precedents in the large remunerations which Publius Clodius and Caius Curio received for their oratorical exertions. They were themselves senators of limited means, and in a state of public peace sought only the rewards of peaceful employments. The prince should consider the men of plebeian extraction, who rose to eminence by forensic occupations; if the rewards of liberal pursuits were abolished, the pursuits themselves would fall into decay." These arguments appeared to the prince not devoid of force, although deficient in dignity; he therefore fixed the maximum of remuneration to be received at ten thousand sesterces; those who took more to be held guilty of extortion.

8. About this time Mithridates, whom I have mentioned to have reigned in Armenia, and to have been summoned before Caligula, returned by the direction of Claudius to his kingdom, confiding in the support of Pharasmanes. The latter, who was king of the Iberians, and also brother of Mithridates, sent advice, "that dissensions prevailed amongst the Parthians; and that, while the fate of their whole empire was in suspense, things of less moment were neglected." For amidst the many cruelties of Gotarzes, who had concerted the murder of his brother Artabanus, with his wife and son, whence he had become an object of terror to all others, they had invited Bardanes to the throne; a prince of great activity and enterprise; who in two days travelled three thousand furlongs, surprised, terrified, and drove Gotarzes from the throne.



With the same expedition he seized the neighbouring provinces, all but Seleucia, which alone disowned his sway: fired with resentment against the Seleucians, as a people who had likewise revolted from his father, rather than consulting his present interest, he entangled himself in the siege of a city naturally strong, and rendered still more secure by the protection of a river, a wall, and a facility of introducing supplies. Meanwhile Gotarzes, strengthened by forces from the Dahians and Hyrcanians, renewed the war; and Bardanes, obliged to raise the siege of Seleucia, retired to the plains of Bactria and there encamped.

9. In this distracted state of the powers in the east, and while it was uncertain how it would terminate, an occasion of possessing Armenia was ministered to Mithridates, assisted by the Roman soldiers, who demolished the strong holds; and by the Iberians, who overran and wasted the country. For the Armenians made no longer resistance, after the fate of Demonax their governor, who had ventured a battle, and was defeated: Cotys, king of the Lesser Armenia, to whom certain of the nobles had recourse, presented a brief obstacle; but he was restrained by letters from the emperor; and the tide set in favour of Mithridates, who fell however into measures more violent than befitted a prince newly established. As to the Parthian competitors, when preparing for a battle, they suddenly struck a league, having been informed of a conspiracy of their countrymen, which Gotarzes divulged to his brother. On their interview, they were at first reserved and diffident, but at last joined hands, and then entered into an engagement upon the altar of the gods, to revenge the treason of their enemies, and settle their own disputes by mutual concessions: Bardanes was held the more worthy to retain the monarchy; but Gotarzes, in order to remove all occasion of jealousy, retired into the remotest parts of Hyrcania. To Bardanes, upon his return, Seleucia was surrendered, after having continued in a state of revolt for seven years, to the dishonour of the Parthians, whose efforts a single city had so long eluded.

10. He next took possession of the most powerful provinces, and was proceeding to recover Armenia, but Vibius Marsus, lieutenant of Syria, restrained him, by threatening him with war. Meanwhile, Gotarzes regretting his concession of the kingdom, and recalled by the nobility, who felt the yoke of slavery more sensibly during peace, formed an army, and was met as far as the river Charinda by Bardanes, who after an obstinate fight in dis-

puting the passage, remained conqueror; and by a series of victories subdued all the nations lying between that river and the Gyndes, which parts the Dahians from the Arians. There his conquests received a check; for the Parthians, though victorious, refused to serve at a long distance from home. Accordingly, after erecting monuments to testify his power, and that none of the Arsacidæ before him had obtained tribute from these nations, he returned, covered with glory, and therefore the more imperious and insupportable to his subjects, who, according to a preconcerted plot, slew him, while off his guard and intent upon the chase, in the flower of his youth, but equalled in renown by few aged kings, had he studied to be beloved among his countrymen as much as he did to be feared among his enemies. The assassination of Bardanes produced fresh commotions amongst the Parthians, divided as they were about choosing a successor to the throne: many inclined to Gotarzes; some to Meherdates, the grandson of Phrahates, and by him given as a hostage to the Romans. Gotarzes eventually prevailed, but was no sooner established than by a course of cruelties and luxury, he forced the Parthians to send a secret memorial to the Roman emperor, soliciting for Meherdates permission to ascend the throne of his ancestors.

11. Under the same consuls were celebrated the secular games, eight hundred years after the founding of Rome; and sixty-four after they had been exhibited by Augustus. The computations of both princes I pass over, as having been sufficiently explained by me in my History of the emperor Domitian; for, he too exhibited secular games, at which I assisted in person, and the more assiduously as I was invested with the quindecinviral priesthood, and at that time prætor; a circumstance which from no vain glory I relate, but because in ancient times the college of fifteen presided in that festival, and the magistrates chiefly discharged the offices of the solemnity. Whilst Claudius beheld the exhibition in the Circus, the young nobility representing on horseback the game of Troy; and amongst them Britannicus, the emperor's son, with Lucius Domitius, who was afterwards adopted into the Claudian family by the name of Nero, and succeeded to the empire; Domitius was received with especial favour by the populace, which was taken as a presage of his future greatness; and currency was given to a tradition, "that in his infancy two dragons were posted near him, like guards;" a mere fable, and framed in imitation of the miraculous tales of foreign

nations. For, Nero himself, a prince who never abridged his own frame, was wont to declare that in his chamber only one snake at most was seen.

12. But this partiality of the people arose from the memory of Germanicus, of whom he was the only remaining male descendant; and the popular commiseration for his mother Agrippina was increased on account of the barbarity of Messalina, who always her relentless enemy, and now inflamed with more than ordinary rage, was prevented from fabricating charges and suborning accusers by a new attachment which she carried to a pitch bordering on frenzy; for she was so vehemently enamoured of Caius Silius, the handsomest of the Roman youth, that she obliged him to divorce his wife Julia Silana, a lady of high quality, and had her adulterer to herself. Nor was Silius blind to the danger and malignity of his crime; but as it was certain destruction to decline her suit, and there were some hopes of beguiling Claudius, while great rewards were held out to him, he was content to take the chance of what might happen thereafter, and enjoy the present advantages. The empress proceeded not stealthily; but went to his house frequently, with a numerous train; accompanied him incessantly abroad, loaded him with presents and honours; and, at last, as if the fortune of the empire had been transferred with the emperor's wife, at the house of her adulterer were now seen the slaves, freedmen, and equipage of the prince.

13. As for Claudius, ignorant of what his own wife was doing, and then exercising the functions of censor, he rebuked the people by severe edicts for their wanton excesses at the theatres; for they had offered gross insults to Publius Pomponius, a man of consular rank, at a dramatic representation which he had given to the stage; and also to several ladies of high rank. He restrained by an act the barbarity of creditors, prohibiting their lending money to young men, to be repaid with increase upon the death of their fathers. The waters that rise in the Simbrune hills, were by him conveyed to Rome: and to the Roman alphabet he added letters of a new form, and made them known; having learnt that even that of Greece was not devised and completed at once.

14. The Egyptians were the first who formed characters to represent the conceptions of the mind, and that by figures of animals. Specimens of these, and they are the most ancient monuments of the history of human kind, are to be seen engraven upon stones. The Egyptians also give out that they were the inventors of letters; that

the Phœnicians learnt them from them, and as they were the masters of the sea, introduced them into Greece, thus acquiring celebrity as the inventors of what they had received from others. For history records, "that Cadmus arriving there in the Phœnician fleet, instructed the as yet rude and uncultivated nations of Greece in that art." Some hold, that "Cecrops the Athenian, or Linus of Thebes, and Palamedes the Argive, who lived during the Trojan times, invented the forms of sixteen letters; and that by others afterwards, especially by Simonides, the rest were added." As to Italy, the Etruscans learned them of Damaratus the Corinthian; the native Latins, of Evander the Arcadian; and the fashion of the Latin letters was the same with the most ancient of the Greeks. But we too had few at first, afterwards additions were made to them. Claudius, following this example, added three more, which continued in use during his own reign, and were thenceforth abolished; but are to this day seen in the tables of brass on which are published the decrees of the people, and which are fixed in the temples and great squares.

15. He next made a representation to the senate concerning the college of soothsayers; "that they would not suffer the most ancient discipline of Italy to be lost through supineness: that frequently during times of public calamity recourse was had to them; and that by their counsel the sacred ceremonies were retrieved, and cultivated thereafter with more strict observance: and that the nobility of Etruria, whether from their own suggestion or at the instance of the Roman senate, had always preserved the science, and conveyed the same to posterity through certain families; but that it was now neglected, from a general indifference to worthy arts, and more especially from the growing prevalence of foreign superstitions: it was true that the republic at present prospered; but it was their duty to show their gratitude to the gods for it by keeping up in prosperous times those sacred rites, which had been cultivated in seasons of perplexity." Hence the senate decreed, "that the pontiffs should inquire what parts in the mystery of soothsaying ought to be retained and confirmed."

16. The same year, the Cheruscan nation had recourse to Rome for a king, their domestic wars having swept away their nobles, and of the royal stock only one remaining who resided in the city, named Italicus. He was the son of Flavius the brother of Arminius, his mother the daughter of Catumerus, prince of the Cattians. He was

himself of a handsome person, and trained to arms and horsemanship as well after the manner of his own country as of ours. The emperor therefore furnished him with money and an escort, and exhorting him "boldly to assume his hereditary honour," reminded him withal "that he was the first who, being born at Rome, nor held as a hostage there, but living as a citizen, went forth to ascend a foreign throne." His accession was, at first, hailed with joy by the Germans, the more so because as his mind was untinged with their civil dissensions, he showed no particular favour to any in his conduct. The people sounded his praises and paid him homage; sometimes he showed himself all affability and moderation, qualities that could provoke the displeasure of none; but frequently surrendered himself to drunkenness and libidinous excesses, in which barbarians take delight. And now his name was famous amongst the adjacent nations, and even amongst those more remote; when those who had flourished during the reign of faction, taking umbrage at his ascendancy, betook themselves to the several neighbouring nations, and represented, "that the ancient liberty of Germany was departed, and the Roman power triumphant. Was there then," said they, "no native Cheruscan worthy to fill the throne, that the offspring of Flavius the spy must be lifted over all their heads? Vain was the pretence of his relationship to Arminius; since even the son of Arminius were to be dreaded in the same station, if he were bred, as he was, in a hostile soil, infected by a foreign nurture, foreign slavery, foreign manners, foreign everything: and if he inherited the spirit of his father, never had man waged war against his native country and his own household gods more rancorously than the father of Italicus."

17. By these and similar incitements they got together a numerous army; nor were the followers of Italicus fewer. They urged in vindication of him, "that he had not seized the throne by force or invasion, but held it by their own choice and invitation; and since in the splendour of his descent he surpassed all others, it became them to make trial of his virtues, and see whether he would show himself worthy of his uncle Arminius, and his grandfather Catumerus: nor need the son blush, that his father had never violated that faith towards the Romans which with the approbation of the Germans he had sworn to keep: false and hypocritical was the pretence of liberty, urged by those, who degenerate in their own lives, and disastrous to the state, placed their only hopes in rending

their country by civil discord." The king had the hearts and acclamations of the people; and in a great battle between these Barbarians, he came off victorious; but afterwards, transported with his good fortune, he grew impetuous, was expelled, and again restored by the forces of the Longobards; and he continued to bring trouble on the Cheruscan state no less in his prosperity than his adversity.

18. About the same time the Chaucians, free from civil dissensions, and encouraged by the death of Sanquinius, governor of lower Germany, made incursions into that province, under the conduct of Gannascus, while Corbulo was on his way to succeed him. Gannascus was of the country of the Caninefates, had long served the Romans as an auxiliary, but deserted; and furnishing himself with some light barks, became a desperate pirate; infesting principally the coasts of Gaul, a nation which he knew to be rich and unwarlike. But when Corbulo entered the province, he proceeded with the utmost circumspection, and in this his first military command, laid the foundation of his future glory; he pushed his galleys down the channel of the Rhine, and the other vessels along the æstuaries and canals, according as each was suited to the purpose. Thus, having sunk the enemy's wherries, and driven out Gannascus, he took order first for settling effectually the affairs of the province, and then restored the ancient discipline amongst the legions, which were averse to military toils and operations, and took delight in depredations only. Under Corbulo no man dared to stir from his rank, nor, without orders, attack the foe: the piquets, the watches, all their duties by day or by night were constantly performed under arms: it is reported, "that he punished a soldier with death, for digging in the trenches without his sword; and another for being there armed only with his dagger." Instances these indeed of overmuch severity, and withal of dubious authority; but still whether true or false, their existence proves that the general was a strict disciplinarian; and one may conclude how vigilant in detecting, and how inexorable in punishing offences of magnitude, must have been the man who could be believed capable of visiting trifling delinquencies with so much asperity.

19. The terror inspired by this system, however, affected the army and the enemy in opposite ways: the courage of the Romans was augmented, the ferocity of the Barbarians gave way under it. Hence the Frisians, who after their rebellion, begun in the defeat of Lucius Apro-

nius, had continued in fierce hostility, or in a state of hollow and precarious allegiance, gave hostages, and settled themselves in the territory assigned them by Corbulo: he also placed them under the government of a senate, magistrates, and laws; and, to insure their subjection, he erected and garrisoned a fort in their country, despatching proper persons to solicit the greater Chaucians to submission, and at the same time to circumvent Gannascus. The stratagem succeeded; nor did its employment against a deserter and a violator of his oath, reflect dishonour on the Roman character; yet, by his assassination, the minds of the Chaucians were inflamed, and Corbulo furnished them with occasion of rebellion; and though his conduct was applauded by most men, it did not escape the censure of others: "why," they said, "should he provoke a people to arms? Upon the commonwealth must light the consequences of failure; but, if success attended him, a man so signally renowned would be dangerous to the tranquillity of the state, and oppressive to a supine and nerveless prince." Claudius therefore was so resolved to prevent any fresh attempts upon Germany, that he ordered the Roman forces to recross the Rhine.

20. Corbulo was now encamping in the enemy's country, when a letter to that effect was delivered him. The contents surprised him, and though a variety of reflections crowded upon him at once, his dread of the emperor's displeasure, the scorn of the Barbarians, the derision of the allies; yet without uttering a word more than that "happy were the Roman generals of old;" he ordered the retreat to be sounded. However, to prevent the soldiers from relapsing into habits of idleness, he dug a canal three and twenty miles long between the Meuse and the Rhine; by which occasional inundations by the sea might be carried off. The emperor however allowed him the decorations of triumph, though he had denied him the prosecution of the war. Shortly after, the same honour was conferred on Curtius Rufus, who, in the territory of the Mattiacians had opened a mine in which veins of silver were to be found; a source of small advantage, nor of long continuance; but the legions suffered from the labour of making excavations to drain it, and from toiling under ground at works which in the open air are arduous and fatiguing. The soldiers therefore, overcome by these hardships, and perceiving that the same drudgeries were exacted from them in several provinces, wrote secretly to the emperor, in the name of the armies, beseeching him "to grant triumphal honours beforehand to those per-

sons whom he purposed to entrust with the command of armies."

21. Of the original of Curtius Rufus, who is represented by some as the son of a gladiator, I would not give a false account; and yet I am ashamed to state the truth. As soon as he was grown up, he attended a Roman quæstor into Africa; where, at the city of Adrumetum, as he was walking by himself in a spacious portico at noon-day, the vision of a woman exceeding human proportions appeared before him, and a voice was heard to this effect: "Rufus, hereafter you shall come into this province with proconsular authority." Inspired with high hopes by such a prediction, he returned to Rome, where by largesses on the part of his friends and the vigour of his own genius, he gained the quæstorship; and standing afterwards for the office of prætor against several noble competitors, carried it by the suffrage of Tiberius, who had thrown a veil over his mean original by the following remark: "Curtius Rufus seems to me to be descended from himself." With regard to his subsequent history, a sorry flatterer of those above him, overbearing to his inferiors, and surly to his equals, he lived to a great age, obtained the consular power, the honours of triumph, and lastly the government of Africa; where he fulfilled the presage of his destiny and died.

22. About the same time Cnæius Novius, a distinguished Roman knight, was found armed with a dagger in the throng of those who were paying their court to the prince; but from what motives it did not appear at the time, nor was afterwards discovered. For when he lay stretched upon the rack, he confessed his own design, but named no accomplices; whether it was that he concealed them, or had none, is uncertain. Under the same consuls it was moved by Publius Dolabella, "that a public entertainment of gladiators should be yearly exhibited at the charge of such as obtained the office of quæstor." An office which in the days of our ancestors had been the reward of virtue; and every Roman citizen, if his pretensions were founded on virtuous pursuits, was free to sue for the magistracies; nor was any distinction drawn with respect to age, which could prevent them even in early manhood from becoming consuls and dictators. As to the quæstorship, it was instituted so far back as the time of our kings, as is manifest from a law Curciata, revived by Lucius Brutus; and the power of choosing quæstors continued in the consuls till the people conferred that honour also: Valerius Potitus and Æmilius Mamer-



cus, were the first popular quæstors created, twenty-three years after the expulsion of the Tarquins, to attend to the pecuniary affairs of the armies: subsequently, upon the multiplication of business, two more were added to officiate at Rome. Some time afterwards, all Italy being now tributary, and the revenues from the provinces added, the number was doubled: Sylla next, in order to fill the senate, upon which he had devolved the authority of adjudging causes, created twenty; and though the equestrian order had since recovered the decision of suits, yet the quæstorship was conferred freely, either according to the dignity of the candidates, or the facility of those who had the disposal of it, till by this motion of Dolabella, it was exposed as it were to sale.

23. In the consulship of Aulus Vitellius and Lucius Vipsanius, when the business of supplying the vacancies in the senate was in agitation, and the nobility of that part of Gaul called Comata, who had long since acquired the distinction of confederates and citizens of Rome, now sued for a participation of offices and honours; many and various were the reasonings of the public upon their pretensions, and eager were the efforts of the opposite parties to influence the mind of the prince: he was told, "that Italy was not fallen so low, that she could not furnish a supply of senators to her own capital. Of old her natives sufficed for recruiting the people who were of the same blood with themselves: nor was there any cause for condemning the institutions of the ancient republic. Nay, even at this day, examples of virtue and renown were referred to, which the Roman genius had produced under her ancient institutions. Was it not enough that the Venetæ and Insubrians had invaded the senate, but that a host of foreigners, like a band of captives, must be introduced? What distinctions would remain to the old nobility? or to any poor senator from Latium? All public honours would be engrossed by these opulent Gauls; whose fathers and forefathers at the head of hostile nations, opposed and slaughtered our armies, and at Alesia besieged the deified Julius: instances these of later days; but what if the recollection should flash across the mind, of those who fell before the capitol and citadel of Rome by the hands of these same men? They might, in truth, enjoy still the title of citizens; but not profane the honours of the senatorian rank, or the splendours of the magistracy."

24. The emperor, little affected by these and similar allegations, answered them off hand; and then summon-

ing the senate, thus addressed them: " My ancestors, the oldest of whom, Attus Clausus, though of Sabine origin, was at once enrolled among Roman citizens, and adopted into the patrician rank, furnish me with a lesson that I ought to pursue similar measures in directing the affairs of the commonwealth, and transfer to Rome everything that is of pre-eminent merit wheresoever found. Nor indeed am I ignorant that from Alba we had the Julii, from Camerium the Coruncanii, and the Porcii from Tusculum: and not to enter into a minute detail of remote transactions, that from Etruria, Lucania, and all Italy, persons have been incorporated into the senate? At last our city became bounded only by the Alps; so that not only separate individuals, but whole states and nations, became ingrafted into the Roman name. We had solid peace at home, and our arms prospered abroad, when the nations beyond the Po were presented with the rights of citizens; and when under pretext of leading out our legions into colonies all over the earth, and uniting with them the flower of the natives, we recruited our exhausted state. Do we regret that the Balbi migrated to us from Spain, or men equally illustrious from the Narbon Gaul. Their descendants remain yet with us, nor yield to us in their love of this our common country? What proved the bane of the Spartans and Athenians, though potent in arms, but that they treated as aliens and refused to unite with the conquered? On the other hand, so great was the wisdom of Romulus, our founder, that he saw several people his enemies and his citizens, in one and the same day. Foreigners have even reigned over us. For magistracies to be intrusted to the children of freedmen is no innovation, as many are erroneously persuaded, but a constant practice of the elder people. But, it is urged, we have had wars with the Senones: have the Volcians, have the Æquians never engaged us in battle? It is true, our capital has been taken by the Gauls; but by the Tuscans we have been forced to give hostages; and by the Samnites to pass under the yoke. However, upon a review of all our wars, none will be found to have been more speedily concluded than that with the Gauls; and from that time uninterrupted peace has existed: identified with us in customs, in civil and military accomplishments, and domestic alliances; let them rather introduce amongst us their gold and wealth, than enjoy them without our participation. All the institutions, conscript fathers, which are now venerated as most ancient, were once new: the plebeian magistrates were later than the patricians; the Latin later than the plebeian; those

of other nations in Italy came after the Latin: the present admission of the Gauls will also wax old; and what is this day supported by precedents, will hereafter become a precedent."

25. By a decree of the fathers, which followed this speech, the Æduans first obtained the privilege of admission into the Roman senate, in consideration of their ancient confederacy with Rome, and because they alone of all the Gauls, are entitled the brethren of the Roman people. About the same time, all the ancient senators, with those whose fathers had sustained offices of honour in the state, were by Claudius enrolled in the patrician order. For, of the families who by Romulus were named of the elder class, or of those added by Lucius Brutus and called the younger, there were few remaining: even such as Cæsar the dictator by the Cassian law, and the emperor Augustus by the Senian law, had created patricians, were now extinct. As these reformations by Claudius, in quality of censor, were acceptable to the public, he entered upon them with great alacrity. Anxiously deliberating how he might remove from the senate those who were of infamous character, he determined to apply a new and mild expedient, rather than to follow the rigorous example of antiquity; and warned them, "to consider each his own circumstances, and ask leave to retire from the order; a request easily to be obtained." He said, "he would include in one list, those who were expelled, and those who were excused; that the sentence of the censor and a voluntary retirement from a sense of shame being blended indiscriminately might mitigate the infamy of expulsion." On account of these acts, the consul Vipsanius proposed, "that Claudius should be called 'the father of the senate;' for that the name of father of his country was a common title; and his extraordinary benefits to the commonwealth ought to be distinguished with no ordinary appellations:" but the emperor thought the flattery extravagant, and checked the consul. He then closed the lustrum; on which occasion the census of the citizens was five millions nine hundred and eighty-four thousand and seventy-two. From this time he remained no longer a stranger to his domestic reproach, but was brought to hear and punish the crimes of his wife; which was followed by his burning for an incestuous union with his niece.

26. Messalina now, the facility of ordinary adulteries having produced satiety, broke forth into unheard-of excesses; when even Silius, whether impelled by some fatal

infatuation, or judging that the dangers hanging over him were only to be averted by boldly confronting them, urged "that all disguises should now be renounced, for matters," he said "were gone too far for them to wait for the death of the emperor: blameless counsels were for the innocent, but in glaring guilt safety must be sought in reckless daring. They were backed by accomplices who dreaded the same doom. As for himself, he was single, childless, ready to marry her, and to adopt Britannicus: to Messalina would still remain her present power; with the addition of security, if they anticipated Claudius; who, as he was unguarded against the approaches of stratagem, so was he headstrong and impetuous when provoked to anger. These suggestions were but coldly received by Messalina; from no love to her husband; but lest Silius, when he had gained the sovereignty, should scorn his adulteress; and the treason, which in his present perilous predicament he approved, would then be estimated according to its real desert. She however coveted the name of matrimony, from the greatness of the infamy attaching to it; which, with those who are prodigal of fame, forms the crowning gratification of depraved appetite. Nor staid she longer than till Claudius went to Ostia, to assist at a sacrifice; when she celebrated her nuptials with Silius, with all the usual solemnities.

27. I am aware that it will appear fabulous, that any human beings should have exhibited such recklessness of consequences; and that, in a city where everything was known and talked of, any one, much more a consul elect, should have met the emperor's wife, on a stated day, in the presence of persons called in, to seal the deeds, as for the purpose of procreation, and that she should have heard the words of the augurs, entered the house of the husband, sacrificed to the gods, sat down among the guests at the nuptial banquet, exchanged kisses and embraces, and in fine passed the night in unrestrained conjugal intercourse. But I would not dress up my narrative with fictions to give it an air of marvel, rather than relate what has been stated to me or written by my seniors.

28. The consequence was, that the domestic circle of the prince was horror-struck; especially those who had the chief sway, and who dreaded the result, if the state of things should be changed, no longer confined themselves to secret communications, but exclaimed with undisguised indignation, "that while the emperor's bedchamber was made the theatre for a stage-player to dance upon, a reproach was indeed incurred, but the immediate dissolu-

tion of the state was not immediately threatened: a young man of noble rank, of fascinating person, mental vigour, and just entering upon the consulship, was addressing himself to higher objects; nor was it any enigma what remained to be done after such a marriage." It is true, when they reflected on the stupidity of Claudius, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many lives sacrificed to her fury, they were unable to divest themselves of apprehensions: again, even the passive spirit of the emperor revived their confidence, that, if they could first possess him with the horrid blackness of her crimes, she might be despatched without trial. But the danger turned upon this, that she might make a defence; and that even if she confessed her guilt, the emperor might be deaf to that evidence also.

29. But first it was deliberated by Callistus, whom in relating the assassination of Caligula, I have already mentioned; by Narcissus, who plotted the murder of Appius; and by Pallas, then the reigning favourite, whether, feigning ignorance of all the other circumstances, they should compel Messalina to break off her amour with Silius by secret menaces; but they afterwards abandoned this project from fear, lest they should themselves be dragged to execution as culprits. Pallas was fainthearted; and Callistus, a courtier in the last reign also, had learnt by experience, that power was secured more effectually by wary measures, than by daring counsels. Narcissus persisted; with this difference only, that he took care not to let fall a word by which she might know beforehand the charge against her or her accuser; and watching all occasions, while the emperor lingered at Ostia, he prevailed with two courtezans, who were the chief mistresses of Claudius, to undertake the task of laying the matter before him, by means of presents and promises, and by representing to them in attractive colours "that by the fall of his wife, their own influence would be increased."

30. Calpurnia therefore, for that was the name of the courtesan, upon the first occasion of privacy, falling at the emperor's feet, exclaimed, "that Messalina had married Silius;" and at the same time asked Cleopatra, who purposely attended to attest it, "whether she had not found it to be true?" Claudius upon a confirmation from Cleopatra, ordered Narcissus to be called. He, when he came, begged pardon for his past conduct in having concealed from the prince her adulteries while they were limited to the Vectii and Plautii; "nor meant he now," he said, "to charge Silius with adulteries; nor urge that he should re-

store the house, the slaves, and the other decorations of imperial fortune: the adulterer might still enjoy these: let him only break the nuptial tables, and restore the emperor's wife. Know you, Cæsar, that you are in a state of divorce? in the face of the people, and senate, and soldiery, Messalina has espoused Silius: and unless you act with despatch, her husband is master of Rome."

31. He then sent for his most confidential friends; particularly for Turranius, superintendent of the stores; next for Lusius Geta, captain of the prætorian guards; and inquired of them: as they avouched it, the rest beset him with clamorous importunities, that he should forthwith proceed to the camp, secure the prætorian cohorts, and consult his preservation before his revenge. It is certain that Claudius was so confounded and panic-struck, that he was incessantly asking "whether he were still emperor? whether Silius was still a private man?" As to Messalina, she never wallowed in greater voluptuousness; it was then the middle of autumn, and in her house she exhibited a representation of the vintage: the wine-presses were plied, the wine vats flowed, and round them danced women begirt with skins, like Bacchanalians at their sacrifices, or under the maddening inspiration of their deity: she herself, with her hair loose and flowing, waived a thyrsus; by her side Silius, crowned with ivy, and wearing buskins, tossed his head about; while around them danced the wanton choir in obstreperous revelry. It is reported, that Vectius Valens, having in a frolic climbed to the top of an exceeding high tree, when asked what he saw, answered, "a terrible storm from Ostia:" whether it was that a vision of that kind presented itself to his mind, or that an expression uttered fortuitously proved a presage of the truth.

32. It was now no longer vague rumour; but messengers poured in on all sides with tidings "that Claudius was apprised of all, and approached, bent upon instant vengeance." They separated; Messalina betook herself to the gardens of Lucullus; and Silius, to dissemble his fear, resumed the offices of the forum. As the rest were slipping off different ways, the centurions came up with them and bound them, some in the street, others in lurking places, according as each was found. Messalina, however, though in her distress incapable of deliberation, formed the bold resolution of meeting her husband, and presenting herself to his view; an expedient which had often proved her protection: she likewise ordered that Britannicus and Octavia should go forth and embrace

their father; and besought Vibidia, the oldest vestal, to intercede with the chief pontiff, and earnestly importune his clemency. She herself meanwhile traversed on foot the whole extent of the city, attended only by three persons (so suddenly had her whole train forsaken her), and then in a cart employed to carry out dirt from the gardens, took the road to Ostia; unpitied by any one, as the deformity of her crimes overpowered every feeling of the kind.

33. Claudius was in a state of no less trepidation; for he could not implicitly rely on Geta, the captain of his guards; an equally fickle instrument of fraud or honesty. Narcissus therefore in concert with those who entertained the same mistrust, assured the emperor, "that there was no other expedient to preserve him than the transferring the command of his guards to one of his freedmen, for that day only;" and offered himself to undertake it. And, that Lucius Vitellius and Publius Largus Cæcina, might not on his way to the city prevail with Claudius to relent, he desired to have a seat in the same vehicle, and took it.

34. It was afterwards currently reported, that, while the emperor was giving expression to the opposite feelings which agitated his breast, at one time inveighing against the atrocities of his wife, and then at length recurring to the recollection of conjugal intercourse and the tender age of his children, Vitellius uttered nothing but "Oh! the villany! Oh! the treason!" Narcissus indeed pressed him to discard all ambiguity of expression, and let them know his real sentiments; but he did not therefore prevail upon him to give any other than indecisive answers, and such as would admit of any interpretation which might be put upon them; and his example was followed by Largus Cæcina. And now Messalina was in sight, and importunately called on the emperor "to hear the mother of Octavia and Britannicus," when her accuser drowned her cries with the story of Silius, and the marriage, and delivered at the same time to Claudius a memorial reciting all her whoredoms; to divert him from beholding her. Soon after, as the emperor was entering Rome, it was attempted to present to him his children by her; but Narcissus ordered them to be taken away: he could not however prevent Vibidia from insisting, with earnest remonstrances, "that he would not deliver his wife to destruction without a hearing:" so that Narcissus was obliged to assure her, that the prince would hear Messalina, who should have full opportunity of clearing her-

self; and advised the vestal to retire, and attend the solemnities of her goddess.

35. The silence of Claudius, while all this was going on, was matter of astonishment: Vitellius seemed like one who was not in the secret; the freedman controled everything; by his command, the house of the adulterer was opened, and the emperor escorted thither; where the first thing he showed him, was the statue of Silius, the father, in the porch, though it had been decreed to be demolished by the senate; then that all the articles belonging to the Neros and Drusi, had now become the price of dishonour. Thus incensed, and breaking forth into menaces, he led him direct to the camp, where the soldiers being already assembled, by the direction of Narcissus, he made them a short speech; for shame prevented his giving utterance to his indignation, though he had just cause for it. The soldiers then clamoured unremittingly and importunately that the culprits should be tried and punished. Silius was placed before the tribunal, he made no defence; he sought no delay, but begged only to be despatched immediately. Illustrious Roman knights also with similar firmness of mind were eager for a speedy death. He therefore commanded Titius Proculus, assigned by Silius as a guard to Messalina; Vectius Valens, who confessed his guilt, and offered to discover others; Pompeius Urbicus and Saufellus Trogus, as accomplices; to be all dragged to execution: on Decius Calpurnianus too, præfect of the watch; Sulpicius Rufus, comptroller of the games; and Juncus Virgilianus, the senator, the same punishment was inflicted.

36. Mnester alone caused some hesitation: he tore off his clothes and called upon the emperor "to behold upon his body the impressions of the lash; to remember his own commands, obliging him to submit to the pleasure of Messalina without reserve: others had been tempted to the iniquity by great presents or aspiring hopes; but his offence was forced upon him; nor would any man have sooner perished had Silius gained the sovereignty." These considerations affected Claudius, and strongly inclined him to mercy; but his freedmen overruled him: they urged, "that after so many illustrious sacrifices, he should by no means think of saving a player; that in a crime of such enormity, it mattered not whether he had committed it from choice or necessity." As little effect had the defence even of Traulus Montanus: a youth of signal modesty and remarkably handsome, summoned by Messalina to her



bed without any solicitation on his part, and in one night cast off; such was the wantonness with which her passion was alike surfeited and inflamed. The lives of Suius Cæsoninus and Plautius Lateranus, were spared; of the last on account of the noble exploits of his uncle: the other was protected by his vices, as one who, in the late abominable society, had prostituted himself like a woman.

37. Meanwhile Messalina was in the gardens of Lucullus, still striving to prolong her life, and composing supplications to the prince, sometimes in the language of hope, at others giving vent to rage and resentment, so indomitable was her insolence even under the immediate prospect of death. And had not Narcissus hastened her assassination, the doom which he had prepared for her would have recoiled upon himself. For Claudius, upon his return home, experienced a mitigation of his wrath, from the effects of a sumptuous repast; and as soon as he became warm with wine, he ordered them "to go and acquaint the miserable woman (for this was the appellation which he is said to have used) that to-morrow she should attend and plead her cause." These words indicated that his resentment was abating, his wonted affection returning; besides, if they delayed, the effect of the following night, and the reminiscences which the conjugal chamber might awaken in Claudius, were matter for alarm: Narcissus therefore rushed forth, and directed the tribune and centurions then attending upon duty, "to despatch the execution, for such," he said, "was the emperor's command." With them he sent Euodus of the freedmen, as a watch upon them, and to see his orders strictly fulfilled. Euodus flew before them to the gardens, and found her lying along upon the earth: her mother, Lepida, sitting by her side; who during her prosperity had not lived in harmony with her; but, in this her extreme necessity, was overcome by compassion for her, and now persuaded her "not to wait for the executioner: the course of her life was run; and her only object now should be to die becomingly." But a mind sunk and corrupted by debauchery, retained no sense of honour: she was giving way to bootless tears and lamentations when from the shock of the approaching party the door flew open: the tribune stood in silence before her; but the freedman upbraided her with many and insolent reproaches, characteristic of the slave.

38. Then for the first time she became deeply sensible of her condition, and laying hold of the steel, applied it first to her throat, then to her breast, with trembling and irresolute hand, when the tribune ran her through; her

corpse was granted to her mother. Tidings were then carried to Claudius "that Messalina was no more;" without distinguishing whether by her own or another's hand; neither did he inquire: but called for a cup of wine, and proceeded in the usual ceremonies of the feast: nor did he, indeed, during the following days, manifest any symptom of disgust or joy, of resentment or sorrow, nor in short of any human affection; not when he beheld the accusers of his wife exulting at her death; not when he looked upon her mourning children. The senate aided in effacing her from his memory, by decreeing "that from all public and private places her name should be rased, and her images removed." To Narcissus were decreed the decorations of the quæstorship; a very small reward indeed, considering his towering elevation; for he was more influential than Pallas and Callistus.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK XII.

UPON the death of Messalina, the imperial palace was torn with a contest among the freedmen. The question was, which of them should choose a wife for Claudius; who was impatient of a single life, and submitted to be ruled by the partners of his bed. Nor were the ladies animated by an emulation less ardent, each maintaining her superiority in rank, beauty, and wealth, and displaying her pretensions to the exalted connection. But the competition lay principally between Lollia Paullina, daughter of Marcus Lollius, a man of consular rank, and Julia Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus; the latter supported by the interest of Pallas, the other by that of Callistus. But Ælia Petina, of the Tiberonian family, had the countenance of Narcissus. Claudius, who was sometimes hot upon one, at other times upon another, according as he was persuaded by his several advisers, summoned his discordant counsellors to deliberate on the point, desiring them to deliver their opinions and support them by arguments.

2. Narcissus recommended "his former wife Petina, by whom he had a daughter (for Antonia was her daughter), and argued that by resuming his old connection, he would introduce into his family no innovation; but a woman who would never exhibit the spirit of a stepmother towards Britannicus and Octavia, as they were closely allied to her own children." Callistus urged "that she had been long divorced, in consequence of the emperor's disapprobation of her, and if she were taken back again, that very circumstance would inflame her pride: Lollia would be a much more eligible match; who, having no issue of her own, was free from every motive of emulation, but would treat her step-children with the tenderness of a parent." Pallas chiefly recommended Agrippina from the consideration, "that she would bring with her the grandson of Germanicus, who was in every view worthy of the imperial fortune:

herself of noble descent, and a fit bond of union to the posterity of the Claudian family, provision ought to be made that a woman who had shown herself fruitful, and was still in the freshness of youth, should not transfer the splendour of the Cæsars to another house."

3. The reasonings of Pallas prevailed, enforced as they were by the fascinations of Agrippina; who under colour of relationship, was assiduous in her visits to her uncle, and won him so effectually, that she was preferred to the others, and though not yet his wife, already exercised the influence belonging to that relation. For when secure of her own marriage, she began to concert further plans of ambition, and concoct a match between Domitius, her son by Cnæius Ænobarbus, and Octavia, the emperor's daughter: a design which could not be accomplished without the grossest iniquity, as the emperor had betrothed Octavia to Lucius Silanus, whom, when a youth and otherwise celebrated, Claudius had recommended to the favour of the people by presenting him with splendid triumphal ornaments, and by a magnificent exhibition of gladiators in his name. But nothing appeared insurmountable which depended on the will of a prince, who had neither preference nor aversion, but such as were infused and directed by others.

4. Vitellius, therefore, who could veil his fraudulent servility with the name of censor, foreseeing who would carry all before them in the strife for power, sought to ingratiate himself with Agrippina, by entering into her plans, and laid the foundations of charges against Silanus, whose sister, Junia Calvina, beautiful indeed but imprudent, had been not long before the daughter-in-law of Vitellius. Hence he took occasion for the accusation, and construed into infamy a fraternal affection not incestuous, but unguarded; and the emperor listened to the charge, as his affection for his daughter rendered him the more prone to entertain suspicions against his son-in-law. As for Silanus, unapprised as he was of the plot, and he happened to be prætor that year, he was suddenly degraded from the rank of a senator, by an edict of Vitellius, notwithstanding the senate had been recently reviewed, and the lustrum closed: Claudius, at the same time, annulled the connection; Silanus was compelled to renounce his magistracy; and for the unexpired day of his prætorship, the office was conferred upon Eprius Marcellus.

5. During the consulship of Caius Pompeius and Quintus Veranius, the marriage previously agreed upon between Claudius and Agrippina, was now ratified by the

public voice and their own criminal commerce. They dared not however to celebrate the nuptials, as there was no precedent of an uncle's taking to wife his brother's daughter. Besides, the connection was incestuous; and if that were disregarded, it was apprehended that it might issue in some public calamity. This hesitation continued till Vitellius undertook to accomplish the business by methods of his own. He asked the emperor, "whether he would submit to the sense of the people, and the authority of the senate?" Claudius answered, "that he himself was one of the people, and could not withstand the consentient voice of them all:" Vitellius then desired him to wait the issue within the palace, and went himself to the senate; where after a solemn declaration, that he had somewhat to communicate of the highest importance to the commonwealth, he obtained leave to be heard before any other; when he commenced by saying, "that the overpowering labours of the prince, in governing the world, called for support and assistance, in order that, relieved from domestic cares, he might attend the interests of the public. Moreover, what more honourable alleviation of the cares which oppress the mind of a censor, than to take a wife who might share his good fortune and his distresses, to whom he might commit his most secret thoughts and the care of his little ones, unhabituated as he was to luxury and voluptuousness, but accustomed to yield obedience to the laws from his earliest years?"

6. After thus prefacing his object in a speech calculated to win applause, and which was followed by many expressions of servile acquiescence from the fathers, beginning afresh, he said "that seeing they all were of opinion that the prince should marry, it became necessary that a lady should be selected who was distinguished by family, the fertility of her womb, and unblemished purity of manners. Nor had they long to search before they would find that Agrippina stood pre-eminent for the splendour of her lineage; had given proofs of her fruitfulness; and came up to their requirements in virtuous accomplishments: it was indeed a singularly happy circumstance, that through the providence of the gods, she was a widow, and might be united with a prince who had ever confined himself to his own wives. They had heard from their fathers, nay, themselves had seen, that wives were ravished from their husbands, at the lawless caprice of the Cæsars: a proceeding far from the moderate spirit of the present ruler; nay, rather a precedent was being established which might guide an emperor in taking a wife. But, amongst them it

seemed an innovation to marry their brother's daughters; a usage frequent in other nations, nor by any law forbidden. The intermarriage of cousins-german was a practice long unknown, yet in time became frequent: customs were to be suited to exigencies; and this very novelty was one of those things which would soon be followed and practised."

7. There were several senators who declared with emulous zeal, "that if the emperor lingered longer, they would compel him," and rushed out of the senate. A promiscuous multitude likewise assembled, and proclaimed with shouts, "that the same was the voice and demand of the Roman people." Nor did Claudius delay any further, but proceeded to the Forum, to receive in person their greetings and acclamations; and entering the senate, required "a decree to legalise for ever the marriages between uncles and their brothers' daughters." But no man however was found who desired this kind of alliance, except Titius Alledius Severus, a Roman knight; and he, as many believed, urged to it by the influence of Agrippina. From this moment the city assumed a different character, and a woman had the control of everything: who, however, did not, like Messalina, mock and trample upon the interests of the state in the extravagance of her lewdness. The despotism exercised was strict as though it were under the direction of a man; in her public conduct she was grave and rigid, frequently haughty and overbearing; no departure from chastity was observable in her domestic department, unless it were necessary to support her power; while an insatiable thirst for money was veiled under the pretext of its uses in maintaining the imperial authority.

8. On the day of the nuptials, Silanus slew himself; whether it was that up to that time he had entertained hopes of life, or chose that day to increase the odium the deed would excite. His sister Calvina was banished Italy; and to her sentence Claudius added an injunction to the pontiffs, "that, according to the institution of king Tullus, they should offer sacrifices and atonements at the grove of Diana:" a proceeding which was treated with universal derision, that penalties and expiations for incest should be devised at such a juncture. As for Agrippina, that she might not be distinguished only for nefarious deeds, she obtained for Annæus Seneca a reversal of his exile, and with it the prætorship; favours which she supposed would prove acceptable to the public, on account of his high renown for learning. She also wished that the youthful mind of her son Domitius should be trained up to man-

hood under such a preceptor, and that he might have the benefit of his counsels in realising his hopes of imperial power: for Seneca, she believed, would continue faithfully attached to her from ties of gratitude; and incensed against Claudius from resentment of his wrongs.

9. It was now thought expedient to hesitate no longer; and Memmius Pollio, the consul elect, was gained by vast promises, to move the senate, that Claudius might be solicited "to betroth Octavia to Domitius:" a match not unsuitable in respect of both their ages, and such as would open the way to matters of greater moment: Pollio moved it much in the same words with those lately used by Vitellius: Octavia was betrothed; and Domitius, besides his former relationship, being now also the affianced son-in-law of the emperor, was raised to a parity with Britannicus, an elevation which he owed to the interest of his mother, and the devices of those who having been the accusers of Messalina, dreaded the vengeance of her son.

10. I have before related that ambassadors from the Parthians were sent to Rome, to solicit Meherdates for their king: they were at this time introduced into the senate, where they opened their embassy to this effect; they said "they were not uninformed of the treaty subsisting between Rome and Parthia; nor came they as revolters from the family of the Arsacidæ; but to declare their attachment to the son of Vonones, the grandson of Phrahates, that he might rescue them from the tyranny of Gotarzes; a tyranny equally insupportable to the nobility and the commons: already his brothers, his kinsfolk, and others standing in more remote relations, had been all cut off by him: and to them were adding their pregnant wives and tender children; while he, in peace a sluggard, and a pest in war, sought to hide his dastard spirit by acts of cruelty: that with us the Parthians had an ancient friendship, founded upon public treaties; and it behoved us to succour allies who rivalled us in power, but yielded the first place to us from motives of veneration. That the sons of their kings were given as hostages to the Romans, with this understanding, that when disgusted with their domestic government, that they might have a refuge in the emperor and the senate, from whom they might receive a new and better king, trained up under their auspices in the manners and habits of the Romans."

11. When they had urged these and similar arguments, Claudius commenced a reply, by adverting to the proud elevation of the Roman name, and the deference paid to it by the Parthians; and placing himself upon a level with the

deified Augustus, represented that from him also they had sought a king; but omitted all mention of Tiberius, though he too had sent them kings. He further addressed some precepts to Meherdates, who was also present, admonishing him "that he should not consider his government as a tyranny, nor his people as slaves; but regard himself in the light of a chief magistrate, and the people as his fellow-citizens; that he should cultivate justice and clemency; blessings unknown to Barbarians, and thence so much the more likely to reconcile them to the yoke." Then turning to the ambassadors, he spoke of the young prince in terms of high commendation, "as the foster-son of the city, and moreover of exemplary conduct;" still however he admonished them, "that they should bear with the humours of kings, and that frequent changes were injurious to their interests; that the Roman state was so thoroughly satiated with military glory, that she studied the repose of foreign nations also." It was therefore given in commission to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, to conduct the young king to the banks of the Euphrates.

12. This Cassius surpassed all his contemporaries in the knowledge of laws: for, in a state of repose from war, military arts are intermitted; and, during peace, there is no distinction between the strenuous and the inactive. Still however, so far as it was permitted him in the absence of war, he revived the ancient discipline, kept the legions in constant exercise, exerted precisely the same diligence and precaution as if an enemy were menacing him; feeling that such conduct became the renown of his ancestors and the Cassian family, which was celebrated even amongst those nations. Having encamped at Zeugma, the most convenient place for passing the river, and having called together those by whose advice a king was sought from Rome, as soon as the Parthian chiefs, and with them Agbarus, king of the Arabs, were arrived, he warned Meherdates, "that the zeal of Barbarians, impetuous in its first sallies, lost its energy by delays or changed sides; he should therefore press on his enterprise:" advice which he neglected, through the treachery of Agbarus, who detained the young king many days at the city of Edessa; inexperienced as he was, and possessed with a notion that the essence of royalty consisted in luxury: and though Carrhenes solicited them, and assured them that success was certain, if they advanced with speed, they neglected entering Mesopotamia, which was close at hand, but turned off to go to Armenia, at that time unfavourable to his operations, as the winter had already set in.



13. As they descended into the plains, wearied with the snows and mountains, Carrhenes joined them with his forces. Thence they passed the Tigris, and crossed the country of the Adiabeniensians, whose king, Izates, had ostensibly espoused the interest of Meherdates, though secretly and with more sincerity, he inclined to that of Gotarzes. In the course of their progress they took the city Ninus, the ancient seat of the Assyrian empire, as also the castle of Arbela, so renowned in story as the scene of the last battle between Darius and Alexander, in which the power of Persia was overthrown. Gotarzes meanwhile was sacrificing upon mount Sambulos to the gods of the place; and amongst these Hercules with especial solemnity, who, at stated times, warns the priests in a dream, "to prepare him horses equipped for hunting, and place them by the temple;" the horses, when furnished with quivers full of arrows, scour the forests, and return at night with empty quivers, and panting vehemently: again, the god, in another vision of the night, describes the course he took in traversing the woods; and beasts are found stretched upon the ground in all directions.

14. Gotarzes, as his troops were not yet assembled in sufficient force, took advantage of the river Corma as a protection, and though challenged to battle by insults and heralds, still procrastinated, shifted his position, and employed emissaries meanwhile to bribe the enemy to renounce their engagements. Izates, leader of the Adiabeniensians, and presently Agbarus, king of the Arabs, went off with their respective armies, with the fickleness of those barbarous nations, and in confirmation of previous experience, that they would rather sue for a king from Rome, than be governed by one. Meherdates thus bereft of these powerful allies, and apprehending treasonable designs in the rest, determined, as his only resource, to commit the issue to fortune, and risk a battle: nor did Gotarzes, inspired by the diminution of the enemy's forces, decline the challenge. A sanguinary conflict ensued, and the event was doubtful, till Carrhenes, having overthrown those that opposed him, pursuing his victory too far, was hemmed in on the rear by a body of reserve. This blow annihilated the hopes of Meherdates; who trusting to the promises of Parrhaces, a dependent of his father's, was betrayed by him and delivered in chains to the conqueror. Gotarzes disowning him "for a kinsman, or one of the family of the Arsacidæ," and reviling him as a "foreigner and a Roman," cut off his ears, and bid him live as a memorial of his own clemency, and of our degradation. After

this, Gotarzes fell sick and died; and Vonones, then governor of Media, was called to the throne; a prince distinguished by nothing memorable, fortunate, or diastrous: his reign was short and inglorious, and the government of Parthia devolved upon his son Vologeses.

15. On the other hand, Mithridates of Bosphorus, who since the loss of his territories wandered from place to place, having learnt that Didius, the Roman commander, had retired with the flower of his army, and that Cotys, a young prince void of experience, was left in his new kingdom with only a few cohorts under Julius Aquila, a Roman knight, looked upon both with contempt, incited the neighbouring people to arms, drew over deserters, and lastly, having thus assembled an army, drove the king of the Dandaridæ from his throne, and seized his dominions. Upon these tidings, apprehending that he would instantly invade Bosphorus, Aquila and Cotys, who distrusted their own forces, as Zorsines king of the Siracians, had resumed hostilities, had recourse themselves to foreign favour, and despatched ambassadors to Eunones, prince of the Adorsians. Nor was it difficult to engage him in their cause, when they represented the power of the Romans in competition with the rebel Mithridates. It was therefore accorded, "that Eunones should encounter the enemy with the cavalry, and the Romans undertake the siege of towns."

16. Then they advanced in a combined body, of which the Adorsians composed the front and rear; the cohorts and troops of the Bosphorus, armed like Romans, formed the strength of the centre. Thus they discomfited the enemy, and arrived at Soza, a city of the Dandaridæ, deserted by Mithridates; in which it was judged proper to leave a garrison, on account of the doubtful affections of the inhabitants. Thence they proceeded against the Siracians, and crossing the river Panda besieged the city Uspe, situated upon a hill and well fortified with walls and moats, except that the walls being not formed of stone, but crates and hurdles with earth between, were unable to bear an assault; towers were raised high enough to overlook them, and thence the besieged were infested with darts and brands; and had not night interrupted the assault, the city had been besieged and carried within a single day.

17. Next day they sent deputies to solicit pardon for the free; ten thousand slaves they proposed to give up: conditions rejected by the conquerors, since the massacre of such as were surrendered would have been inhuman;

and to secure such a host of prisoners, extremely difficult: it was therefore resolved that they should fall in the regular course of war; and to the soldiers who had mounted the walls, the signal for slaughter was given. The overthrow of Uspes terrified its neighbours, who now believed that nothing could be secure against the Romans; since arms and bulwarks, heights and fastnesses, rivers and towns, were equally surmounted by them. Hence Zorsines, after long deliberation whether still to adhere to the desperate fortune of Mithridates, or consult the security of his own dominions, when at length the interest of his own nation prevailed, gave hostages, and prostrated himself before the image of Claudius; to the signal glory of the Roman army, which it appeared had advanced, in a course of bloodless victory, within three days' journey of the river Tanais: but in their return, the same fortune did not attend them; for certain vessels, as they went back by sea, were driven upon the shores of the Taurians, and the Barbarians seizing them, slew the leader of a cohort and most of the centurions.

18. Mithridates meanwhile, finding no resource in arms, deliberated to what quarter he should look for mercy: his brother Cotys he dreaded as one who had formerly betrayed him, and then became his open enemy: of the Romans, there was none at hand of such weight that his engagements could be depended upon: he therefore determined to apply to Vonones, who had no quarrel of his own with him, and was influential by virtue of his late alliance with us. With a mien and garb studiously adapted to his present fortune, he entered the palace, and, throwing himself at the feet of Eunones, "I am Mithridates," said he; "I who have been pursued by the Romans for so many years through sea and land, stand before you, of my own choice; deal as you please with a descendant of the great Achæmenes: it is the only advantage of which my enemies have not bereaved me."

19. Eunones was affected by the renown of the prince, his reverse of fortune, and the undegenerate tone of his prayer. He raised his suppliant from the earth, and praising him for preferring the Adorsians, and committing himself to his honour in suing for pardon, despatched ambassadors to Claudius with letters to this purport: "The alliances of the Roman emperors with the kings of mighty nations," he said, "were founded upon a similitude of fortune; himself and Claudius also were united in the participation of a common victory; that the most brilliant terminations of war were those in which matters were set-

bled by pardoning the vanquished : in this manner was Zorsines conquered, but deprived of nothing. For Mithridates, who had offended more grievously, neither power nor a kingdom were craved, but an exemption from capital punishment, and the ignominy of being led in triumph."

20. Claudius, though lenient to illustrious foreigners, was at a loss whether it were more advisable to receive the captive on terms of mercy, or to seek redress by arms. A painful sense of injuries, and the thirst of vengeance, strongly incited him to the latter course; but, on the other hand, it was argued, "that a war must be undertaken in a remote and rugged country, upon a sea destitute of havens; moreover, against fierce and warlike kings, and nations unsettled and vagabond; where the soil was unproductive, where prompt measures would be dangerous, and lengthened operations disheartening and wearisome; small the glory of victory, great the infamy of repulse: the emperor ought, therefore, readily to embrace the overture, and spare the life of the exile; who, the longer he lived in a state of destitution, would suffer so much the severer punishment." These considerations moved Claudius, and he wrote to Eunones, "that Mithridates had, indeed, merited to be made an example of by extreme severity, nor wanted he power to inflict it; but it was a principle established by his ancestors, that suppliants should be treated with a lenity as boundless as the rigour with which an unrelenting foe was pursued. As for triumphs, they were only to be acquired by the conquest of entire kingdoms and nations."

21. Mithridates was, after this, delivered to Julius Cilo, the procurator of Pontus, and by him carried to Rome, where, in the presence of the emperor, he is said to have spoken with more haughtiness than suited his fortune: a speech of his to the following effect was much talked of: "I am not brought back to you, Cæsar; but of my own choice I have returned; or, if you do not believe me, let me go, and try to retake me." When, too, he was exposed to the view of the people at the rostrum, and encompassed with guards, his countenance continued perfectly undaunted. To Cilo were decreed the consular ornaments, and to Aquila those of the prætorship.

22. During the same consulship, Agrippina, ever implacable in her hate, and enraged at Lollia for having contended with her for the emperor's hand, framed crimes against her, and suborned an accuser, to tax her, "with dealing with the magicians and Chaldeans, and con-

sulting the oracle of the Clarian Apollo, concerning that match." Claudius, then, without hearing the accused, after a long preface, addressed to the senate, on the splendour of her birth and circumstances, "that by her mother she was niece to Lucius Volusius; Cotta Messalinus her great uncle, herself formerly married to Memmius Regulus," (for of her marriage with Caligula he purposely said nothing) added, "that she had meditated schemes injurious to the commonwealth, and must be divested of the means of treason; that her estate should therefore be confiscated, and herself banished from Italy." Thus, out of her immense wealth, only five millions of sesterces were left her. Calpurnia too, another illustrious lady, was doomed to ruin, because the prince had praised her beauty, though from no passion for her, but merely in casual discourse: for which reason, the vengeance of Agrippina stopped short of death. To Lollia, a tribune was despatched, to compel her to destroy herself. Cadius Rufus was likewise convicted, under the act against public plunder, at the suit of the Bithynians.

23. To the province of Narbon Gaul it was granted, in consideration of the distinguished reverence paid by its people to the senate, that Roman senators of that province should be allowed the same privilege with those of Sicily, of visiting their estates there without leave obtained of the prince: and the countries of Iturea and Judea, were, upon the death of their kings Sohemus and Agrippa, annexed to the government of Syria. It was also resolved that the augury as to the will of the gods in the matter of imploring divine protection, which, for five and twenty years, had been disused, should be revived, and thereafter regularly observed: and the emperor extended the consecrated precincts of the city, according to ancient institution, which impowered such as had advanced the limits of the empire, to enlarge also the bounds of the city: a right which hitherto was never exercised by any of the Roman captains, though they had subdued mighty nations, before Sylla the dictator, and the deified Augustus.

24. The motives of ostentation or ambition which influenced our kings in this matter have been variously stated. But I think it not impertinent to show where the first foundations began, and what was the circuit fixed by Romulus. Now, from the ox market, where still is seen the brazen statue of a bull, because by that animal the plough is drawn, a furrow was cut to describe the boundaries of the town, so as to include the great altar of Her-

cules: thence, stones were placed, at certain intervals, along the foot of mount Palatine, to the altar of Consus; soon after, to the Old Courts: then, to the small temple of the Lares; and, lastly, to the great Roman forum, which, as well as the Capitol, it is believed, was added to the city, not by Romulus, but by Tatius. With the increase of her empire, the city afterwards continued to increase: and what were the boundaries now established by Claudius, is easily learnt, as they are detailed in the public records.

25. In the consulship of Caius Antistius and Marcus Suius, the adoption of Domitius was hurried on by the influence of Pallas; who, as he had brought about the late marriage of Agrippina, and afterwards became leagued with her in adultery, being wholly addicted to her interest, stimulated Claudius "to provide for the exigency of the commonwealth, and support the infancy of Britannicus with a collateral stay: so with the deified Augustus, though he had grandchildren of his own to recline upon, the sons of his wife were raised to power. Thus, too, Tiberius, notwithstanding he had a son of his own, adopted Germanicus: and thus he, also, should fortify himself with the aid of a young prince, who might take upon him a share of the public cares." To these considerations Claudius yielded, and, in preference to his own son, adopted Domitius, older only by two years; declaring the adoption to the senate in a speech to the same effect as that of his freedman to him. It was observed, by men conversant with such matters, that history recorded no adoption, before this, into the patrician family of the Claudii; which, from Attus Clausus, had maintained its descent continuous and entire.

26. The prince, however, received the thanks of the senate, accompanied with expressions of more refined flattery towards Domitius: and a law was carried through the house, decreeing his adoption into the Claudian family, and his assumption of the name of Nero: Agrippina was also further distinguished by the title of Augusta. When these measures were effected, not a man was found so void of compassion as not to be affected with grief at the situation of Britannicus. Bereft, by little and little, even of the help of slaves, he ridiculed the officious attentions of his stepmother, well aware of her treachery, for he is said not to have wanted quickness of understanding: whether it were really so, or that, regarded with favour on account of his hard fortune, he retained the reputation of it, without affording proof that he deserved it.

27. But Agrippina, that she might display her power even to the nations our allies, procured a colony of veterans to be sent to the capital of the Ubians, the town in which she was born, and which was called after her own name: it had also been the lot of her grandfather Agrippa, when that people came over the Rhine, to receive them under the protection of the Romans. At that same time, the higher Germany was in a state of alarm, from an irruption of the Cattians, on an expedition of plunder: hence Lucius Pomponius, the Roman general, ordered the auxiliary Vangiones and Nemetæ, with the addition of the allied cavalry, "to get in front of the depredators, or to pour upon them unawares, when they separated." The soldiers exerted themselves to give effect to the plan of the commander: having divided themselves into two bands, that which marched to the left, enclosed them just as they were returned, while labouring under the effects of excessive indulgence in the fruits of their rapine, and sunk in sleep. Their joy was increased by rescuing some prisoners, who had been taken at the time of the overthrow of Varus, forty years ago.

28. The body that turned to the right, and by a shorter cut, meeting the enemy, who ventured to engage them, made a greater slaughter. So that, laden with booty, and covered with glory, they returned to mount Taunus, where Pomponius waited with his legions, prepared for battle, if the Cattians, from a desire for revenge, should afford opportunity for fighting: but, as they dreaded being assaulted on every side; here, by the Romans, there, by the Cheruskans, with whom they are incessantly at enmity, they despatched deputies and hostages to Rome. To Pomponius was decreed the honour of triumph; from which, however, he derives but a slender share of his fame among posterity, with whom every other title to consideration is merged in the celebrity of his poems.

29. It was at this time, too, that Vannius, formerly created king of the Suevians by Drusus Cæsar, was driven from his kingdom. In the early period of his reign, he enjoyed a high reputation, and was in favour with his countrymen: but, intoxicated with long possession of power, grew, afterwards, imperious; so that he was at once hated by the neighbouring states, and entangled in a combination of his own subjects. It was conducted by his own sister's sons, Vangio and Sido, and Vibillius king of the Hermundurians: nor would Claudius, though often entreated, engage in the quarrel of the Barbarians: he only answered the suit of Vannius, by a promise of a safe

refuge, in case of expulsion; and wrote to Publius Attilius Hister, governor of Pannonia, "to hold in readiness, on the banks of the Danube, his legion, with a body of auxiliaries raised in the province itself; to succour the vanquished, and awe the conquerors; lest, elated by success, they might venture also to disturb the peace of the empire." For the Ligians and other nations were arriving in swarms, allured by the fame of that wealthy kingdom, which for thirty years Vannius had been enriching by depredations and exactions. His own native troops were foot, and his horse were from the Iazygians of Sarmatia; a force unequal to the multitude of his enemies: hence he determined to confine himself to his strongholds, and protract the war.

30. But the Iazygians, impatient of a siege, and roving about the adjacent country, created a necessity of fighting, as the Ligians and Hermundurians attacked them in that situation. Vannius, therefore, issuing from his fortresses, was overthrown in battle: but not without praise, even in his defeat, as he engaged in the battle with his own hand, and exposed his breast to the weapons of the enemy: he then fled to his fleet, which lay waiting for him in the Danube, and was soon followed by his adherents, who were settled in Pannonia, and portions of land assigned them. Vangio and Sido parted his kingdom between them, and were exemplary in their fidelity towards us, much beloved by their subjects, while they were yet acquiring domination, and, after it was acquired, still more hated: whether this arose from the character of their own minds or that of their subjects.

31. In Britain, Publius Ostorius, the proprætor, found affairs in a troubled state; the enemy making irruptions into the territories of our allies, with so much the more insolence, as they supposed that a new general, with an army unknown to him, and now that the winter had set in, would not dare to make head against them. But as he was convinced that, by the first events of war, confidence or consternation was produced in an enemy, he instantly led forth his cohorts at a rapid pace, put to the sword all who resisted, followed up those who were dispersed, and lest they should reunite, and thus an angry and heartless peace afford no repose to the general or his troops, he determined to deprive of arms all whom he suspected, and, by means of forts, to confine them between the rivers Nen and Severn: a determination thwarted first by the Icenians, a powerful people, who, having of their own accord become our confederates, were weakened by no



assaults of war. Under their guidance, the bordering nations selected, as a position for a battle, a place fenced in by a rude rampart, and the approach narrow, so that it might not be passable by the horse. The Roman general, though, unsupported by the flower of the legions, he had with him only the allied troops, prepared to break through their works; and, having disposed his cohorts in suitable positions, he employed the horsemen in the duties of foot-soldiers. Upon the signal given, they forced the rampart and discomfited the enemy, who were hampered with their own barriers: but from the conscious guilt of rebellion, and all egress being precluded, they performed many and memorable feats of bravery. In this battle, Marcus Ostorius, the son of the general, having saved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the civic crown.

32. For the rest, the overthrow of the Icenians determined those who were wavering between peace and war to remain quiet; the army was led thence against the Cangiens, wasted their territories, and gathered booty on all sides: the enemy not daring to encounter them openly, or if they attempted to gall them on their march by covert attacks, it was not with impunity. He had now approached near the sea which washes the coast of Ireland, when commotions, begun amongst the Brigantes, obliged the general to return thither; as he had formed a settled determination not to prosecute any new enterprise till his former were completed and secure. The Brigantes, indeed, soon returned to their homes, a few who raised the revolt having been slain, and the rest pardoned: but neither rigour nor clemency could induce the Silures to abandon their resolution of prosecuting hostilities; nor could they be quelled but by encamping the legions among them. To facilitate this design, a colony, consisting of a powerful body of veterans, was conveyed to Camalodunum, to settle upon the conquered lands, as a resource against the rebels, and for initiating the allies in the requisitions of the Roman laws.

33. Then he marched against the Silures, a people resolute and fierce by nature; and, moreover, rendered confident by the valour of Caractacus, whom his many perplexities and many victories had raised to a pre-eminence over all other generals of the Britons. But, though possessing an advantage in the dangerous nature of the localities, yet, as he was inferior in the number of his troops, he cunningly transferred the seat of war to the territory of the Ordovicians, where, being joined by all such as feared a peace with the Romans, he resolved to

put all to the hazard of a battle. For this purpose he chose a place against which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was as difficult to retreat; every way incommodious to our army, and every way favourable to his own. He then took post upon the ridges of some lofty mountains, and, where their sides were gently inclining and approachable, he piled up stones for a rampart: his position was also skirted by a river, dangerous to be forded; and troops of soldiers manned his entrenchments.

34. Moreover, the chieftains of the several nations were busily employed in going from rank to rank, exhorting and animating their followers by dissipating their fears, by kindling their hopes, and by the other incitements employed in war. But as for Caractacus, he flew from one quarter to another, protesting "that from that day, that battle, they would have to date the recovery of liberty, or the commencement of interminable bondage." He invoked by name "those ancestors who had repulsed the dictator Cæsar; by whose valour they had lived exempted from the terrors of the Roman axes and the oppression of Roman tributes, and were enabled to keep the persons of their wives and children uncontaminated." As he thus harangued them, he was answered by the acclamations of the multitude; and each soldier bound himself by the oath held most sacred by his nation, "that they would never turn away from the weapons of the enemy, or shrink from wounds."

35. This display of courage and alacrity amazed the Roman general; besides, the river to be passed, the rampart they had raised, the frowning ridges of the mountains, every part exhibiting symptoms of fierce determination, and every post well manned—all these things alarmed him. But, the soldiers demanded battle; all things, they cried, were to be surmounted by courage; and the præfects and tribunes, by expressing similar sentiments, inflamed the ardour of the army. Ostorius seizing the auspicious moment, having carefully surveyed the situation, where inaccessible, and where to be passed, led them on thus excited; and without much difficulty cleared the river. When he approached the bulwark, while the conflict was carried on by means of missiles, there were more of our men wounded, and many began to fall; but after they had formed themselves into the military shell, demolished the rude and shapeless structure of stones, and encountered hand to hand upon an equality, the Barbarians betook themselves to the ridges of the mountains, and thither also our soldiers forced their way, both the

light and heavy-armed; the former assailing them with darts, the latter fighting foot to foot, while the ranks of the Britons, on the other hand, were broken, as they had no covering of breastplates or helmets; and if they resisted the auxiliaries, they were slaughtered by the swords and javelins of the heavy-armed, and by the sabres and spears of the auxiliaries, when they faced the heavy-armed. Glorious was the victory gained that day: the wife and daughter of Caractacus were taken prisoners, his brothers also surrendered at discretion.

36. Caractacus himself sought the protection of Carismandua, queen of the Brigantes, but, as is generally the case, adversity can find no sure refuge; he was delivered up in chains to the conquerors, in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Britain. Whence his renown overpassing the limits of the isles, spread over the neighbouring provinces, and became celebrated even in Italy; where all longed to behold the man, who, for so many years, had defied the Roman arms: not even at Rome was the name of Caractacus unassociated with fame; and the emperor, while exalting his own glory, added to that of the vanquished. For the people were summoned to see him, as a rare spectacle; and the prætorian bands stood under arms in the field before their camp. Then first the servants and followers of the British king moved in procession, and the trappings and collars, and all he had taken in wars with his neighbours; were borne along; next came his brothers, his wife and daughter; and last himself, attracting the gaze of all. All the rest descended to humiliating supplications under the impulse of fear; but Caractacus, who seemed not to solicit compassion either by dejected looks or pitiful expressions, as soon as he was placed before the imperial tribunal, thus spoke:

37. "If my moderation in prosperity had been as great as my lineage was noble, and my successes brilliant, I should have entered this city as a friend, rather than as a captive; nor would you then have disdained to receive a prince descended from illustrious ancestors, and the ruler of many nations, into terms of alliance. My present lot, as it is to me ignominious and degrading, so is it a matter of glory and triumph to you. I had men and arms, horses and riches; where is the wonder if I was unwilling to part with them? If you Romans aim at extending your dominion over all mankind, it does not follow that all men should take the yoke upon them. Had I at once been delivered into your hands a prisoner at discretion, neither had my

fall nor your glory been thus signal. If you inflict punishment upon me, the affair will sink into oblivion; but if you preserve my life, I shall form an imperishable record of your clemency." Claudius upon this pardoned him, with his wife, and his brothers. The prisoners released from their chains, did homage to Agrippina also, who at a short distance occupied another throne, in full view of the assembly, with the same expressions of praise and gratitude, as they had employed to the emperor. A spectacle this, strange and unauthorised by the customs of our ancestors, for a woman to preside over the Roman ensigns. She herself claimed to be a partner in the empire which her ancestors had acquired.

38. The senate after this was assembled, when many and pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the capture of Caractacus; it was represented as an event "no less illustrious than when Syphax was by Publius Scipio; Perses by Lucius Paulus, or any other conquered kings were by any of our great captains, presented in chains to the Roman people." To Ostorius the triumphal ornaments were decreed; and thus far his administration had been successful; but it was afterwards chequered with misfortunes; whether it was, that upon the captivity of Caractacus, the war was thought concluded, and therefore less attention was paid to military matters; or that the enemy in compassion for so great a king, sought revenge with more intense ardour. They poured down upon the præfect of the camp and legionary cohorts, left to rear fortified posts amongst the Silures; and but for speedy succours from the neighbouring towns and ports, our troops had then been cut in pieces: as it was, the præfect himself and eight centurions were slain, with the most resolute of the soldiers; and soon after they entirely routed our foragers, and even the troops of horse sent to relieve them.

39. Ostorius then drew out the light-armed cohorts; nor was he thus able to stay the flight; nor would it have been effected had not the legions been brought into the field. By their powerful efforts the balance was first restored, and then turned in our favour. The enemy fled, but, as day was declining, with slight loss. Henceforward there were frequent encounters, many of them resembling skirmishes with plundering parties; sometimes in the woods, sometimes in morasses, as chance or valour led them; on the impulse of the moment, or advisedly; from resentment, or for booty; by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge. The Silures were the most de-

terminated of all; as they were incensed by an expression of the Roman general currently reported amongst them, "that their name must be utterly extinguished, as was that of the Sugambrians, who had been partly slain, and the rest transplanted into Gaul." They therefore cut off two auxiliary cohorts as they were plundering the country without due circumspection, from the avarice of their officers: and by distributing the spoil and captives amongst the neighbouring nations, they were drawing them also into the revolt, when Ostorius sinking under the weight of his anxieties, expired; to the great joy of the enemy, who considered that a formidable general had sunk under the effects of the campaign, though he had not fallen in battle.

40. The emperor apprised of the death of his lieutenant, that the province might not be without a governor, replaced him by Aulus Didius. On his arrival, after a quick voyage, he found that the cause had suffered; for the legion commanded by Manlius Valens had in the mean time sustained a defeat: the report of which was magnified by the enemy, to terrify the new general; and aggravated by Didius himself to gain greater glory, if he quelled the rebellion; or a more plausible apology if it were protracted. This loss too we suffered from the Silures, who were making incursions on all hands, till Didius now set upon them and repulsed them. Their most accomplished leader, since the taking of Caractacus, was Venusius, of the city of the Jugantes, as I have above mentioned; long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms during his marriage with the queen Cartismandua; but being afterwards divorced from her, and then immediately at war with her, he conceived hostile purposes towards us also. Their arms at first were only employed against each other; but the queen having by subtle stratagems possessed herself of the brother and other kindred of Venusius; the enemy became exasperated, and scorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, assembled all their ablest and most warlike youth, and invaded her territories: an event foreseen by us; so that we had sent some cohorts to her aid, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the first onset was doubtful, but the issue successful. A similar fortune attended a battle fought by the legion commanded by Cæsius Nasica. For Didius, oppressed with the weight of years and loaded with honours, was content to act by his lieutenants, and keep the foe in check. All these transactions, though spread over several years, under two proprætors, Ostorius and Didius, I have

connected; lest, if interrupted, they should be less conveniently remembered. I now return to the order of time.

41. During the consulship of Claudius for the fifth time, with Servius Cornelius Orfitus, that Nero might appear qualified for entering upon state affairs, the manly gown was given him while under age. The emperor yielded willingly to the flattering decree of the senate; "that in his twentieth year he should enter on the consulship; and that meanwhile, as consul elect, he should be invested with proconsular authority out of the city, and be styled prince of the Roman youth." Moreover, in Nero's name a largess was bestowed upon the soldiers, and another upon the people: and, at the Circensian games, which were then solemnised, to gain for him the affections of the populace, Britannicus wore the *pretexta*, Nero the triumphal robe, in the procession. So that the people, beholding one in a general's robe, the other in the habit of a boy, might accordingly anticipate the destiny of both. At the same time, such of the centurions and tribunes as manifested any compassion for the lot of Britannicus, were removed; some on pretence of honour, and all upon fictitious grounds: even those of the freedmen whose constancy was impregnable, were discarded on the following opportunity. The two young princes happening to meet, Nero saluted Britannicus by that name, and Britannicus him by that of Domitius. This was represented to Claudius by Agrippina, in a tone of earnest grief, as the first step to dissension; for by it "the adoption of Nero, decreed by the senate and ratified by the people, was repealed within the walls of the palace; and if the knavery of those who suggested these heartburnings were not repressed, it would issue in some public mischief." Claudius, exasperated by these representations, as if the charges were true, punished all the most virtuous of his son's tutors with exile or death; and appointed others, chosen by his stepmother, to watch over him.

42. Agrippina however dared not yet proceed to the accomplishment of her great design, unless Lusius Geta and Rufius Crispinus were first removed from the command of the prætorian cohorts; as she believed that they revered the memory of Messalina, and were devoted to her children. Accordingly, on the strong representation of his wife, "that by the competition of two commanders, the guards were rent into factions; whereas, were they under the authority of one, they would be kept in stricter discipline," Claudius transferred the charge of these bands

to Burrus Afranius, an officer of high repute, but well aware to whose suggestion he owed his advancement. Agrippina also began to assert her pre-eminence more studiously, and even to enter the Capitol in a chariot, a distinction which being of old allowed to none but the priests and things sacred, heightened the reverence of the people for a lady who, as the daughter, mother, sister, and wife of an emperor, had no parallel in the history of previous times. In the midst of this, her principal champion, Vitellius, in the height of favour, and the extremity of age (so precarious is the condition of favourites), was involved in an accusation, by Junius Lupus a senator, who charged him with treason, and aspiring to the diadem. Claudius too would have listened to the charge, had not Agrippina prevailed upon him by menaces rather than prayers to interdict the accuser from fire and water. Vitellius desired no more.

43. Many prodigies happened this year: birds of evil omen settled upon the Capitol; frequent earthquakes occurred, by which many houses were thrown down: and, in the general rush occasioned by the wide-spread panic, all the infirm people were trampled upon. A failure in the crops, and a famine consequent thereupon, was regarded as a prodigy. Nor were the complaints of the populace confined to murmurs; they even gathered round the prince with tumultuous clamours while administering justice, and driving him to the extremity of the Forum, pressed upon him in a violent manner; till at length by means of a compact body of soldiers, he forced his way through the incensed multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome provision only for fifteen days; and it was by the signal bounty of the gods and the mildness of the winter, that the public was relieved in its urgent distress. And yet in former days, distant provinces were furnished with supplies from the districts of Italy; nor at this time was the distress owing to sterility; but we now choose to ply Africa and Egypt; and the lives of the Roman people are made dependent upon ships and casualties.

44. The same year, a war which broke out between the Armenians and Iberians, occasioned the most serious disturbance between the Parthians and Romans. Over the Parthians reigned Vologeses, who, though the son of a Greek concubine, had by the cession of his brothers obtained the diadem. The kingdom of Iberia had been long held by Pharasmanes; and his brother Mithridates was, by our aid and procurement, possessed of Armenia. Pharasmanes had a son named Rhadamistus, of fine stature, and

remarkably powerful; trained up in the politic arts of his father, and in high repute with the neighbouring nations. This man gave vent to his indignation, that the small kingdom of Iberia should be so long detained from him by the protracted life of his father, with too much frequency and passion, for his ambitious views to be concealed: Pharasmanes therefore, reflecting upon his own declining age, and fearing his youthful son, who, possessing all the requisites for power himself, was supported by the affections of his subjects, diverted his aspirations to another object, and held out to him the prospect of gaining Armenia; observing, that "having expelled the Parthians, he had given it to Mithridates: but," he said, "all methods of violence must be postponed, and stratagem resorted to in preference, so as to crush him unawares." Thus Rhadamistus, feigning a quarrel with his father, as if he were overpowered by the malice of his stepmother, withdrew to his uncle; and, while treated by him with much kindness, as though he had been one of his own children, he drew the nobility of Armenia into a revolutionary plot; while Mithridates was ignorant of his conduct, and moreover distinguishing him with favours.

45. Then, under show of being reconciled to his father, he returned, and informed him, "that what might be effected by fraud, was in a train of ready accomplishment; the rest must be executed by military force." Pharasmanes, in the interval, employed himself in framing colourable pretences for hostilities; he declared, "that, having applied to the Romans for aid, while he was at war with the king of the Albanians, his brother opposed it; and this injury he was now about to revenge with the destruction of its author." At the same time, he committed a numerous army to the conduct of his son; who, by a sudden invasion, dismayed Mithridates, drove him from the plains, and forced him to take refuge in the fortress of Gorneas; a place naturally strong, and defended by a garrison of our soldiers, under the command of Celius Pollio the præfect, and Casperius a centurion. In nothing are Barbarians more uninformed than in the use of the implements and devices employed in reducing fortified places; a department of military science with which we are particularly familiar. Thus Rhadamistus, having, without effect, or with loss, attempted to carry the works, commenced a siege, and, when his efforts of force were despised, he bribed the avarice of the præfect, though Casperius implored him "that a confederate king, that Armenia, the gift of the Roman people, might not be



sacrificed to villany and lucre." But at last, Pollio, pleading the multitude of the enemy, and Rhadamistus the orders of his father, the centurion, having stipulated a truce, quitted the place, with the view either of deterring Pharasmanes from pursuing the war, or of informing Numidius Quadratus governor of Syria, of the condition of Armenia.

46. By the departure of the centurion, Pollio being, as it were, discharged from the restraint of a keeper, recommended Mithridates to consent to a treaty, alleging "the ties of the fraternal relation, the seniority of Pharasmanes, and their other bonds of affinity; that he was himself espoused to his brother's daughter, and to Rhadamistus had given his own: that the Iberians, however then superior in forces, were not averse to peace; and the perfidy of the Armenians was sufficiently known: neither had he any other refuge than a castle, destitute of stores: he, therefore, ought not to scruple to prefer bloodless conditions to the casualties of war." But Mithridates, hesitating to adopt this advice, and suspecting the counsels of the governor, as he had debauched a royal concubine, and was regarded as capable of being bribed to the commission of any of the acts which depraved appetites suggest; Casperius, meanwhile, reached Pharasmanes, and pressed him "to recall his Iberians from the siege." To his face he returned him equivocal answers; and frequently such as indicated a relaxation of his purpose, but warned Rhadamistus, by secret messengers, "to push the attack by every means." Hence the price of the treason was augmented to Pollio, who also privately corrupted the soldiers, and prompted them to demand peace, and threaten that they would abandon the garrison. Mithridates, under this compulsion, agreed to the time and place of capitulation, and went out of the castle.

47. Rhadamistus at first rushed into his arms, feigned all the marks of duty and obedience, and called him father and uncle; he even swore that he intended him no violence, either by poison or the sword; and drew him, at the same time, into a neighbouring grove, where the appointed sacrifice, he said, was prepared, that in the presence of the gods their league of peace might be confirmed. It is a custom with these kings, when they form treaties, to join their right hands, and tie their thumbs together, compressing them by a knot; and when the blood has flowed into these extremities, they give it vent by a slight puncture, and suck each other's blood. A league thus executed is esteemed most sacred and inviolable, as

being sealed with the blood of both parties. But upon this occasion, he who was applying the bandage, pretending to fall, seized Mithridates by the knees, and threw him down; at the same time, a number of persons rushing upon him, he was manacled, and, what is considered an indignity by Barbarians, haled along by a chain. The people, too, whom he had ruled with rigour, assailed him with reproaches, and threatened him with blows: some, on the contrary, commiserated so great a reverse of fortune; and his wife, who followed him with his little children, filled every place with her lamentations. They were shut up in different covered carriages, till the pleasure of Pharasmanes was ascertained. With him, the lust of power prevailed over his regard for a brother or daughter; his heart was prepared for every enormity. He, however, avoided the horrid spectacle of murdering them openly. Rhadamistus, too, as if in observance of his oath, employed neither sword nor poison against his sister and uncle; but caused them to be thrown upon the ground, and smothered beneath a quantity of heavy clothes. The children also of Mithridates, for shedding tears over the murder of their parents, were butchered.

48. Quadratus, learning that Mithridates had been the victim of treason, and that they who took his life had possession of his kingdom, summoned a council, and, representing these acts, sought their advice whether he should revenge them. Few were concerned for the public honour; most of them reasoned from considerations of security; "that all the atrocities of foreign nations ought to be matter of joy to the Romans; nay, the seeds of dissension should be sown among them; as frequently the Roman emperors, under colour of bestowing it as a gift, had made that same kingdom of Armenia a means of embroiling the Barbarians: Rhadamistus might continue to hold his ill-gotten acquisitions, provided it was with public detestation and infamy; since thus it served the interest of Rome more effectually, than if he had obtained them with honour." This counsel was adopted; but that they might not seem to assent to the atrocity, and orders should be issued by the emperor to a contrary effect, they despatched a message to Pharasmanes, "to retire from the frontiers of Armenia, and recall his son."

49. Julius Pelignus was then procurator of Cappadocia; a man destitute of mental energy, and equally contemned from the oddity of his person, but in closest intimacy with Claudius, who, while yet a private man, was wont to relieve the dulness of an inactive life with the company of

buffoons. This Pelignus drew together a body of auxiliary forces from the adjacent provinces, as if to reconquer Armenia: but, as he despoiled the allies more than the enemy, he was abandoned by his own men, harassed by the incursions of the Barbarians, and, thus bereft of all defence, he betook himself to Rhadamistus, by whose liberalities he was so overcome, that even unasked he exhorted him to assume the royal diadem, and even assisted in person at that solemnity, as its author and supporter. When this disgraceful intelligence had gone forth, that the character of the other Roman commanders might not be judged of by that of Pelignus, Helvidius Priscus was despatched at the head of a legion, with orders to apply remedies to the present disturbances, according to exigencies. Having, with great rapidity, crossed mount Taurus, he had already restored tranquillity in more instances by mild measures, than by force, when an order came "for his return into Syria, that there might be no occasion of war to the Parthians."

50. For, Vologeses believing that an opportunity now offered for invading Armenia, a kingdom possessed by his ancestors, but now, by an act of atrocity, in the hands of a foreign king, drew together an army, and prepared to conduct his brother Tiridates to the throne; that none of his house might live without imperial power. At the approach of the Parthians, the Iberians fled without a battle, and the Armenian cities of Artaxata and Tigranocerta received the yoke. But, a tempestuous winter, or scanty provision of stores, and the sickness arising from both, constrained Vologeses to relinquish his enterprise: so that the throne of Armenia, being once more vacant, was again invaded by Rhadamistus, now more incensed than before, as against those who had abandoned his cause, and who would rebel again on the first opportunity. But, though inured to servitude, by a sudden effort they shook off their apathy, and beset the palace in arms.

51. Nor was Rhadamistus saved by anything but the fleetness of his horses, which enabled him to escape with his wife. She was advanced in pregnancy, yet, from dread of the enemy, and tenderness for her husband, she bore up, at first, as well as she could, under the fatigue of the flight; but when, from the unremitted rapidity of their progress, her womb became affected by the motion, and internal palpitation arose, she besought him, "to save her by an honourable death from the reproach and misery of captivity." At first, he embraced her, comforted and cheered her, now admiring her heroic spirit, now faint

with fear, lest, if she were left, some other might possess her: at last, from excess of love, and familiarity with deeds of horror, he bared his scimitar, and wounding her, drew her to the banks of the Araxes, when he committed her to the flood; that even her body might be borne away. He himself fled with headlong speed till he reached Iberia, the kingdom of his father. Zenobia, meanwhile, (for such was her name) was descried by shepherds, floating on the still splash, breathing, and with manifest signs of life; and, as they gathered from the dignity of her aspect, that she was of no mean rank, they bound up her wound, and applied their rustic medicines to it. And when they had learnt her name and adventures, they conveyed her to Artaxata; whence, at the public charge, she was conducted to Tiridates, who received her courteously, and treated her with the respect due to royalty.

52. In the consulship of Faustus Sylla and Salvius Otho, Furius Scribonianus suffered exile, as having "consulted the Chaldeans on the term of the prince's life." His mother Junia was arraigned with him, "as having borne with impatience her previous lot;" for she had been banished. Camillus, the father of Scribonianus, had levied war in Dalmatia: Claudius, therefore, courted the merit of clemency in again saving the life of a member of a disaffected family: but the exile did not long survive this proceeding; whether he died a natural death, or by poison, was differently reported, according to people's convictions. For expelling the astrologers from Italy, a decree of senate was passed, severe but powerless. The emperor then delivered a speech in praise of those senators, who, from the narrowness of their fortunes, voluntarily renounced their dignity: but such as adhered to it were degraded, as adding, he said, insolence to poverty.

53. During these transactions, a motion was made in the senate, to inflict a penalty upon ladies who married slaves; and it was ordained, "that she who thus debased herself, without the privity of the master of the slave, should be adjudged a slave; but, where he consented, she should be held as a slave manumitted." To Pallas, who was by Claudius declared to be the originator of this measure, the ornaments of the prætorship, and fifteen millions of sesterces, were adjudged by Barea Soranus, consul elect. Cornelius Scipio added, "that public thanks should be given him; for, that being a descendant from the kings of Arcadia, he postponed his most ancient nobility, to the service of the state, and deigned to be numbered amongst the ministers of the prince." Claudius

gravely assured them, "that Pallas was satisfied with the honour, and would still live in his former poverty." Thus a decree of senate was engraven in brass, in which a franchised slave, possessing three hundred millions of sesterces, about two millions four hundred thousand pounds, was loaded with commendations for his primitive parsimony.

54. His brother, surnamed Felix, for some time governor of Judæa, acted not with the same moderation, but, relying upon such powerful protection, supposed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villany. It must be admitted that the Jews had exhibited some evidence of insurrection in the disturbance which broke out, since, after they were apprised of his assassination, they scarcely returned to obedience: their fears remained lest some of the succeeding emperors might lay the same injunctions upon them. Felix, too, meanwhile, by applying unseasonable remedies, inflamed the disaffection, emulated, as he was, in his abandoned courses, by Ventidius Cumanus, who held part of the province; the division being such, that Galilea was subject to Cumanus, and Samaria to Felix; nations long at variance, and now, from contempt of their rulers, less than ever restraining their reciprocal hate. Accordingly, mutual depredations were committed, bands of robbers employed, ambuscades formed, and sometimes battles fought, and the spoils and booty obtained were given to their governors, who, at first, rejoiced over it; but when the mischief increased, they interposed their troops, and their men were slain; and, but for the aid of Quadratus ruler of Syria, the whole province had been in a blaze of war. Nor, in the proceedings against the Jews, who had carried their violence so far as to kill our soldiers, was there any hesitation about punishing them capitally: but Cumanus and Felix created some delay; for Claudius, upon hearing the causes of the revolt, had also granted a power to try and sentence the governors: but Quadratus, taking Felix up on the tribunal, exhibited him among the judges, to awe the zeal of his accusers: so that Cumanus alone was doomed to punishment, for the crimes which two had committed. Thus the tranquillity of the province was restored.

55. And not long after this, the tribes of Cilician boors, called Clitæans, that had before raised many insurrections, encamped under the conduct of Trosobor, in the district of their rugged mountains, and rushing down from thence upon the maritime regions and the cities, had the boldness to assault the inhabitants and husbandmen, and, in fre-

quent instances, the merchants, and owners of trading vessels. They even besieged the city of Anemurium, and routed a body of horse sent from Syria to its relief, under the command of Curtius Severus: for, the ground was of a rugged and difficult nature, and favourable to the operations of foot, but unsuited to those of cavalry. But afterwards, Antiochus, to whose dominion that coast belonged, having, by courtesies to the people, and by employing stratagem against their leader, broken up the union of the Barbarian forces, put to death Trosobor and a few more of the chiefs, and restored the rest to obedience by methods of clemency.

56. About the same time, a passage having been cut through the mountain between the lake Fucinus and the river Liris; that a greater number of persons might be induced to come and see the magnificence of the work, a sea-fight was got up on the lake itself; in the same manner as Augustus before exhibited one upon an artificial pool on this side the Tiber, but with light ships, and fewer men. Claudius equipped galleys, of three and four banks of oars, and manned them with nineteen thousand mariners; surrounding the space with a line of rafts, to limit the means of escape, but giving room enough, in its circuit, to ply the oars, for the pilots to exert their skill, for the ships to be brought to bear down upon each other, and for all the usual operations in a sea-fight. Upon the rafts, parties of the prætorian guards, foot and horse, were stationed, with bulwarks before them, from which catapults and balistas might be worked: the rest of the lake was occupied by marine forces, stationed on decked ships. The shores, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a countless multitude, many from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome itself; impelled either by desire to witness the spectacle, or in compliment to the prince; and exhibited the appearance of a vast theatre. The emperor presided, in a superb coat of mail, and, not far from him, Agrippina, in a mantle of cloth of gold. The battle, though between malefactors, was fought with the spirit of brave men; and, after a great effusion of blood, they were excused from pursuing the carnage to extremity.

57. When the spectacle was concluded, the channel through which the water passed off was exhibited to view, when the negligence of the workmen became manifest, as the work was not carried to the depth of the bottom or centre of the lake. The excavations were, therefore, after some time, extended to a greater depth; and, to draw the

multitude once more together, a show of gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it, in order to display a fight of infantry. Moreover, an erection for the purpose of a banquet, at the embouchure of the lake, occasioned great alarm to the whole assembly; for, the force of the water rushing out, carried away whatever was near it, shook and sundered what was more distant, or terrified the guests with the crash and noise. At the same time, Agrippina, converting the emperor's alarm to her purposes, charged Narcissus, the director of the work, with avarice and robbery: nor did Narcissus suppress his indignation, but charged Agrippina with "the overbearing spirit of her sex, and with extravagant ambition."

58. During the consulship of Decimus Junius and Quintus Haterius, Nero, now in the sixteenth year of his age, espoused Octavia the daughter of Claudius; and, to give his character the lustre of a devotion to honourable pursuits, and the fame of eloquence, he undertook the cause of the Ilians, and, having floridly represented the Romans as descendants from Troy, and Æneas as the founder of the Julian race, with other old traditions not very unlike fables, he obtained, for the Ilians, immunity from all public charges. By the rhetoric of the same advocate, the colony of Bononia, which had suffered grievously by fire, was relieved by a bounty of ten millions of sesterces. To the Rhodians, too, was restored their liberty, which had been often withdrawn and re-established, according as they obliged us by their assistance in foreign wars, or provoked us by their seditions at home: and, to the city of Apamea, overturned by an earthquake, a remission of tribute for five years was granted.

59. Claudius, on the contrary, was compelled to propose all the measures of excessive cruelty, by the arts of that same Agrippina, who, as she longed for the gardens of Statilius Taurus, a nobleman of distinguished wealth, procured his ruin by an accusation conducted by Tarquiti-  
us Priscus, who was the lieutenant of Taurus, when he was proconsul of Africa, and who, on their return, brought against him a few charges of public plunder, but eked them out with that of magical practices. Taurus, unable longer to endure the malice of the false accuser, and the ignominy of imputed guilt, without waiting for the decision of the senate, laid violent hands upon himself. Tarquiti-  
us was, however, expelled the senate: a point which, impelled by detestation of the informer, the fathers succeeded in carrying as a check to the intrigues of Agrippina.

60. This year, the prince was frequently heard to de-

clare, "that the judicial decisions of the imperial procurators ought to be regarded as equally valid with his own; and, that he might not seem to have uttered this sentiment unadvisedly, a decree of the senate also was passed, providing for it more explicitly and fully than heretofore: for, the deified Augustus had ordained, that the knights who ruled Egypt should act judicially, and that the decisions pronounced by them should be equally valid with those of the Roman magistrates: soon after, this jurisdiction of the knights was extended to other provinces; and, even in Rome itself, many things formerly taken cognisance of by the prætors, were passed over to them. Claudius now conferred upon them universal jurisdiction; that same jurisdiction for which so many seditions had been raised, and so much blood shed, when, by the Sempronian law, the equestrian order was invested with the power of judicature, and when, again, the Servilian law gave it back to the senate, and when, too, it formed the chief incitement of the wars between Marius and Sylla. But, in those days, different orders of the state were opposed to each other, and the party that prevailed determined public regulations according to their pleasure. Caius Oppius and Cornelius Balbus were the first individuals who, by the influence of Cæsar, were enabled to settle the terms of peace, and dictate in affairs of war. It would be to no purpose to recount, after these, the Matii and Vedii, and the names of other Roman knights, to which a predominant influence was attached, when Claudius put upon an equality with himself and the laws, the freedmen whom he had set over his household affairs.

61. He then proposed to grant to the inhabitants of Cos an immunity from impositions, and gave a copious account of their antiquity; "how the Argives, or Cœus, the father of Latona, first settled in that island; and that soon after, the healing art was introduced there by the arrival of Æsculapius; an art, cultivated chiefly amongst his descendants:" whose names he severally rehearsed, marking the times in which each flourished. He moreover stated, that "Xenophon, his own physician, was a branch of the same family, and to his supplications it ought to be granted, that his countrymen, the people of Cos, should be for ever discharged from all tribute, and only attend to the cultivation of an island sacred to that deity, and solely dedicated to his service." Nor is there any question, that many good offices of theirs towards the Roman people, might have been alleged, and even victories gained by their aid; but Claudius, with his usual complaisance, did



not disguise by auxiliary considerations derived from any other source, a concession he had resolved to make to one individual.

62. The deputies from Byzantium, when on their hearing before the senate, they prayed relief from their heavy impositions, recapitulated everything from the first, beginning with the league which they had struck with us, what time we maintained a war against that king of Macedon, who from his degeneracy was surnamed Pseudophilippus: the forces sent by them subsequently against Antiochus, Perses, and Aristonicus: the assistance given to Antonius in the piratical war; with the aids offered to Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey; then the recent services to the Cæsars, when they occupied those regions which were convenient at once for securing the transit of our generals and armies, and the conveyance of provisions.

63. For Byzantium was founded by the Greeks, at the extreme verge of Europe, upon the very narrow strait which separates Europe from Asia. Thither the founders were directed by an oracle of the Pythian Apollo, who, when asked by them where they should build a city, replied, "that they should seek a situation opposite to the habitations of blind men." By this riddle the Chalcedonians were intimated; who, having come before them into those parts, and seen before them the advantages of this shore, had yet chosen an inferior place. For Byzantium is situated on a fertile soil and a productive sea; for countless shoals of fish, which, pouring out of the Pontus, shun the curvature of the other coast, as they are frightened by the slanting rocks beneath the waters, are brought directly to these ports. Whence at first the gain and wealth of the Byzantines; but, afterwards oppressed by the amount of their impositions, they now besought that they might be extinguished or reduced; the emperor supporting their petition, who represented them as having lately suffered in the war of Thrace, and in that of Bosphorus, and as deserving relief. They were therefore discharged from tribute for five years.

64. In the consulship of Marcus Asinius and Marcus Acilius, the frequency of prodigies was considered as portending a change of affairs for the worse. The ensigns of the soldiers and their tents were scorched with fire from heaven: a swarm of bees settled upon the cupola of the Capitol: children were born of compound forms; and a pig was farrowed with the talons of a hawk. Amongst the prodigies also was reckoned, that the number of every order of magistrates was then curtailed; a quæstor, an

ædile, a tribune, a prætor, and a consul, being all deceased within a few months. . But, great above all was the fear of Agrippina: in consequence of a saying of Claudius, uttered heedlessly in his wine, "that he was fated to bear the iniquities of his wives, and then to punish them;" whence she determined to be on the alert, and prevent him; but first to destroy Domitia Lepida, from motives peculiar to her sex. For Lepida, who was the daughter of the younger Antonia, the great-niece of Augustus, and sister to Cnæius Domitius (once husband to the present Agrippina), accounted herself of equal nobility with the other: neither did they differ much in beauty, age, or wealth: both lewd, infamous, and tyrannical; nor less rivals in vice than in such advantages as they derived from fortune. Vehement indeed was the contention between them, whether the aunt or mother should acquire the predominance with Nero: for Lepida laboured to engage his youthful mind, by caresses and liberalities; while Agrippina, on the contrary, treated him with sternness and threats; for though she could confer the sovereignty upon her son, she could not bend to his authority.

65. But to proceed; the crimes charged upon Lepida were, "that she had assailed by imprecations the emperor's marriage-bed; and by neglecting to restrain the tumultuous behaviour of her bands of slaves in Calabria, disturbed the peace of Italy." For these imputations she was doomed to die, notwithstanding the laboured opposition of Narcissus, who was now become more and more suspicious of Agrippina; insomuch that he is said to have disclosed to his acquaintances, "that certain destruction awaited him, whether Britannicus or Nero succeeded to the empire; but such had been the favour of the emperor towards him, that for the benefit of his master he would lay down his life. Under Claudius he had procured the conviction and doom of Messalina and of Silius: and under Nero (if Nero came to reign) there would be similar grounds for accusation; if Britannicus succeeded, he had no claim to favour from him. The imperial house was now torn piecemeal by the intrigues of a step-mother; and to conceal them would involve a deeper guilt than to have suppressed the lewdness of the emperor's former wife, though neither in truth was his present wife free from prostitution, as Pallas was notoriously her adulterer; so that no man could doubt that she holds in contempt her character, her chastity, her person, everything, in comparison with dominion." While uttering these and similar sentiments with deep emotion, he embraced Britannicus,

and "prayed that he might as speedily as possible attain to maturity and vigour;" his hands now uplifted to the gods, now extended towards the young prince, he exclaimed, "Oh! that he may arrive at man's estate. Oh! may he put to flight the enemies of his father! Aye, and be revenged even on the murderers of his mother!"

66. In the midst of this vast accumulation of anxieties, Claudius was attacked with illness, and for the recovery of his health had recourse to the soft air and salubrious waters of Sinuessa. It was then that Agrippina, long since bent upon the impious deed, and eagerly seizing the present occasion, well furnished too as she was with wicked agents, deliberated upon the nature of the poison she would use: whether, "if it were sudden and instantaneous in its operation, the desperate achievement would not be brought to light: if she chose materials slow and consuming in their operations, whether Claudius, when his end approached, and perhaps having discovered the treachery, would not resume his affection for his son." Something of a subtle nature was therefore resolved upon, "such as would disorder his brain and require time to kill." An experienced artist in such preparations was chosen, her name Locusta; lately condemned for poisoning, and long reserved as one of the instruments of ambition. By this woman's skill the poison was prepared: to administer it was assigned to Halotus, one of the eunuchs, whose office it was to serve up the emperor's repasts, and prove the viands by tasting them.

67. In fact, all the particulars of this transaction were soon afterwards so thoroughly known, that the writers of those times are able to recount, "how the poison was poured into a dish of mushrooms, of which he was particularly fond; but whether it was that his senses were stupified, or from the wine he had drunk, the effect of the poison was not immediately perceived:" at the same time a relaxation of the intestines seemed to have been of service to him: Agrippina therefore became dismayed; but as her life was at stake, she thought little of the odium of her present proceedings, and called in the aid of Xenophon the physician, whom she had already implicated in her guilty purposes. It is believed that he, as if he purposed to assist Claudius in his efforts to vomit, put down his throat a feather besmeared with deadly poison; not unaware that in desperate villainies the attempt without the deed is perilous, to insure the reward they must be done effectually at once.

68. The senate was in the meantime assembled, and the

consuls and pontiffs were offering vows for the recovery of the emperor, when, already dead, he was covered with clothes, and warm applications to hide it till matters were arranged for securing the empire to Nero. First there was Agrippina, who feigning to be overpowered with grief, and anxiously seeking for consolation, clasped Britannicus in her arms, called him "the very model of his father," and by various artifices withheld him from leaving the chamber: she likewise detained Antonia and Octavia, his sisters; and had closely guarded all the approaches to the palace: from time to time too she gave out that the prince was on the mend; that the soldiery might entertain hopes till the auspicious moment, predicted by the calculations of the astrologers, should arrive.

69. At last, on the thirteenth day of October, at noon, the gates of the palace were suddenly thrown open, and Nero, accompanied by Burrus, went forth to the cohort, which, according to the custom of the army, was keeping watch. There, upon a signal made by the præfect, he was received with shouts of joy, and instantly put into a litter. It is reported, that there were some who hesitated, looking back anxiously, and frequently asking, where was Britannicus? but as no one came forward to oppose it, they embraced the choice which was offered them. Thus Nero was borne to the camp; where, after a speech suitable to the exigency, and the promise of a largess equal to that of the late emperor his father, he was saluted emperor. The voice of the soldiers was followed by the decrees of the senate; nor was there any hesitation in the several provinces. To Claudius were decreed divine honours, and his funeral obsequies were solemnised with the same pomp as those of the deified Augustus; Agrippina emulating the magnificence of her great-grandmother Livia. His will however was not rehearsed, lest the preference of the son of his wife to his own son, might excite the minds of the people by its injustice and baseness.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK XIII.

THE first death under the new prince was that of Junius Silanus, proconsul of Asia; it was brought about by the stratagems of Agrippina, without the privity of Nero: it was not that he had provoked his fate by turbulence of spirit, having lived in such a state of indolence and even contempt, during the late reigns, that Caligula was wont to call him the golden sheep. But Agrippina feared that he might avenge the murder of his brother Lucius Silanus, at her hands: a rumour being current that as "Nero had scarcely arrived at manhood, and had acquired the empire by iniquity, a man like Silanus, of staid and mature age, of unblemished character, of illustrious descent, and (what was then much looked to) of the lineage of the Cæsars, was to be preferred to him." For Silanus was also the great-grandson of the deified Augustus. Such was the cause of his doom: the instruments were Publius Celer, a Roman knight, and Helius, a freedman; both employed to manage the emperor's domestic revenue in Asia. By them poison was administered to the proconsul at a banquet, so openly, that they could not escape detection. With no less precipitation Narcissus, the late emperor's freedman, whose vituperations of Agrippina I have related, was driven to put an end to his existence, by rigorous imprisonment and the extremity of destitution. This proceeding took place in opposition to the wishes of the prince, whose vices, as yet undeveloped, were marvellously assimilated to the avarice and prodigality which marked the character of Narcissus.

2. And they were proceeding to more deeds of blood, had not Afranius Burrus and Annæus Seneca presented an obstacle to it. They were the tutors of the emperor's youth; lived in harmony with each other; which is rarely the case with associates in power; and possessed an equal influence, arising from accomplishments of a different kind. Burrus was distinguished for his assiduous attention to mili-

tary affairs, and strictness of moral discipline; Seneca for his lessons in eloquence, and the elegant propriety of his manners: each assisting the other, that they might the more easily restrain the prince, at his perilous time of life, within the limits of unforbidden pleasures, should he be disinclined to virtuous pursuits. One constant struggle they had both to maintain against the fierce spirit of Agrippina, who burning with every lust of lawless dominion, was supported in her designs by Pallas; at whose instance Claudius, by an incestuous marriage and a disastrous adoption, had worked his own ruin. But Nero's temper was not to be controlled by slaves; and Pallas having exceeded the limits of a freedman's license, had by his insufferable arrogance moved the disgust of Nero. Upon Agrippina however, in public, he accumulated all kinds of honours; and to a tribune who, according to military practice, desired the word, gave 'the best of mothers;' by the senate too two lictors were decreed her, with the office of priestess to Claudius. At the same time a censorial funeral was decreed to Claudius, and soon afterwards deification.

3. On the day of the funeral, the encomium of the prince was pronounced by Nero; and while he recorded the antiquity of his lineage, the consulships, the triumphs of his ancestors, he spoke with fervour, and the whole assembly listened with deep emotion; the mention also of his liberal accomplishments, and the observation that during his reign no calamity from foreigners had befallen the state, met with a ready response in the minds of the auditory. But when once he deviated into a commemoration of his wisdom and foresight, not a soul could refrain from laughter; though the speech, which was the composition of Seneca, exhibited many indications of a cultivated taste, for the genius of that distinguished man was graceful and agreeable, and suited to the ears of the age in which he lived. Old men, who make it their recreation to compare the present and the past, took notice, that Nero was the first Roman emperor who required the aid of another's eloquence: for, Cæsar the dictator rivalled the most distinguished orators; and the eloquence of Augustus was prompt and flowing, as became a prince: Tiberius also possessed the art, so far as nicely balancing his words; his meaning too was forcibly expressed when he did not study to be ambiguous: even the disordered mind of Caligula impaired not his power of speaking: nor in Claudius would you desiderate elegance whenever his speech was premeditated: Nero from his early childhood turned his vivid intellect

to other pursuits, carving, painting, singing, and the manege; sometimes too, in the composition of poems, he showed that he was initiated in the elements of literature.

4. To proceed: having finished these mockeries of sorrow, he repaired to the senate, where, after referring to the authority of the fathers, and the concurrence of the soldiery, he set forth the counsels and models by following which he hoped to administer the affairs of empire in the best manner; his youth, he said, had not been mixed up with civil dissensions or domestic broils: he brought with him no animosities, no sense of injuries received, no desire of revenge. He then laid down his future plan of government; pointedly repudiating those practices, the odium of which was still fresh and vehement; "for," he said, "he would not be the judge in all affairs, in order that, the accusers and the accused being shut up in one house, the influence of a few favourites might bear down everything. In his house there should be nothing venal; nothing pervious to the arts of ambition; that his family concerns and the affairs of the state, should be kept distinct. The senate should retain its ancient functions: that Italy, and the provinces of the people, should address themselves to the tribunals of the consuls, and they should give them access to the senate. He would himself provide for the provinces and the armies committed to the prince."

5. Nor did he fail in his professions; many regulations were made by the independent authority of the senate; such as, that no advocate should defend a cause for fee or reward; that the quæstors-elect even should be no longer obliged to exhibit gladiatorial spectacles. All which was opposed by Agrippina, as rescinding the acts of Claudius; but was carried by the fathers, who were designedly assembled in the palace, that she might take her stand by a door which was covered on the back with tapestry, separated from them by a curtain which intercepted the sight but did not prevent her hearing. Nay, when the ambassadors from Armenia were pleading before Nero the cause of their nation, she was proceeding to ascend the imperial tribunal, and to preside jointly with the emperor, if Seneca, while the rest fixed their eyes immovably upon the earth through fear, had not suggested to him "to meet his mother." Thus, under the guise of filial reverence, this indignity was prevented.

6. At the close of the year, alarming reports reached the city, "that the Parthians having broke out into fresh hostilities, were seizing Armenia, having expelled Rhada-

mistus," who, having often made himself master of that kingdom, and as often been compelled to abandon it, had now too quitted the field. At Rome, therefore, where the people are so eager to gossip, they began to inquire, "how a prince scarce passed his seventeenth year, could undertake so heavy a charge; how ward off the menaced danger? what dependence could the state repose in one governed by a woman? could battles too be fought, towns stormed, and all the other operations of war be conducted by means of his tutors?" Others, on the contrary, maintained "that it was better thus than if Claudius, under all the defects of old age and a naturally inactive spirit, had been summoned to the cares and fatigues of a campaign, subject as he would have been to the commands of slaves. Burrus and Seneca were known for men of consummate experience in affairs; and to the emperor himself how little was wanting of mature age; when Pompey, in his eighteenth year, and Octavius Cæsar in his nineteenth, each sustained the weight of a civil war? that many military operations were conducted more successfully under the auspices and counsels of princes, than if they were present themselves, bearing arms, and fighting with their own hands: Nero would give a manifest proof whether he employed worthy or unworthy counsellors; if, uninfluenced by the suggestions of jealousy, he chose a general pre-eminent for his virtues, rather than yielding to the arts of court intrigue, selected one recommended by his wealth and supported by interest."

7. While the public were occupied in these and similar remarks, Nero ordered the recruits, raised through the neighbouring provinces to supply the legions in the east, to be brought up, and the legions themselves to be posted near to Armenia: and those ancient kings, Agrippa and Antiochus, to draw out their forces to invade the territories of the Parthians; and also that bridges should be thrown over the Euphrates. To Aristobulus he committed the lesser Armenia; and the region of Sophene to Sohemus, with the insignia of royalty. There arose too a rival to Vologeses in the person of his son, Vardanes: hence the Parthians withdrew from Armenia, as if they meant to postpone the war.

8. But, in the senate, all this was spoken of in exaggerated terms by such as voted "supplications, and that on the days of the supplications the prince should wear the triumphal robe; that he should enter the city in ovation, and that a statue should be erected to him of the same dimensions with that of Mars the Avenger, and in



the same temple." Besides the habit of adulation, they were impelled by joy that he had appointed Domitius Corbulo for the duty of retaining Armenia; it seemed to open a place and standing for virtue. The forces in the east were so divided, that part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, should remain in Syria, under the command of Ummidius Quadratus, governor of the province; that an equal number of Romans and allies should be with Corbulo, with an addition of the cohorts and cavalry that wintered in Cappadocia. The confederate kings were directed to act in submission to their orders, according to the exigencies of the war: but their affections were more devoted to Corbulo; who, in subservience to fame, which in all infant enterprises exercises a most potent sway, marched with great expedition; but at Ægææ, a city of Cilicia, he was met by Quadratus, who advanced thither, lest Corbulo, if he had entered Syria to receive his forces there, should draw upon him the eyes of all men; majestic as he was in person, an effective speaker, and, in addition to his wisdom and experience, deriving influence from the imposing effect of things worthless in themselves.

9. Both however warned Vologeses by messages, "to prefer peace to war, and by delivering hostages to continue to the Roman people the reverence wont to be paid by his ancestors." Vologeses, to give himself the opportunity to prepare for war, or under the name of hostages to get rid of suspected rivals, handed over the most illustrious of the Arsacidæ; who were received by Insteius, the centurion, who went to the king for that purpose, having as it happened been sent there on some previous business by Numidius. When Corbulo knew this, he ordered Arrius Varus, præfect of a cohort, to go and take them; hence a quarrel arose between the centurion and the præfect; but, to prevent the continuance of such an exhibition to foreign nations, it was left to the arbitration of the hostages themselves and the deputies who conducted them: and they preferred Corbulo, in regard of his recent fame, and from a kind of prepossession even in enemies. This led to a dissension between the generals: Numidius complained that the acquisitions of his prudence were snatched out of his hands; Corbulo, on the contrary, maintained that the king had not been induced to give hostages, till he, being appointed to conduct the war, had changed his hopes into fear. Nero, to heal the difference, ordered it to be made known, "that for the successes of Quadratus and Corbulo, the laurel should be added to the imperial fasces."

Though these transactions extended to the years of other consuls, I have given them in succession.

10. The same year, Nero applied to the senate for a statue to his father Domitius, and for the consular ornaments to Asconius Labeo, who had been his tutor. Statues to himself of solid silver and gold he forbid, in opposition to those who offered them; and, notwithstanding an ordinance of senate, that the year for the future should begin in December, the month in which Nero was born, he retained the ancient solemnity of beginning the year with the calends of January. Neither would he admit a prosecution against Carinas Celer the senator, preferred by a slave; nor against Julius Densus, a knight, whose attachment to Britannicus was objected to him as a crime.

11. In the consulship of Nero and Lucius Antistius, as the magistrates were swearing upon the acts of the emperors, Nero prohibited Antistius, his colleague, from swearing upon his: a conduct highly applauded by the fathers, in order that his youthful mind, elevated by the glory resulting from even light things, might proceed in that course. Then followed an instance of his mercy towards Plautius Lateranus, formerly degraded from the senatorial order for adultery with Messalina, whom he now restored: pledging himself to clemency in frequent speeches, which, either to show the purity of the precepts he instilled, or in ostentation of his talents, Seneca gave to the world by the mouth of the emperor.

12. Meanwhile, the authority of his mother became gradually impaired, Nero having fallen in love with a freedwoman, named Acte, having also taken as his confidants Otho and Claudius Senecio; the first of a consular family, the other a son of one of Claudius's freedmen; two handsome lads, who first, unknown to his mother, and then in spite of her, by companionship in luxury and in suspicious secrets, had insinuated themselves deep into his good graces: nor did even his older friends thwart this intrigue; when with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the prince satisfied his youthful inclinations and pleasures: for he abominated Octavia his wife, a woman of illustrious birth, and approved virtue, whether it was from some fatality, or that forbidden pursuits were more attractive with him. And it was feared that, if prohibited this indulgence, he might throw off all restraints and assail the virtue of illustrious females.

13. But Agrippina, with the impatience of her sex, gave vent to her indignation, "that a freedwoman was brought

into competition with her, and that a handmaid was her daughter-in-law," with other similar invectives: she would not wait till her son repented, or was surfeited; but the fouler her reproaches were, the more vehemently she inflamed his passion: so that, overcome at last by its influence, he put off all reverence for his mother, and submitted himself to the direction of Seneca, whose friend Anneus Serenus threw a veil over the prince's youthful passion for Acte, by feigning to be enamoured of her himself, and lending his name, to all appearance bestowed upon her the presents which Nero secretly furnished. Upon this Agrippina resorted to other arts, and assailed the youth with blandishments: she offered him "her own chamber, that there, and even within her own arms, he might more covertly accomplish whatever the warmth of youth and sovereign fortune prompted him to." She even acknowledged her unseasonable rigour, and placed at his disposal her own wealth; which was not far short of the imperial treasures: as she had lately been over-strict in checking her son, so now on the other hand running into the extreme of submissive indulgence. Nero remarked this change; his most confidential friends dreaded it, and besought him, "to beware of treachery in a woman habitually daring, and now acting under a mask." It happened about that time, that as Nero was surveying the splendid apparel in which the wives and mothers of the emperors were wont to glitter, he selected a vesture and jewels, and sent them as a present to his mother, in a spirit of unreserved liberality; for without solicitation he presented to her the choicest things, and what others coveted: but Agrippina openly asserted "that the effect of these presents was not to furnish her own wardrobe, but preclude her from the rest of the imperial treasures; and that her son gave her only a portion of what he owed wholly to her." Nor were there wanting those who related these expressions to her with aggravations.

14. Nero, incensed with those who upheld the imperious spirit of Agrippina, dismissed Pallas from the employment which he had received from Claudius, and in consequence of which he assumed to be the absolute master of the empire: and it is reported that, as he went down from the palace, with a numerous train of followers, Nero remarked not inappropriately, that "Pallas was going to swear himself insolvent." Pallas had, certainly, stipulated "that he should be questioned for no part of his past conduct; and that his accounts with the public should be considered as balanced." After this Agrippina aban-

doned herself to a system of terrorism and menace, and went so far as even to protest in the emperor's hearing: "that Britannicus was now grown up, a genuine issue, and worthy to succeed to that empire of his father, which a son adopted and engrafted, swayed by trampling upon his mother: she was not unwilling that all the calamities of the hapless house should be laid bare; above all, her own incestuous marriage, her own guilt in poisoning her husband: one only resource, by the providence of the gods and her own foresight, remained to her—her stepson was still alive: with him she would repair to the camp; where, on one side, would be heard the daughter of Germanicus, on the other, the impotent Burrus and the exile Seneca, one with a maimed hand, the other with the tongue of a pedagogue, pressing their claim to govern the world." At the same time she shook her fists at him, heaped reproaches upon him, invoked the deified Claudius, the manes of the Silani in the regions below, and recounted the many atrocities she had perpetrated to no purpose.

15. Nero was discomposed at these proceedings, and as the day was approaching when Britannicus completed his fourteenth year, he revolved within himself, now upon the ungovernable spirit of his mother, now upon the natural parts of the prince himself, as they were lately discovered and proved by an incident of slight consequence in itself, but by which he had attracted general favour. During the festival of the Saturnalia, among other sports practised by those of the same age with him, they drew lots who should be king of the play, when the lot fell upon Nero: he therefore gave to all the rest distinct commands, yet such as exposed them to no ridicule: and when he ordered Britannicus to rise, and advancing to the centre to begin some song, he expected that the boy would become an object of derision, unhabituated as he was to sober society, and much more so to drunken revels; but with perfect self-possession he pronounced some verses, which imported how "he was thrown out of his father's throne and imperial power." Hence he drew compassion from those who heard him, the more unequivocal, as the midnight hour and extravagant mirth had banished dissimulation. Nero, struck with the invidious application, conceived a still stronger aversion to him; and, urged to despatch by the menaces of Agrippina, as he had no crime to allege against his brother, and dared not command his execution openly, he set about a secret machination: he ordered poison to be prepared; and as his instrument employed Julius Pollio, tribune of a prætorian cohort, in whose cus-

tody was kept the woman named Locusta, who was under sentence for poisoning, and was notorious for her many iniquities. For care had been long since taken that those who were about the person of Britannicus should be such as had no sense of virtue or honour. The first poison he took was even administered by the hands of his tutors, but he voided it in an alvine evacuation; whether it wanted energy, or had been qualified so as not to act with sudden violence. Nero, who was impatient at the tardy execution of the guilty deed, began to threaten the tribune, and doom the sorceress to execution, "for that whilst they were looking to public opinion, and meditating the means of clearing themselves, they impeded his security." They then undertook to despatch him, as instantaneously as if he were run through with a sword; and in a chamber next to the emperor's, the deadly potion was seethed, compounded of poisons whose rapid action had been proved.

16. It was a custom for the children of princes, with other young nobles, to eat their meals in a sitting posture, in the sight of their friends, at a table of their own and less costly. Britannicus thus taking his food; forasmuch as whatever he ate or drank, was first tasted by a special officer; that neither this usage might be omitted, nor by the death of both, the iniquity be detected, the following artifice was concerted. A cup of drink, as yet harmless, and tried by the taster, but scalding hot, was handed to Britannicus; and when he refused it on account of its being too hot, cold water was poured into it, containing a poison which so completely entered his whole system that he was at once bereft of speech and breath. Fear and trembling seized his companions; such as comprehended not the mystery, made off instantly, but those of deeper discernment remained, with their eyes fixed steadfastly upon Nero; who, as he lay in a reclining posture, declared, with an air of unconsciousness, "that he was used to be so affected by reason of the falling sickness, with which Britannicus from his early childhood had been afflicted; and that by degrees his sight and senses would return." But in Agrippina such tokens of alarm and consternation discovered themselves, though by her looks she laboured to suppress them, that it was manifest she was as much a stranger to the affair as his own sister Octavia: and well they might, for she was sensible that her last refuge was torn from her, and that here was a precedent for parricide. Octavia too, though in the artlessness of youth, had learnt to hide her grief, her tenderness, and every

other affection. Accordingly, after a short silence, the delights of the banquet were resumed.

17. One night coupled the murder of Britannicus and his funeral pile; for the appointments for his burial, which were on a moderate scale, had been prepared beforehand. He was however buried in the Campus Martius, during such tempestuous rains that the populace believed them to be denunciations of the wrath of the gods against the deed; a deed which even many men excused, considering the dissensions which have ever existed between brothers, and that sovereign power admits no partner. It is related by most of the writers of those times, that on frequent occasions before the murder, Nero had abused the person of the youthful Britannicus: so that after this, his death cannot appear premature or horrifying, though during the sacred ceremonies of the table, so that his sister had not a moment for a last embrace, and under the eye of an enemy, it was hastily inflicted on this last representative of the Claudian family, who had been polluted by unnatural lust before he perished by poison. Nero, by an edict, justified the hurrying of the obsequies: alleging that it was an institution of our ancestors, "to withdraw from the sight the bodies of such as died prematurely, and not lengthen the solemnity by encomiums and processions: for the rest, having in Britannicus lost the support of a brother, he now rested all his hopes in the commonwealth; and hence with the greater tenderness ought the senate and people to cherish a prince, who alone survived of a family born to sovereignty." He then bestowed additional presents on his most confidential friends.

18. Nor were there wanting such as censured men who, setting up for gravity and wisdom, parted amongst themselves, on that occasion, palaces and villas like spoils: others believed that they were constrained to accept them, by the emperor, who was conscious of his guilt, and hoped for impunity if by largesses he engaged in his interest the most powerful men in the state. But his mother's resentment could not be assuaged by any acts of munificence; but she attached herself more closely to Octavia, held frequent conferences with her confidants in secret; with more than her inherent avarice, scraped together money from every source, as if to form a reserved fund; courteously entertained the tribunes and centurions, and honoured the names and virtues of the few nobles who still remained, as if she were seeking a party to support her and a leader. Nero was apprised of this; and therefore the guards which attended at her gate as consort to the late empe-

ror, and were continued to her as mother of the present, he ordered to withdraw, together with the band of Germans which, as an additional honour, had been joined to the former: moreover, to prevent her being followed by such a throng of courtiers, he separated her habitation from his, and removed her to the house which had belonged to Antonia: as often as he visited her there, he was surrounded by a crowd of officers, and after a hasty salute, departed.

19. Of all human things, none is so unstable and transitory, as the reputation of influence which depends not upon its own inherent strength: instantly the threshold of Agrippina was deserted; none consoled her, none visited her, except some few ladies, whether from affection or hate is uncertain. Amongst these was Junia Silana, who was through Messalina divorced from Caius Silius, as I have related before; she was distinguished for family, beauty, and lewdness, and long on the most affectionate terms with Agrippina: but, between them afterwards secret heart-burnings arose; for Sextius Africanus, a noble youth, had been deterred from marrying Silana by Agrippina, who urged, "that she was lewd, and past her prime:" not that she might reserve Africanus for herself, but lest he should, as she had no children, get possession of her wealth. Silana, a prospect of vengeance presenting itself, instructed two of her own creatures, Iturius and Calvisius, to accuse her: neither did she attack her with stale charges often before alleged, such "as bewailing the fate of Britannicus, and publishing the wrongs done to Octavia; but with a design of inciting Rubellius Plautus to effect a change in the state; as, by his mother, he was in blood as near as Nero to the deified Augustus; and by espousing him, of once more seizing the commonwealth." This Iturius and Calvisius imparted to Atimetus, freedman to Domitia, Nero's aunt. Atimetus, rejoicing at the opportunity, (for between Agrippina and Domitia a bitter rivalry was maintained) instigated Paris the player, who was also Domitia's freedman, to proceed with all haste, "and represent the charge to the emperor as a horrible affair."

20. Night was far advanced, and Nero was lengthening it out in carousing, when Paris entered: under other circumstances, he was wont at such seasons to be occupied in promoting the prince's amusements; but now, with a face framed to sadness, he laid before Nero an orderly detail of the evidence; which so terrified him, that he not only determined the death of his mother and of Plautus, but also to remove Burrus from the command of the

guards, as owing his promotion to the interest of Agrippina, and now rendering her a return for it. Fabius Rusticus states, "that to Cæcina Thuscus a note was despatched, committing to him the command of the prætorian cohorts; but that by the interest of Seneca, Burrus retained his dignity." Cluvius and Pliny say, no suspicion was entertained of the fidelity of the præfect; but it must be owned Fabius manifests a bias in favour of Seneca, by whose friendship he flourished: as for myself, adopting that in which authors are agreed, I shall give the statements in which they differ, under their respective names. Nero, alarmed and eager to make away with his mother, could not be brought to defer his purpose, till Burrus undertook for her execution, in case she was convicted of the crime: "but," Burrus remarked, that "to every one, a liberty of defence must be granted; much more to a mother; nor, indeed, did any accusers appear; the only evidence they had was the assertion of one man, who came from a house hostile to the accused: the darkness of the night turned into day in feasting, the state of recklessness and stupidity into which all were sunk at such a time, threw discredit on the charge."

21. The emperor's fears being thus assuaged, and day returned, recourse was had to Agrippina herself, to apprise her of the charges, that she might dissipate them or suffer for them. Burrus, in the presence of Seneca, executed this commission; there attended also some of the freedmen, to watch the conference. Burrus, after he had laid the charges before her, and given her the names of their authors, proceeded to high words and menaces. Agrippina, with her wonted fierceness, said, "I wonder not that Silana, who never bore a child, should be a stranger to the affections of a mother; for, in truth, children are not so easily renounced by their parents, as adulterers are changed by a profligate: nor, because Iturius and Calvisius, after having consumed their whole fortunes, as a last resource, pay back to an old woman their services in undertaking my accusation, as an equivalent for their hire, does it follow that I am to be branded with the infamy, or that Cæsar should conceive the guilt of parricide. As to Domitia, I would thank her for all the efforts of her enmity to me, if she strove to exceed me in kindness to my Nero. At present, by the ministration of Atimetus her minion, and of Paris the player, she is framing plots as it were for the stage. She was adorning the fishponds of her own Baiæ, when by my counsels his adoption into the Claudian name, the proconsular au-



thority, his designation to the consulship, and all the other measures necessary for acquiring the empire were planning. Say if there is a man who will come forward and charge me, either with practising upon the guards at Rome, or with shaking the allegiance of the provinces, or with seducing the prince's slaves and freedmen to treason. If Britannicus had been sovereign, could I have preserved my life? On the other hand, if Plautus or any other were to gain the supreme rule, and thence a power of pronouncing judgment upon me, of course I should want accusers, when, even under Nero, there are those who charge me, not with expressions sometimes unguarded from the vehemence of affection, but with crimes such as I could not be acquitted of except by my son." Those who were present being powerfully affected by her remarks, and actually trying to calm her emotion, she pressed for and obtained an interview with her son: in which she alleged nothing to prove her innocence, as if her heart misgave her, nor mentioned her services as though she taunted him; but besought vengeance upon her accusers, and rewards for her friends; in both which she succeeded.

22. To Fenius Rufus was granted the superintendence of provisions; to Aruntius Stella the direction of the public shows, which the emperor was preparing to exhibit; and to Caius Balbillus the government of Egypt: that of Syria was assigned to Publius Anteius; but soon he became the object of all manner of deceptive artifices, and ultimately he was prevented leaving the city. As for Silana, she was exiled: Calvisius too and Iturius were banished: Atimetus was put to death; but Paris was too important to the emperor in his debauches to suffer punishment. Plautus was for the present passed over in silence.

23. Pallas and Burrus were thereafter charged with "having conspired to raise to the sovereignty Cornelius Sylla, in regard of his splendid lineage and alliance with Claudius," whose son-in-law he was, having married Antonia. One Pætus, infamous for his dealings with the exchequer in the redemption of confiscated goods, and on this occasion manifestly guilty of falsehood, was the prosecutor in the case; the acquittal of Pallas was not so gratifying, as his arrogance was offensive: for, upon naming his freedmen as his accomplices, he answered, "that at home he always signified his pleasure by a nod, or motion of the hand; or, if he had many directions to give, he wrote them, to avoid the familiarity of exchanging words

with them." Burrus, though arraigned, voted among the judges: the accuser was punished with banishment; and the papers by which he revived the cancelled claims of the exchequer were burnt.

24. At the close of the year, the guard of a cohort, which usually attended the public spectacles, was removed, to make a greater display of liberty, as also to preserve the integrity of military discipline, by preventing the soldiers from mixing with the licentiousness of the theatre; and moreover, that the people might afford proof whether they would preserve order in the absence of the military. The emperor performed a lustration of the city, according to a response of the soothsayers, relative to the fact that the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been struck by lightning.

25. In the consulship of Quintus Volusius and Publius Scipio, while tranquillity reigned abroad, abominable licentiousness was exhibited at Rome, in the person of Nero; who, disguised in the habit of a slave, went roaming about the streets, the stews, and public inns, with a set of companions who seized upon wares exposed to sale, and assaulted all they met; while the objects of this violence so little suspected him, that he himself received blows and bore the marks in his face. Afterwards, when it came to be understood that the emperor was the offender, increased outrages were committed on men and ladies of distinction, and the name of Nero being once used to warrant licentiousness, some, with gangs of their own, practised the same excesses with impunity; and the state of things during the night, resembled that of a captured city. Julius Montanus, of senatorial rank, but hitherto exercising no magistracy, having casually encountered the prince in the dark, resolutely repulsed his assaults; and afterwards recognising him, implored his forgiveness: but the emperor felt this as a reproach to him, and had him put to death. After this, however, Nero was less daring, and fortified himself with a party of soldiers and a numerous train of gladiators: who interposed not in the beginning of a fray while it kept within bounds, and was as it were only a private affair; but if such as were insulted resisted with any degree of vigour, they fell on. Theatrical disturbances also, and the contests between the partisans of players, he exasperated into a sort of battle, by impunity and rewards, and by looking on himself, sometimes concealed, and more frequently exposed to view; till the people being torn with dissensions, and more serious commotions apprehended, the only remedy that could be devised was to

banish the players from Italy, and again guard the theatre with troops.

26. About this time the senate took into consideration the mal-practices of the freedmen; and it was demanded importunately "that patrons should have a right of revoking the enfranchisement of delinquents." For this many were ready to vote; but, the consuls, afraid to put the question without apprising the prince, acquainted him in writing with the general opinion of the senate, and consulted him whether he would become the author of this constitution, since it was opposed by few: some of the senators, complaining indignantly "that their insubordination, which had increased by enfranchisement, had proceeded to such a pitch that they put themselves upon an equality with their patrons, canvassed their votes in the senate, audaciously lifted up their hands against them to strike them; and impudently warned their patrons not to punish them. What privilege, they alleged, was given to the abused patron, except to banish his freedmen an hundred miles off, to the coast of Campania? In every other action, their rights were common and their privileges similar. It was therefore expedient to arm the patron with a power which could not be treated with contempt: nor was it a grievance that they should continue their liberty by the same respectful behaviour by which they acquired it. And as for those notoriously guilty, it was but just to remand them to servitude; that those whom benefits had failed of reclaiming, might be coerced by penal terrors."

27. On the other side it was argued, that "the transgression of a few, ought to be visited on the guilty only, but the established rights of the whole order should not be diminished; for they were a body widely diffused: from them commonly the tribes were supplied, and the colleges of scribes filled up; from the same source were furnished the several officers attending the magistrates and pontiffs; thence too the city cohorts were enlisted: nor did a majority of the knights and many senators originate in any other order. If the descendants of freedmen were removed, the paucity of such as were originally free, would be glaring. Not without good reason our ancestors, when they distinguished the privileges of the three orders, made liberty the common right of all: moreover, two kinds of manumission were instituted, so as to leave room for repenting of the grant already made, or of adding to it by further generosity: those whom their patron had not freed by the prætor's wand were still held as it were by a

bond of servitude: every patron should examine carefully their merits, and concede with caution what once granted could never be withdrawn." This opinion prevailed; and Nero wrote to the senate, that they should investigate the cases of freedmen individually, whenever they were prosecuted by their patrons; but in nothing retrench the rights of the body. Not long after, Domitia, Nero's aunt, was deprived of Paris her freedman, under colour of a civil right; not without the dishonour of the prince, since by his command was given a judgment which pronounced him free born.

28. There however subsisted still a faint similitude of a free state: for, in the contest which arose between Vibullius the prætor and Antistius tribune of the people, about some turbulent partisans of the players, committed to prison by the prætor, and by order of the tribune released, the senate affirmed the judgment of Vibullius, and reprimanded the arbitrary conduct of Antistius. The tribunes were moreover prohibited from forestalling the jurisdiction of the prætors and consuls, or from summoning before them out of any quarters of Italy such as might be sued at tribunals of their own: it was added by Lucius Piso, consul elect, "that they should not do any judicial act in virtue of their authority within their own house; nor the quæstors of the exchequer enter on the public register a mulct imposed by them within four months; that in the interval there should be liberty of controverting their sentence, and that the consuls should determine." The jurisdiction too of the ædiles was further limited, and it was settled how high the patrician ædiles, how high the plebeian, might exact sureties, and to what amount impose penalties. In virtue of this regulation, Helvidius Priscus, to gratify personal pique, accused Obultronus Sabinus, quæstor of the exchequer, "of unmercifully extorting from the poor in the exercise of his prerogative of confiscation." After this, the management of the exchequer was by the prince transferred from the quæstors to the præfects.

29. Various had been the regulations of this office, and its form often altered: for Augustus left to the senate the power of choosing the præfects: thereafter, as the suffrages were suspected to have been gained by intrigue, those who were to preside were drawn by lot from the number of the prætors. Neither did this regulation continue long; for the erring lot often fell upon the incompetent. Claudius then once more restored the quæstors; and, that fear of raising enemies might not relax the vigour of their superintendence, he promised them the honours

by special dispensation: but vigour and maturity could not be found in those who undertook this magistracy, as it was the first step in the career of office; accordingly, Nero chose such as had passed the prætorship, and were of tried ability.

30. Under the same consuls Vipsanius Lenas was condemned for rapacity, in the administration of the province of Sardinia. Cestius Proculus (his accusers withdrawing) was acquitted of extortion: Clodius Quirinalis, charged with "having by his profligate habits and cruelty oppressed Italy, as though it had been the most abject of nations, when commanding the crews stationed at Ravenna," prevented his condemnation by poison: Caius Aminius Rebius, one of the first rank for legal knowledge and greatness of wealth, took refuge from the miseries of ailing age by discharging the blood from his veins; though not supposed magnanimous enough to embrace a voluntary death, infamous as he was for lust and effeminacy. On the other hand, Lucius Volusius died, pre-eminently honoured; the measure of his life was ninety-three years; his wealth, which was surpassing, was acquired in the paths of virtue; and he had escaped giving offence to so many depraved emperors.

31. During the consulship of Nero (his second) and Lucius Piso, few events occurred worth recording, unless one were disposed to fill volumes in lauding the foundations and beams of the stupendous amphitheatre which Nero then erected in the Field of Mars: since it has been found to comport with the grandeur of the Roman people to insert in their annals events of celebrity only, and to consign such details as these to the city journals. The colonies however of Capua and Nuceria were strengthened by a supply of veterans; to the populace was distributed a largess of four hundred small sesterces a man; and into the exchequer was conveyed the sum of forty thousand great sesterces; to support the credit of the Roman people. Moreover, the duty of four in the hundred upon the sale of slaves, was remitted, in appearance rather than effect; for, as the seller was obliged to pay it, it formed an additional component of the price to purchasers. The emperor too issued an edict, "that no procurator, nor any other magistrate, who had obtained any province, should exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, or of wild beasts, or any other popular entertainment whatsoever:" for, heretofore, they had by such acts of munificence no less oppressed those under their jurisdiction, than by extortion, warding

off the blame of their guilty excesses by the arts of popularity.

32. A decree of senate also passed equally tending to the vindication of justice and security; "that if any one was killed by his slaves, those too, who by his will were made free under the same roof, should be executed amongst his other slaves." Lucius Varius, who had been consul, but formerly degraded on charges of rapine, was now restored to his rank: and Pomponia Græcina, a lady of distinction, charged with embracing a foreign superstition, and married to Plautius, who upon his return from Britain entered the city in ovation, was consigned to the adjudication of her husband. Plautus assembled her kindred, and in observance of primitive institution, having in their presence held solemn inquisition upon the conduct and character of his wife, adjudged her innocent. She lived to a great age, and in unintermitted sorrow: for since the fate of Julia (the daughter of Drusus) procured by the perfidy of Messalina, she wore for the space of forty years no habit but that of mourning, nor was grief absent from her breast; a conduct which during the reign of Claudius escaped with impunity, and redounded thereafter to her honour.

33. The same year produced many arraignments; and amongst them one against Publius Celer, at the suit of Asia, which, the emperor, unable to absolve him, protracted till he died of old age. For Celer, as I have stated, having poisoned the proconsul Silanus, by the magnitude of that iniquity screened all his other enormities. Cossutianus Capito was impleaded by the Cilicians, "as impure and detestable, and claiming authority to commit in his province the same bold excesses as he had in Rome." Sorely beset however by the unremitting vigour of the accusation, at last he abandoned his defence, and was condemned under the law against extortion. In behalf of Eprius Marcellus, from whom the Lycians sought restitution, interest predominated so much, that some of his accusers were punished with exile, "as if they had conspired to ruin an innocent man."

34. With Nero now consul for the third time Valerius Messala entered upon the consulship: his great-grandfather, Corvinus the orator, was now by a few old men remembered as a colleague in that office with the deified Augustus, the third grandfather of Nero. But the honour of that illustrious family was augmented by a yearly pension of five-hundred great sesterces, given to Messala,

to sustain his honest poverty. To Aurelius Cotta also, and Haterius Antoninus, annual payments were assigned by the prince, though they had wasted their patrimonial wealth in dissipation. In the beginning of this year the war between the Parthians and Romans, for the mastery of Armenia, which had been protracted by the feebleness of the efforts with which it had been hitherto commenced, was resumed with vigour: for Vologeses would not suffer his brother Tiridates to be bereft of the monarchy by himself conferred upon him, nor to hold the same as a gift from any other power: and Corbulo esteemed it becoming the grandeur of the Roman people to recover the conquests formerly made by Lucullus and Pompey. Moreover, the Armenians, a people hesitating and wavering in their attachments, invited the arms of both; though from the situation of their country and similitude of manners, they were more identified with the Parthians, being also intermixed in conjugal alliances; and, as they were strangers to liberty, they were the rather inclined to Parthian slavery.

35. But Corbulo had more to struggle with in the slothfulness of his soldiers than the perfidy of his enemies: for, the legions brought out of Syria, enervated by a long peace, bore with much impatience the duties of Roman soldiers. It fully appeared that in that army there were veterans who had never mounted guard, never stood sentry; men who gazed at a palisade and foss as things strange and wonderful; without helmets or breastplates, coxcombs, and only looking after gain, having served their whole time in different towns. Having therefore discharged such as were unfit from sickness or age, he sought to recruit his forces; and levies were made through Cappadocia and Galatia, and a legion from Germany was added, with some squadrons of allied cavalry, and a detachment of infantry from the cohorts. The whole army too was kept in tents; though such was the rigour of the winter, that the earth, which was covered with ice, would not, without digging, afford a place for their tents. Many had their limbs shrivelled up by the intense cold; and some, as they stood sentry, were frozen to death. One soldier was particularly remarked, whose hands, as he carried a bundle of wood, mortified so suddenly, that still clasping the burden, they dropped from his mutilated arms. The general himself, thinly clad, his head bare, when the troops were assembled, when employed in their works, was incessantly among them, commending the stout-hearted, comforting the feeble, and exhibiting an example to all. Afterwards, as

many, shrinking from the hardship of the climate and the service, deserted, he had recourse to severity; nor did he as is done in other armies, treat the first or second offence with indulgence; but whoever deserted his colours, instantly atoned for it with his life: a course which experience proved to be salutary, and preferable to compassion: inasmuch as there were fewer desertions from that camp, than from those in which lenity was employed.

36. Corbulo, meanwhile keeping his legions in camp, till the spring had advanced; and having stationed the auxiliary cohorts in convenient places, forewarned them not to venture to provoke a battle: the superintendence of these garrisons he committed to Pactius Orphitus, who had served in the honourable rank of first centurion. Although he had acquainted the general by letter, that the Barbarians acted negligently, and an opportunity presented itself for striking a blow, he was ordered to abide within his entrenchments, and wait for reinforcement: but he broke through his orders: for, upon the arrival of some few troops of horse from the neighbouring fortresses, who from inexperience demanded battle, he engaged the enemy and was routed; and those who ought to have supported him, terrified with his disaster, returned in alarm and precipitation to their respective fortifications: Corbulo regarded this as a serious offence, and after reproving Pactius, the captains, and common soldiers, he ordered them all to camp without the entrenchment: and under this degradation they were continued; nor were they relieved but on the supplication of the whole army.

37. Now Tiridates, who besides his own vassals, was supported by the power of his brother Vologeses, no longer assailed Armenia by furtive attacks, but with open war, and committed depredations upon all such as he suspected of attachment to us; if troops were drawn out against him, he eluded the encounter, shifting rapidly from place to place, and effecting more by the terror of his name than by fighting. Corbulo therefore, having long laboured to come to an engagement, but always frustrated, and being obliged, after the plan of the enemy, to adopt a desultory mode of operation, he distributed his forces so that his lieutenants and præfects might invade several places at once: at the same time he directed king Antiochus to fall upon the Armenian provinces contiguous to his own. For Pharasmanes having slain his son Rhadamistus as a traitor, was, in order to testify his fidelity to us, giving increased effect to his enmity against the Armenians. The Insechians too, a people then first en-



gaged in our alliance, and never before united with the Romans, overran the wilds of Armenia. Thus all the measures of Tiridates reversed his anticipations; and he despatched ambassadors to demand, in his own name and that of the Parthians; "upon what score it was that, after lately giving hostages, and renewing his former amity, which should open a way even to fresh benefits, he was driven from Armenia, his hereditary right? that Vologeses had not hitherto taken arms in person, because they both desired to settle matters by argument rather than force. But, if war were persisted in, the Arsacidæ would not be forsaken of the courage and good fortune so often proved by Roman defeats." Corbulo, aware that Vologeses was occupied with the revolt of Hyrcania, in answer to Tiridates, persuaded him to apply to the emperor as a suppliant; "he might," he said, "enjoy a permanent kingdom in peace, and without effusion of blood; if, rejecting remote and protracted hopes, he would embrace the preferable objects within his reach."

38. But, as the consummation of peace was not advanced by the interchange of messengers, it was at last resolved to fix a time and place for an interview. Tiridates said, "he would be attended by a guard of a thousand horse, but would not prescribe to Corbulo what number of troops of every kind should accompany him, provided they came without helmets and breastplates, so as to exhibit the appearance of peace." The cunning of the Barbarian must have been manifest to every man breathing, especially to an old and cautious captain; that by limiting the number of men on one side, and leaving liberty for a greater number on the other, a snare was intended: for, against horsemen practised in the use of the bow, numbers would avail nothing if their persons were exposed without the protection of armour. Corbulo, however, concealing his convictions, answered, "that matters which concerned both their states, would be more properly discussed in presence of both armies:" and chose a place composed in part of hills rising with a gentle ascent, suitable for receiving his infantry; partly of an extended plain, affording scope for ranging the troops of horse. On the day appointed, Corbulo advanced first; on the wings he posted the allied troops and the auxiliaries of the kings: in the centre, the sixth legion, with which he had mingled three thousand men of the third, brought by night from another camp, all under one eagle, to preserve still the appearance of a single legion. Tiridates, late in the day,

appeared at some distance, whence he could be easier seen than heard. Thus the Roman general, no conference taking place, ordered his men to retire to their several camps.

39. The king too retreated in haste, whether it were that he apprehended a design to surprise him, as the Romans filed off in different directions, or to intercept their provisions which were coming from Trapezus and the Euxine sea: but, as the provisions passed over the mountains, which were secured by parties of our men, he had no opportunity of attacking them: and Corbulo, that the war might not linger on without effecting anything, and to force the Armenians to defend their own dwellings, set himself to raze their strong holds: the attack of the strongest of all in that quarter, named Volandum, he reserved to himself; to Cornelius Flaccus his lieutenant, and Insteius Capito præfect of the camp, he committed the smaller. Then having viewed the fortifications and prepared all things requisite for storming the place, he exhorted his men, "to exterminate a vagabond foe, unprepared for war, and indisposed to peace, but by their flight confessing their perfidy and cowardice: he bid them do this, and at once enrich themselves with spoil and cover themselves with glory." He then distributed his forces into four divisions: one he brought up in close array in form of a tortoise, in order to undermine the rampart: others were ordered to apply ladders to the walls, and a large party to throw brands and javelins from the engines: to the engineers too and slingers a position was assigned whence they might from a distance discharge stones and bullets: so that consternation prevailing everywhere alike, no one position might relieve another. Such was the ardour and emulation of the troops in the execution of these orders, that, in four hours the walls were stript of their defenders; the barriers of the gates forced, the works scaled, and all of full age put to the sword; without the loss of one of our men, and very few wounded. The multitude not bearing arms, were set to sale by public auction: the conquerors made spoil of the rest. Equal success attended the lieutenant-general and præfect of the camp: in one day they took three castles by storm: when the rest, from dread, or the inclination of the inhabitants, surrendered; which inspired a resolution to attempt Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The legions were not however conducted thither the shortest road; for if they passed the Araxes, which washes the walls of the city, by a bridge, they

would have been exposed to the weapons of the enemy: At a distant point therefore they forded it, where the stream was broader and shallow.

40. As for Tiridates, he struggled between shame and fear; lest if he submitted to a siege, it would appear that there was no reliance to be placed upon him: if he attempted to prevent it, he should be hampered with his cavalry on difficult and intricate ground: at last he determined to show himself in order of battle, and at break of day begin the onset, or by a feigned flight draw the Romans into a snare. Suddenly therefore he beset them, but without surprise to our general, who had formed his army as well for a battle as a march. On the right marched the third legion; on the left the sixth; and in the centre a chosen detachment from the tenth; the baggage was secured between the ranks, and a thousand horse guarded the rear: they were ordered "to repulse the foe, when they came on; but, not to pursue them when they fled." The foot archers and remainder of the horse were placed on the wings on the left, extending further than the other, over the lower part of the mountains; that, if the enemy broke in there, he might be encountered at once by our front, and by the centre of the army. Tiridates advanced upon them from different points, yet never within the throw of a dart; but at one time, with a menacing air, at another assuming the appearance of dismay, trying to induce us to open our ranks, that he might fall upon us when disordered. When he saw no unwary relaxation in our order, and only one captain of horse, who had advanced too boldly, falling under a shower of arrows, had confirmed all the rest in submission to discipline by his fate, he marched off at the approach of the evening.

41. Corbulo encamped upon the place; and, supposing that Tiridates had retired to Artaxata, was unresolved whether he should march thither the same night with his legions unincumbered by baggage, and immediately invest it: but, upon tidings brought him by his spies, that the king had undertaken a long march, it was uncertain whether towards Media or Albania, he waited for the light, and despatched his light-armed troops to invest the city, and begin the storm at a distance. But the inhabitants voluntarily opening their gates, surrendered themselves and all that belonged to them to the Romans: for which their lives were spared. The city was set fire to and levelled with the ground; for, such was the compass of its walls, that they could not be defended without a powerful garrison, nor were our forces such as to divide between

the establishment of a garrison and the prosecution of the war: or, had it been left untouched and unguarded, there had been no profit nor glory in having taken it. A miracle, interposed as it seemed by the decree of heaven, is also reported to have occurred: for while the whole region without the walls and up to the buildings, was illuminated by the sun, the space enclosed by them was suddenly so completely enveloped in a pitchy cloud, and parted with flashes of lightning, that it was concluded the city was given over to destruction; the powers of heaven being arrayed, as it were, in hostility against it. For these successes Nero was solemnly saluted Emperor; and by decree of senate, days of public supplication were appointed, with statues, arches, and perpetual consulships to the prince: moreover, it was decreed that the day when the city was won, when the news arrived, and on which it was laid before the senate, should all be enrolled amongst the festivals; with several other particulars of the same stamp, so extravagant, that Caius Cassius, though he had agreed to the former, yet argued here, "that were every instance of public prosperity to be attended with public thanksgiving, the whole year would not suffice for supplication: a distribution ought therefore to be made of days of devotion and days of business, in such sort that the worship of the gods might be solemnised without interfering with the secular business of men."

42. After this, a man who had been harassed with vicissitudes, and had earned the hatred of many, was condemned; not however without imputation on the honour of Seneca: it was Publius Suius, who, during the reign of Claudius, had been an object of terror, and notoriously venal, and though now by the change of times considerably fallen, yet not so low as his enemies wished: and who chose rather to bear the character of a criminal, than descend to that of a supplicant. For the purpose of crushing him, it was supposed that the decree of senate was made at this time for the revival of the Cincian law, which subjected to penalties those who had pleaded for hire. Nor did Suius, on his part, spare complaints and recriminations; but besides the inherent vehemence of his temper, feeling himself at liberty to say what he liked at his advanced time of life, upbraided Seneca, "as an inveterate foe to all the friends of Claudius, during whose reign he had been justly doomed to exile; and also as one who being habituated to indolent studies, and conversant only with the inexperience of youth, was actuated by envy towards those who in defending the rights of their fellow

citizens, exercised a vigorous and genuine eloquence. For himself, he had been quæstor to Germanicus; but Seneca the adulterer of Germanicus's daughter. Ought it to be considered a more heinous offence, to obtain the rewards of an honest vocation from a suitor who freely gives it, than to convert the chambers of princesses into scenes of adultery? By what precepts of wisdom, what principles of philosophy, had he, during four years of imperial favour, amassed a fortune of three hundred thousand great sesterces? At Rome, testaments and the childless were caught, as it were, in his toils; Italy and the provinces were drained by his exorbitant usury. But as for himself, his wealth was the fruit of industry, and within the bounds of moderation. He was determined to be exposed to charges, perilous prosecutions, and every degree of hardship and suffering, rather than debase an established reputation, the acquisition of a long life, by submitting to an upstart of fortune."

43. Nor were there wanting persons to relate to Seneca all these reproaches, in the very words, or in their own malignant versions of them. Accusers too were found, who arraigned him "for his excesses in Asia, when he ruled as quæstor there; for plundering the inhabitants, and embezzling the public revenue." But as a whole year was granted them for preparing their evidence, it was determined to save time by proceeding upon his enormities at Rome, of which there were abundant witnesses at hand. By these it was urged, "that by a virulent accusation he had driven Quintus Pomponius to the necessity of raising a civil war: that by him was procured the violent death of Poppæa Sabina, and of Julia the daughter of Drusus: by him the doom of Valerius Asiaticus, of Lusius Saturninus, and of Cornelius Lupus were contrived. In addition to these, they laid to his charge whole bands of Roman knights, condemned at his instance; with the long train of cruelties that stained the reign of Claudius." In his defence he began to allege, "that of all these prosecutions, he had engaged in none of his own inclination, but in obedience to the prince." But Nero checked this plea, and testified that, from the memoirs of Claudius, he found that no accusation of any person whatsoever had been undertaken by compulsion from him. The accused then set up the pretence of the orders of Messalina, and his defence began to give way: "for why, it was said, had no other advocates but Suillius been singled out to prostitute their eloquence to the purposes of that merciless strumpet? the instruments of atrocious deeds must

be punished, when, having received the wages of their iniquities, they shift the iniquities themselves upon others." A part of his estate was accordingly confiscated: for to his son and granddaughter the other part was granted; besides that from the sentence were also exempted the fortunes left them by the will of their mother, and that of their grandfather; and he was banished to the Balcarian Isles. But neither during the heat and peril of the prosecution, nor after his condemnation, was his spirit dismayed: he is even said to have supported the loneliness of exile by living luxuriously and voluptuously. The informers attacked his son Nerullinus with charges of public plunder, relying on the odium of his father's guilt; but the prince interposed, on the ground that the demands of justice were already satisfied.

44. About the same time Octavius Sagitta, tribune of the people, infatuated with a passion for Pontia, a married woman, gained her by vast presents, first to consent to adultery, afterwards to abandon her husband; engaging to marry her, and stipulating that she should marry him. But the woman, when she found herself single, framed perpetual excuses for delays; alleged the aversion of her father, and then, having found reason to hope for a wealthier husband, renounced her engagement. Octavius, on the other hand, one moment complained bitterly, the next menaced: he adjured her by the reputation which he had shipwrecked, by the wealth he had consumed; and in fine told her, that his life, which was all that was left him, was at her disposal. Finding her deaf to all his reasonings, he requested the solace of one night, soothed by which, he might afterwards govern his passion. The night was fixed, and Pontia appointed a maid, her confidant, to watch her chamber. Sagitta brought with him one freedman, and a dagger concealed under his robe. The interview began as is usual in lovers' quarrels; there was chiding and beseeching, reproaches and reconciliations; and part of the night was devoted to embraces: immediately after which, fired with rage, he stabbed her with his dagger, in a moment of perfect security; wounded and frightened away the maid, who was running to her assistance, and burst out of the chamber. The next day disclosed a manifest murder, and by what hand could not be doubted; for it was proved he had passed some time with her. But his freedman took the guilty deed upon himself, and said he did it to avenge the wrongs of his master: and some, touched with the signal magnanimity of his conduct, were disposed to believe him, till the maid,

recovered from her wound, brought the facts to light; so that the tribune was arraigned before the consuls, by the father of the deceased, and, at the expiration of his office, condemned by the senate to the penalties of the law on assassins.

45. An instance of immodesty no less remarkable, proved this year the source of serious calamities to the state. In the city lived a daughter of Titus Ollius, who had taken the name of Poppæa Sabina from Poppæus Sabinus, her mother's father; a man distinguished on the roll of fame, and eclipsing his contemporaries by the splendour of consular and triumphal honours. For Ollius, ere he had been invested with public dignities, had his prospects blighted by the friendship of Sejanus. This woman possessed every ornament but that of an unpolluted mind; for from her mother, who in beauty excelled all the women of her time, she derived the charms of person and the recommendation of family: her wealth was proportioned to the lustre of her birth; she was engaging in her conversation, and not deficient in parts; prudish in her exterior deportment, but a wanton in reality: seldom she appeared abroad, and when she did, with her face partially veiled, that she might not satiate the sight, or because it became her. Reckless of character, she made no distinction between husbands and adulterers; unshackled by affection in herself or others, wherever her interest appeared, thither she transferred her attachments. Hence, though she was married to Rufus Crispinus, a Roman knight, by whom she had a son, she was allured by the youth and gaiety of Otho; and because the rays of Nero's friendship were concentrated upon him without any interval of delay the adulterous connection was followed by a marriage.

46. Otho began to extol the beauty and charms of his wife to the prince; either from the indiscretion of a lover, or to inflame the passions of Nero, that the tie arising out of their enjoyment of the same woman might increase his influence. Often, as he proudly rose from the emperor's table, he was heard to say, "that he was going to her; ejaculating, that he was blessed with a wife who united noble birth and beauty, qualities which all desired, but the favourite of fortune alone enjoyed." After these and similar incitements, little time was lost; but having permitted him to visit her, Poppæa at first gradually gained an ascendancy over him by soft arts and caresses; feigning herself smitten with his fine person, and overcome by her passion for him. But soon, when now the prince's

affection was inflamed, she changed her former behaviour into haughtiness: if she were detained above a night or two, "she was a married woman, she cried, nor could she relinquish her husband, who had won her by his mode of living, which no man could equal. Otho was magnificent in his ideas and in his style of living; under his roof she beheld every thing worthy the most exalted fortune: whereas Nero, as he was attached to Acte, and inured to the embraces of a slave, had derived from an association with a bondwoman nothing but what was mean and abject." Otho was debarred from his usual intimacy, and afterwards from all intercourse and access; and at last, to remove a rival from the city, he was preferred to the government of Lusitania: where, till the beginning of the civil wars, he conducted himself with uprightness and honour, and not in accordance with his previous disrepute—heedless and dissolute in a state of inactivity, but discreet in the exercise of power.

47. Nero hitherto sought disguises for his immoralities and crimes. He entertained the strongest suspicions of Cornelius Sylla, mistaking the dullness of his spirit for the opposite qualities of deep artifice and dissimulation. Graptus, a freedman of Cæsar's, who had grown old in court intercourse, and ever since the reign of Tiberius had been made familiar with the practices of the palace, inflamed these apprehensions by the following forgery. The Milvian bridge was then the great place of resort for nightly debaucheries; and thither Nero often went that he might play his pranks with the more freedom without the city. Graptus therefore feigned, "that persons had waylaid him as he returned thence by the Flaminian way, but by good fortune he had escaped it by coming home by a different route through the gardens of Sallust; and that of this plot Sylla was the author." The only foundation of all this was, that as some of the emperor's attendants were returning, certain youths, indulging in the licentiousness then universally practised, had tried to frighten them. But not a slave of Sylla's, nor one of his dependents was recognised as being present; and as for himself, he was of a spirit so despicable, and so unequal to all enterprise, that it was absurd to suppose him guilty of the crime. Nevertheless, just as if he had been convicted, he was banished, and confined within the walls of Marseilles.

48. During the same consulship were heard two different deputations from Puteoli, one from their senate, the other from the populace; the former inveighing against the violence of the multitude, the latter against the op-



pression and avarice of the magistrates and nobles: and as the factious had proceeded so far as to throw stones, and threaten fire, and were betaking themselves to arms and massacre, Caius Cassius was appointed to apply a remedy; but as they could not bear the severity of his proceedings, at his own request the charge was transferred to the two brothers Scribonii, assisted by a prætorian cohort; by the terror of which, and the execution of a few, concord was restored amongst the inhabitants.

49. The decree of senate now made, for permitting the Syracusans to exceed the number formerly limited in their shows of gladiators, is a matter so common, that I should not insert it here had not Pætus Thrasea opposed it, and thence ministered to his revilers occasion of censuring his sentiments. "For if he believed," said they, "that the condition of the commonwealth called upon the senators to exert freedom of speech, why were his censures confined to things of such trivial moment? How came it that he did not advise or impugn measures relating to war and peace, the revenue, the laws, and whatever else concerned the stability of the Roman state? To every senator, as soon as he had the privilege of voting, full freedom was allowed of propounding whatever he would, and of claiming that it might be put to the vote. Was there no other subject calling for amendment, that he confined himself to objecting to an enlargement of the scale on which the Syracusans should exhibit their spectacles? Were all the other matters in every department of the government just as excellently regulated as if Thrasea himself, and not Nero, held the reins? But if things of the highest importance must be winked at, how much more should they abstain from those of trivial moment?" To his friends, who asked him the meaning of his conduct, Thrasea answered, "that it was not in ignorance of the state of things that he rectified decrees of that sort, but consulting the honour of the senate; that it might be plain that those, who applied their thoughts even to the most insignificant things, would never omit the care of the most important."

50. The same year, so frequent were the importunities of the people against the oppressions of the tax-gatherers, that Nero deliberated about the suppression of all duties, and thus bestowing the fairest gift upon the human race. But the senators, after many high encomiums upon his magnanimity, restrained his rashness by apprising him, "that the dissolution of the empire must follow a reduction of the revenues which sustained it; inasmuch as if duties were extinguished, the natural consequence was,

that the abolition of tributes must be conceded to clamour. That the companies for farming the revenues were for the most part instituted by the consuls and tribunes, even at a time when popular liberty was in its vigour at Rome; and the provisions which followed were so adapted, that the calculation of income, and the necessity of expenditure should correspond. But the extortions of the tax-gatherers evidently required to be restrained, that the burdens borne by the people for so many years without murmuring, might not be rendered odious by the severity of additional exactions."

51. The emperor therefore by an edict ordained, "that the schedules of every impost, which had till then been kept secret, should be published. That the publicans should revive no omitted claims more than a year in arrears. That at Rome the prætor, and in the provinces the proprætor or procursus for the time being, should adjudicate summarily in suits against the tax-gatherers: but the soldiers should still be exempt, save those who trafficked; with other regulations highly equitable, which were observed for a short time, but afterwards became obsolete. The abolition however of the fortieth penny, and of the fiftieth, continues; as also that of other heads of illicit exactions invented by the publicans. Moreover, the importation of grain from the provinces beyond sea was regulated; and an ordinance made that the ships of traders should not be reckoned in the estimate of their effects, nor any duty be paid for the same.

52. Two men accused of mal-administration in Africa, where they had been proconsuls, were acquitted by the emperor: they were Sulpicius Camerinus, and Pomponius Silvanus. The former in opposition to a few private prosecutors, who charged him rather with acts of severity than extorting money. But Sylvanus was beset by a vast array of accusers, who required time to produce their witnesses; but he demanded to be instantly put on his defence, and carried his point by being wealthy, childless, and old; though he outlived and disappointed those by whose intrigues he was acquitted.

53. Till this time affairs in Germany had continued in a state of tranquillity, from the feeling of our commanders there, who, as triumphal honours were so miserably prostituted, judged that the greater honour was to be reaped by preserving peace. Paulinus Pompeius and Lucius Vetus then commanded the army. Not however to keep the soldiers unemployed, the former now perfected the dam which had been begun by Drusus sixty-three years before, to re-

strain the overflowing of the Rhine; while Vetus was digging a canal of communication between the Arar and Moselle, that the armies from Italy, having sailed by sea, and then up the Rhone and Arar, might pass through this canal into the Moselle, and thence sail down the Rhine into the ocean: so that all difficulties of the passage being removed, a communication by water might be opened from west to north, between the two shores. But this great work was marred by the envy of Ælius Gracilis, the lieutenant of Belgic Gaul, who warned Vetus against bringing his legions into another's province, and courting the affections of the Gauls; insisting that such conduct would alarm the emperor: an apprehension by which worthy enterprises are frequently frustrated.

54. But from the continued inaction of both armies, a report arose that the generals were enjoined not to lead them against the enemy. The Frisians therefore occupied the forests and morasses with their youth, and conveying over the lakes those unfit for war from sex or age, placed them along the banks of the Rhine, and then proceeded to settle themselves upon the unoccupied lands set apart for the soldiers, under the counsel and conduct of Verritus and Malorix, who ruled this nation, so far as Germans submit to rule. They had already founded their dwellings, sown the fields, and were cultivating the lands, as if they had been their native soil, when Dubius Avitus, who succeeded Paulinus in the province, by threatening them with an attack from the Romans, unless they retired to their ancient territories, or from the emperor obtained a new settlement, forced Verritus and Malorix to betake themselves to supplication. They proceeded to Rome; where, while they waited for access to Nero, who was engaged in other affairs, amongst the several sights which are usually shown to Barbarians, they were conducted into Pompey's theatre, that they might observe the immensity of the Roman people. Here, while they gazed round them, for indeed they took no delight in scenic representations which they understood not, asking about the mass of people seated in the pit, the distinctions of orders, "which were the Roman knights, and where sate the senate," they spied certain persons in a foreign habit, sitting upon the benches of the senators, and asked who were these? When they had learnt that this was a distinction conferred upon the ambassadors of such nations as signalled themselves by their merit and friendship towards the Romans; "there is not a nation upon earth," they exclaimed, "which surpasses the Germans in prowess

and fidelity," and down they came and took their seats among the senators: a proceeding viewed indulgently by the spectators, as a specimen of ancient simplicity, and the effect of an honest emulation. Nero bestowed upon both the privileges of Roman citizens, but ordered that the Frisians should abandon their new possessions: and as they refused to obey, they were forced to it by a sudden attack of the auxiliary horse, who made prisoners or slew all who obstinately resisted.

55. The same lands were seized by the Ampsivarians, a more potent people, not in their own multitudes only, but also from the sympathy of the neighbouring nations: for having been exterminated by the Chaucians, and destitute of a settlement, they were seeking shelter in some foreign land. They were also led by a man of high renown amongst these nations, as well as of approved fidelity towards the Romans, named Boiocalus; who, upon this occasion alleged, "that, upon the revolt of the Cheruscans, he had been thrown into bonds by order of Arminius, and afterwards served under Tiberius, then under Germanicus; and, to the merit of fifty years' service and adherence to the Romans, he was ready to add that of submitting his people to their dominion. What portion of the plain lay unoccupied, to receive sometime the sheep and cattle of the soldiers? They might certainly keep the lands reserved for flocks in those quarters where human beings were said to dwell: all that was desired was that they would not prefer desolation and solitude to a friendly population. These lands were formerly held by the Chamavians; next by the Tubantes; afterwards by the Usipians. As the heavens were appropriated to the gods, so was the earth to the children of men; and such portions of it as none possessed, were free to all." Then, turning his eyes to the sun, and invoking the starry host, he asked them, as if holding personal converse with them, "whether they looked with complacency upon a desert soil; rather would they pour the ocean over it in revenge of robbers of lands."

56. Avitus, who was affected by this appeal, replied, "that the commands of superiors must be obeyed. The gods whom they invoked had appointed, that to the Romans should appertain the sovereign disposal, what to bestow and what to take away; and not to allow any other judges than themselves." This was his answer to the Ampsivarians generally; but to Boiocalus himself he promised, that in acknowledgment of his attachment to the Romans, he would give him lands; an offer which he spurned, re-

garding it as the price of treachery, and added, "a land to live in we may want, but a place to die in we cannot:" and thus they parted with angry feelings on both sides. The Ampsivarians invited to a confederacy in the war the Bructerians, Tencterians, and even other nations more remote. Avitus having written to Curtilius Mantca, who commanded the upper army, to pass the Rhine, and make a hostile demonstration upon their rear, himself led his legions into the territories of the Tencterians, threatening them with annihilation unless they abandoned the confederacy. The Tencterians accordingly withdrawing, the Bructerians impelled by similar fears followed them; and all the other members shrinking from dangers incurred in others' quarrels, the Ampsivarians, alone and deserted by all, fell back upon the Usipians and Tubantes, who drove them out of their territories; and having sought a reception first with the Cattians, then with the Cheruscans, after protracted wanderings, as strangers, destitutes, and enemies, all their youth fell by the sword in a foreign land, and the helpless multitude were portioned out as captives.

57. A severe battle was fought between the Hermandurians and the Cattians during the same summer, each party forcibly asserting a claim to the river which divided their territories, and which yielded abundance of salt. Besides their propensity to settle every thing by the sword, they were animated by a deep-rooted religious persuasion, "that these places approached nearer to heaven than any other, and nowhere did the supplications of men reach the ears of the gods more speedily. Hence by the indulgence of the deities, in this river, and in these groves, salt was produced, not, as with other nations, from the inundations of the sea drying upon the shore, but by pouring water upon a flaming pile of wood, condensed by the opposite elements of fire and water." The issue of the war was prosperous to the Hermandurians, but to the Cattians the more calamitous, as the victors had devoted the adverse host to Mars and Mercury; by which vow men and horses, and whatever else appertains to the vanquished, are doomed to destruction: thus their threats against the enemy recoiled upon themselves. The Ubians, a state in alliance with us, were at this time afflicted by a sudden calamity; for fires issuing from the earth caught and consumed, in every direction, their farm houses, their crops, and their towns, and were advancing to the walls of the lately-built settlement. Neither could they be extinguished even by the falling of rain, or by the throwing of water,

or by any other similar application; till some boors, despairing of a remedy, and enraged at the havoc, attacked it at a distance with volleys of stones: and then, as the flames abated, they approached nearer, and by blows from their clubs and other stripes, they frightened the fires away as though they had been wild beasts. At length they stripped themselves of their clothes, and threw them on, and the more soiled and worn they were, the more effectual they proved.

58. During the same year the decay of the Tree Ruminalis, in the Comitium, in consequence of its branches dying and its trunk withering, that tree which, eight hundred and forty years ago, had sheltered the infancy of Romulus and Remus, was regarded as an awful portent; but at length it put forth new shoots, and recovered its verdure.

THE  
ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BOOK XIV.

DURING the consulship of Caius Vipstanus and Caius Fonteius, Nero determined no longer to delay the parricide he had long meditated; his daring spirit having gathered strength from the duration of his power, and growing more vehement from day to day in his passion for Poppæa, who, despairing of the divorce of Octavia, and her own marriage while Agrippina lived, teased him with incessant accusations, and sometimes with an air of raillery upbraided him, calling him "a pupil, who being subject to the orders of another, was so far from wielding the authority of emperor, that he was curtailed of liberty himself. For why did he delay to marry her? was it forsooth that he had objections to her person and her ancestors, men distinguished with triumphal honours? or to the fruitfulness of her body, and the sincerity of her affection? No; the truth was, it was dreaded that when his wife, she at least would lay open the injurious treatment of the senate, the indignation of the people at the insolence and rapaciousness of his mother: but if Agrippina would bear no daughter-in-law who was not virulently opposed to her son, she desired to be restored to the embraces of Otho; for she was ready to withdraw to any quarter of the earth, where she might hear of the emperor's degradation, rather than stay to behold it, mixed up with the perils that beset him." These and similar expostulations, enforced with tears, and the arts of an adulteress, penetrated the soul of Nero: nor did any one check their operation, as all desired to see the influence of his mother weakened, and as no one supposed that the son would become so hardened in hatred as to spill the blood of his mother.

2. Cluvius relates that the eagerness of Agrippina to retain her influence grew to such a pitch, that often at noon-day, as Nero was then heated with wine and meats,

she presented herself to him, while intoxicated, gaily attired and ready for incest; and when at length their wanton kisses and caresses, the harbingers of guilt, attracted the notice of their intimate friends, Seneca, for an antidote against the enticements of one woman, had recourse to another: and hence Acte, the freedwoman, was introduced; who equally anxious for her own safety and the character of Nero, warned him that the incest was talked of everywhere, his mother glorying in it; and that the soldiery would never bear the rule of a prince so impious. Fabius Rusticus ascribes this to the passion, not of Agrippina, but Nero; and says that it was broken off by the address of the same Acte. But the account given by Cluvius agrees with those of the other writers; and to this side tradition inclines. Whether it were that she conceived in her heart an impurity so monstrous, or whether this scheme of unheard of lust appeared the more credible in her, who almost in her childhood had, from thirst of dominion, prostituted herself to Lepidus; with a similar object had abandoned herself to the lust of Pallas; and during her marriage with her uncle Claudius, had been trained to guilt of every kind and degree.

3. In consequence Nero began to avoid all private interviews with her, and upon her going to her gardens, or to her villa at Tusculum or Antium, he used to applaud her for thus courting retirement. At length, feeling her as an oppression and terror to him wherever she resided, he resolved to kill her, and was in suspense only about the mode; by poison, the sword, or any other violent means: poison was preferred at first; but if it were administered at the prince's table, its effects could not be ascribed to accidental causes, as Britannicus had already perished in the same way. To tamper with her domestics appeared impracticable, as from her long familiarity with crime, she was on the alert against treachery; and by taking antidotes beforehand, had fortified her body against poison: and how to despatch her with the sword, and yet hide the deed, no one could suggest: he feared too lest the person selected for the perpetration of so heinous an act, should disregard his orders. Anicetus, an enfranchised slave, tutor to Nero in his infancy, but now commander of the fleet at Misenum, hated by and hating Agrippina, here proffered the aid of his ingenuity. Accordingly he explained, "how a vessel might be so constructed that a portion of it might by a contrivance fall to pieces and plunge her unawares into the water: nothing," he said, "was so prolific in accidents as the sea; and if she were



thus cut off by shipwreck, who could be so injurious as to ascribe the offence of wind and waves to the malice of men? the prince should also erect a temple and altars to the deceased, and adopt every other means of parading his filial reverence."

4. Nero was pleased with the device, which was also favoured by the particular juncture, for he was then keeping the holidays of the Quinquatrus at *Baiæ*. Thither he enticed his mother; frequently declaring, "that the hasty humours of parents should be borne with, and her spirit should be soothed;" in order to raise a rumour of his being reconciled to her; which *Agrippina* might believe with the credulous facility with which women acquiesce in whatever gratifies their wishes. When she approached, he met her upon the shore, for she came from *Antium*, gave her his hand, embraced her, and conducted her to *Bauli*; so the villa is called, which lying between the cape of *Misenum* and the gulf of *Baiæ*, is washed by the winding sea. Here, amongst other vessels, lay one more ornamental than the rest; as if, in this too, he sought to honour his mother: for she had been always wont to make her excursions in a galley with three banks of oars, rowed by mariners from the fleet. She was then invited to a banquet, that the shades of night might minister in shrouding the horrid deed. It was however apparent that somebody had betrayed the design, and that *Agrippina*, upon hearing of the plot, though doubtful whether to believe it, was conveyed to *Baiæ* in a sedan: but, upon her arrival, his caresses assuaged her fear: he received her graciously, and placed her at table above him; entertained and amused her with a variety of conversation; at one time with the frankness natural to youth, at another with an air of gravity, pretending to communicate with her upon serious topics: and after he had drawn out the banquet to a late hour, he escorted her on her departure, fixing his eyes upon her, and clinging to her bosom, whether it was to complete the hollow part he had assumed, or that the last sight of a mother on the point of perishing, had power to fix the attention of his mind, though brutalized.

5. The gods, as if to bear damning testimony against the impious deed, granted a night lit up with stars; while not a breath disturbed the unruffled deep. *Agrippina* was attended to by two only of all her train, of whom *Crepereius Gallus* stood by the steerage, and *Aceronia*, who, as *Agrippina* reposed, lay at her feet, was again setting before her, with joy, the remorse of her son, and her re-

covered influence with him: the vessel had not yet made much way; when suddenly, upon a signal given, the roof of the cabin fell in, being loaded with a quantity of lead, and instantly crushed Crepereius to death. Agrippina and Aceronia were defended by the sides of the couch which rose above them, and happened to be too strong to yield to the weight: neither did the vessel at once fall to pieces; for the mariners were all in confusion, and the major part of them not being privy to the plot, embarrassed even such as were. The mariners then proposed to bear the vessel down on one side, and so sink her: but neither did all the accomplices themselves fall in with a project thus startling; and others resisting it, diminished the violence with which they were thrown into the sea. Now Aceronia, little thinking of the consequence, while she cried out that she was Agrippina, and bid them succour the prince's mother, was pursued with poles and oars, and whatever other naval weapons came first to hand, and so slain. Agrippina kept silence, and being therefore the less known, escaped, with one wound however upon her shoulder. By swimming, and then meeting with some small barks, she reached the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conducted to her own villa.

6. There, reflecting that for this very end she had been summoned by the fraudulent letters of her son, and treated with especial honour: that the vessel, close to the shore, not from the violence of winds, or from striking upon rocks, had given way in its upper works, and fallen to pieces like a frail structure for land purposes; taking into her consideration also the fate of Aceronia, and looking upon her own wound, she inferred that her only resource against these treacherous machinations was to act as if she saw them not. With this view she despatched Agerinus, her freedman, to notify to her son, "that through the mercy of the gods, and the auspicious influence of his fortune, she had escaped a grievous casualty; but besought him, however terrified at the danger which had threatened his mother, to postpone the attention of visiting her; for what she needed at present was rest." And meanwhile, counterfeiting perfect security and composure, she had medicines applied to her wound, and fomentations to her body: she ordered the will of Aceronia to be brought to her, and her effects to be registered and sealed up: departing in this instance only from her plan of dissimulation.

7. As for Nero, while he was waiting for expresses to apprise him that the deed was done, tidings arrived,

“that she had escaped with a slight hurt; having been so far imperilled as to leave no doubt who was the author.” Overpowered with terror and dismay at this intelligence, and protesting that she would forthwith come, eager for revenge, he asked, “what resources he had to meet her, whether she armed the slaves, or kindled a flame among the soldiery, or forced her way to the senate and people, and charged him with her shipwreck, her wound, and the murder of her friends, unless Burrus and Seneca could devise some expedient.” He had instantly summoned both of them to consult them; neither is it clear whether they were previously informed of the conspiracy: they both kept silence for a long time, either lest they should fail in dissuading him from his purpose, or else convinced that matters had gone so far that either Agrippina must be cut off or Nero perish. At length Seneca, heretofore the more forward, fixed his eyes on Burrus, and asked, “whether orders for this execution might be given to the soldiery?” he answered, that “the prætorian guards were so attached to the whole family of the Cæsars, so revered the memory of Germanicus, that they would shrink from executing any severity upon a descendant of him: Anicetus should carry out his engagement.” Anicetus paused not a moment, but even demanded the task of completing the murder. Nero at these words declared himself to be that day presented with the empire, and that his freedman was the author of the costly present. He bid him despatch, and take with him such as would most promptly execute his orders. The freedman however, having heard that Agerinus was arrived as a messenger from Agrippina, contrived a plot to turn the treason upon her; as he was delivering his message, he dropped a dagger between his feet; and then, as if he had caught him in the treason, ordered him to be put in irons. This he did to give consistency to a fiction, that the mother of the prince had concerted his destruction, and then from shame, on the detection of the treason, had put herself to death.

8. Meanwhile the circumstance of Agrippina's peril having been made known among the people, and it was represented as the effect of pure accident, each as soon as he heard it, hastened down to the beach. Some climbed up the piers which jut out into the sea; some got into the barks that were at hand; others entered the sea, and waded as far as their height would permit; some stretched out their arms; so that the whole coast resounded with lamentations, with vows, and with the shouts of the multitude, asking various questions, or returning unsatisfac-

tory answers. A great number crowded to the spot with torches in their hands; and, as soon as it was confirmed that Agrippina was out of danger, they were preparing to offer her their congratulations, when an armed band appearing and threatening them they were dispersed. Anicetus beset the villa with a guard, and bursting open the gates, seized such of her slaves as he met on his way to the door of her chamber, which he found guarded by very few, the rest being scared away by the terror of the irruption. In her chamber was a small light, and only one of her maids. Agrippina was more and more agitated with anxious thoughts that no one had yet arrived from her son, not even Agerinus: she observed the alteration in the general aspect of the shore, the solitude that reigned, startling noises, and symptoms of some dire catastrophe. Her maid then leaving her, she said, "you too are deserting me;" when looking round she saw Anicetus, accompanied with Hercules, captain of a galley, and Oloaritus, a centurion of the navy: she told him, "if he came from the emperor to be informed of her health, to say she was revived; if for any sanguinary purpose, she would never believe it of her son: he had never given orders for parricide." The assassins placed themselves round her bed, the captain first struck her violently upon the head with a club: for to the centurion, as he was drawing his sword to despatch her, she presented her womb, and with a loud voice, "strike your sword into my belly," she cried, and was instantly despatched with a number of wounds.

9. In these particulars authors are unanimous: but as to whether Nero surveyed the breathless body of his mother, and applauded its beauty; there are those who have affirmed it, and those who deny it. Her body was committed to the funeral pile the same night on a common couch; and her obsequies performed in a mean manner: neither, during the reign of Nero, was any tomb raised, or her grave enclosed; but afterwards, from the respect of her domestics, she received a humble monument upon the road to Misenum, near a villa of Cæsar's the dictator, which, elevated above the surrounding objects, overlooks the coast and bays below. Mnester, a freedman of hers, as soon as her funeral pile was lighted, ran himself through with a sword; whether from affection to his patroness, or from dread of some horrible doom to himself, is uncertain. Agrippina had been taught to expect many years before that she would end her life thus, but cared not for it: for the Chaldeans, whom she consulted on the fortune of Nero, answered, that "he would certainly reign and kill

his mother;" when she replied, "let him kill me, so that he reign."

10. As for Nero, now at length, after the impious deed was completed, he became sensible of its enormity: during the rest of the night, at times he would remain profoundly silent, fixing his eyes immoveably upon the ground; at others starting up, amazed and trembling; and in the distraction of despair, waited the approach of day; which, he apprehended, would bring his final doom. But he was roused into hopes and assurance, first by the flattery of the tribunes and centurions, who, at the instigation of Burrus, grasped his hand and congratulated him, "upon having escaped an unforeseen peril, and the treason of his mother." Next, his friends repaired to the temples, and the example once set, the adjacent municipalities of Campania testified their joy by victims and embassies. For himself; his dissimulation taking a different turn, he appeared sad and dejected in his mien; seeming to be displeased at his own preservation, and mourning over the death of his mother. However, as the face of a country cannot change its aspect, like the countenances of men, and as the offensive prospect of that sea and of those shores, lay continually before his eyes, (there were those too who believed that from the surrounding hills the sound of a trumpet was heard, and wailings from Agrippina's grave), he withdrew to Naples, and sent letters to the senate, of which the substance was:

11. "That Agerinus, a confidential freedman of Agrippina's, sent by her to assassinate him, had been detected with a dagger in his possession; and that she had atoned for her crime on the suggestion of the same guilty consciousness that had impelled her to contrive the treason." To this he added a long catalogue of her past crimes; how "she had aimed at a co-ordinate power with himself in the empire, at drawing from the prætorian bands, an oath of submission and fidelity to a woman; to the disgrace and abasement at once of the senate and people; and finding her wishes disappointed, became enraged against the soldiery, the fathers, and the populace; and hence opposed a donative to the army, and a largess to the people; and had got up capital prosecutions against the most illustrious men of Rome. What labour it cost him to defeat her design of assuming a seat in the senate, and of replying to foreign ambassadors." Obliquely censuring the proceedings of the Claudian times, he laid to his mother all the atrocities of that reign; alleging, "that through the good fortune of the state, she had fallen:"

for he also related the shipwreck: but, where is the man so stupid as to believe that event to be the effect of chance? or that a shipwrecked woman should send one man with a dagger to break through the fleets and guards of the emperor? Therefore it was not now upon Nero that the popular censure fell (whose barbarity could not be affected by the complaints of the whole city), but upon Seneca; for that, by using such language he had proved himself an accomplice.

12. However, with wonderful competition among the great, supplications at all the couches of the gods were decreed, "that the Quinquatrus, during which the conspiracy was detected, should be celebrated by anniversary spectacles; in the senate-house should be placed the statue of Minerva in gold, and close by it that of the emperor; and, that Agrippina's birthday should be regarded as an unlucky day." Thræsea Pætus, who was hitherto wont either to pass over these sallies of flattery in silence, or with a brief assent, now walked out of the senate, and thence laid the foundation of danger to himself, without opening a source of liberty to others. There happened moreover at the same time, frequent prodigies; but no consequences followed: a woman brought forth a serpent; another, in the embraces of her husband, was struck dead with lightning; the sun too became suddenly darkened, and the fourteen quarters of the city were struck by lightning: all which proved so entirely independent of any design in the deities, that for many years after this Nero continued his sovereignty and crimes. Now, in order to heighten the popular hate towards his mother, and show that his own clemency was increased by her removal, he restored to their native country and inheritance Junia and Calpurnia, ladies of illustrious quality, with Valerius Capito and Licinius Gabolus, men of prætorian dignity; all formerly exiled by Agrippina: he likewise permitted the ashes of Lollia Paulina to be brought home, and a sepulchre to be built for them: Iturius too, and Calvisius, whom he had lately banished, he now pardoned and released: for Silana had finished her course at Tarentum, whither, from her remote banishment, she had returned, when the influence of Agrippina, by whose enmity she fell, was declining, or her resentment had subsided.

13. While Nero lingered in the towns of Campania, undetermined how to conduct himself upon his return to Rome, and distracted with doubt whether he should find the senate obsequious, or the people attached to him, all the profligates of the court (and no court upon earth more

abounded with them) combated his misgivings by declaring, "that the very name of Agrippina was detested; and that by her death, the affections of the people towards him had been kindled into a flame; they bid him go fearlessly, and in person receive proofs of the popular adoration. They obtained leave at the same time, to go there before him; which they did, and found a more forward zeal than they had promised: the tribes came forth to meet him, the senate in their robes of state, with troops of women and children, ranged in separate classes according to sex and age; and on the line of his route erections for spectators with seats one above another, in the same manner as triumphs are viewed. Elated with pride upon such a reception, and conscious of his triumph over a servile public, he repaired to the Capitol, and returned thanks to the gods: and thenceforth abandoned himself to all his inordinate passions; which, though insufficiently controlled, had been somewhat checked by his reverence for his mother, such as it was.

14. It had long been a practice with him to drive a chariot drawn by four horses: nor less scandalous was his passion for singing to the harp, after the theatrical fashion, when at supper. "An employment, which he alleged to have been commonly practised by the kings and heroes of old; was celebrated by the poets, and devoted to the honour of the gods; indeed song was sacred to Apollo, and with a similar habit and instrument, not only in the cities of Greece, but even in the Roman temples, that pre-eminent and oracular deity might be seen." Nor could he any longer be restrained, when Seneca and Burrus, lest he should carry his point in both, resolved to indulge him in one; and a piece of ground in the valley of the Vatican was enclosed, where he might drive without being exposed to a promiscuous crowd of spectators: but in a short time, even the Roman populace were invited to see him, who animated him with acclamations, according to the genius of the multitude, who are eager for amusements, and rejoice when the inclinations of the prince point in that direction. But this public exhibition of his shame did not produce disgust as they supposed, but encouragement. Imagining also that his disgrace would be diminished by involving more in the contamination, he introduced, as actors into the theatre, some of the descendants of illustrious families, whose poverty exposed them to the temptation of hire; men now no more, and whose names I repeat not, because I deem it due to their ancestors; and also because the guilt is his who has given money to in-

duce them to commit offences, rather than to prevent them. He likewise engaged several distinguished Roman knights to undertake the acting of parts in public representations, by excessive rewards; unless it be thought that pay from one who has authority to command, carries with it the efficacy of compulsion.

15. Nevertheless, that he might not as yet be debased in the public theatre, he instituted a sort of plays called 'Juvenales;' and for these, names were given in from all quarters: neither noble descent, nor age, nor offices of honour borne, prevented any one from practising the art of a Greek or Roman stageplayer, even to their effeminate gestures and modulations: nay, even illustrious ladies practised unseemly things: and in the grove which was planted by Augustus round the lake where the naval combat was exhibited, for their entertainment taverns and booths were built; and incentives to wantonness were exposed to sale. Moreover, money was given by the emperor to the innocent as well as the voluptuous, to be wasted alike in riot; by the former from compulsion, by the latter from ostentation of vice. The consequence was, that guilt and infamy increased; nor was there anything which infused more debauchery into the public manners, which had long fallen from primitive purity, than this concentration of the dregs and offscourings of vice. Hardly can modesty be secured by virtuous training; much less can chastity, or moderation, or aught that savours of moral purity, be preserved amidst a general rivalry in vice. At length, Nero mounted the stage, tuning his lute with much care, and flourishing before he began his part. About him stood his companions; a cohort too of the guards was also there, with tribunes and centurions, and Burrus, praising his master but grieving for him. At this time also was first enrolled the body of Roman knights entitled 'Augustani,' men in the prime of life, and remarkable for their bodily vigour; some naturally licentious, others from the prospect of elevation. They were occupied by day and by night in applauding the prince as loudly as they could; applying to him and to his voice, terms appropriate to the gods; and lived in honour and renown, as though they had been preferred for their virtues.

16. The emperor however, that he might be renowned not for theatrical accomplishments only, affected a passion for poetry also; having gathered about him such as had any talent in that way: all these were wont to sit down together with the prince, and connect together lines they brought, or composed there, and patch them on to the



emperor's effusions, howsoever crude they might be. This is apparent from the very character of these poems, which are without fire and inspiration, as well as the uniformity that marks the production of one author. He was wont also to give some time after meals to professors of philosophy, that the squabbles of those who maintained opposite opinions, might afford amusement to him: nor were there wanting some, who were not averse to exhibit their austere looks and mien amidst these royal recreations.

17. About the same time, a trivial altercation gave rise to a sanguinary conflict between the inhabitants of the colonies of Nuceria and Pompeii, at the celebration of a combat of gladiators exhibited by Livineius Regulus, whose expulsion from the senate I have before recounted. For, as they rallied each other with the freedom usual among the inhabitants of small towns, they proceeded to abuse, then to throwing stones, and at length they had recourse to arms: but the people of Pompeii, where the spectacle was exhibited, were too strong for their opponents. In consequence, numbers of the Nucerians were conveyed to Rome, wounded and mutilated; and many bewailed the death of sons and fathers. The cognizance of this affair was by the prince left to the senate, and by them to the consuls; and on their report of the merits of the case to the fathers, the people of Pompeii were prohibited from holding any such public meeting for ten years, and the societies they had instituted contrary to the laws were dissolved.

18. Pedius Blæsus also was expelled the senate, at the suit of the Cyrenians, who urged that he profanely robbed the treasure of Æsculapius: and had been guilty of venal and corrupt practices in the matter of the levies. The same Cyrenians prosecuted Acilius Strabo, who had exercised prætorian authority, and had been sent as an arbitrator by Claudius respecting lands formerly held by king Apion, and by him bequeathed, together with his kingdom, to the Roman people; the same had been usurped by the bordering proprietors, who founded a claim upon continual encroachment and wrong, as though they had justice and right on their side. The consequence was, that Strabo, having adjudged the lands not theirs, incurred their displeasure. In answer to the application the senate said, "that the terms of his commission from Claudius were unknown to them, and the matter must be referred to the prince." Nero approved the arbitration of Strabo, but wrote, "that he would nevertheless support our allies and grant them the possessions they had usurped."

19. Then followed the deaths of those eminent Romans, Domitius Afer and Marcus Servilius, who had lived in high repute, having filled the most honourable offices and distinguished themselves for their eloquence; the former was celebrated as a pleader; Servilius was also long noted at the bar, but afterwards acquired fame by his Roman history, as also for the elegance and probity of his life; which received additional lustre from that of Afer, who was in genius his equal, but a contrast to him in his manners.

20. During the consulship of Nero (for the fourth time) and Cornelius Cossus, quinquennial games were instituted at Rome, after the model of the Greek contest; and, as generally happens in new institutions, various were the opinions expressed upon the occasion. There were some who alleged, "that Pompey too was censured by our ancestors, for having founded a permanent theatre: till then, the spectacles used to be exhibited on temporary stages, and were seen from seats raised on the moment: or, if times more remote were consulted, the people would be found to have stood to behold them; lest, had they been indulged with seats, they should consume whole days in the theatre from idleness. In truth, the primitive rule in popular shows would be preserved, as often as the prætors should exhibit them, if no Roman citizen were compelled to enter the lists; but now, the usages of our country, which had long been gradually disappearing, were utterly obliterated by imported extravagances, so that at Rome might be seen, from all quarters, whatever was corrupting or corrupt; and the Roman youth were degenerating from the virtue of their ancestors, by the introduction of foreign tastes, by habituating them to gymnastics, to idleness, and filthy amours; and that under the sanction of the prince and senate, who not only have granted a dispensation for vices, but now enforce them; and the chief men of Rome are exposed to scenic pollutions under pretence of encouraging poetry and eloquence. What remained, but to strip themselves, to take up the gauntlet and practise that mode of combat in lieu of martial exercises and the use of arms? Would they become acquainted with the system of justice administered by the augurs, or be qualified to act as knights exercising the judicature; to discharge the exalted function of judges, because they had listened with a critic's ear to languishing tones and mellifluous inflexions of the voice? Night as well as days were devoted to dishonour; that not a moment might be left which modesty might call her own; but that in a promiscuous crowd

every profligate might dare, under the cover of darkness, whatever his lust may have suggested during the day."

21. To many this dissolute pastime was congenial, but they disguised it under specious names: "even our ancestors," they alleged, "were not averse to the gratification of public shows, exhibited in a manner suitable to the circumstances of that time, and the revenue of the state: for this end, Tuscany furnished them with players; Thurium with horse-racing: after the conquest of Greece and Asia, their sports were got up more elaborately: yet, for two hundred years, from the triumph of Lucius Mummius, the first who presented this kind of show in the city, no Roman of respectability had debased himself to the profession of the stage. Moreover, frugality was consulted in rearing a standing theatre, rather than incurring an immense expense every year in putting up and pulling down one: neither had the magistrates the same occasion to exhaust their private fortune, nor the people to importune them for the exhibition of the Grecian games; since the expense was defrayed by the state. The prizes gained by poets and orators, would prove incentives to the cultivation of genius; nor was it invidious for any judge to lend his ear to the productions of honourable ambition, and blameless gratifications. That a few nights once in the five years were rather appropriated to mirth than wantonness; during which, illuminated as they were with such a blaze of lights, no impropriety could escape observation." It must be admitted that this spectacle passed off without any remarkable violation of decorum; nor did the zeal of the people break out into any excesses; for, though the pantomimes were again restored to the stage, they were restrained from the exhibitions which were held sacred. The prize of eloquence was borne away by none; but Cæsar was pronounced the victor. The Grecian garb, worn at this solemnity by many, ceased to be used from that time.

22. During these transactions, a comet blazed; a phenomenon which, according to the persuasion of the vulgar, portended change to kingdoms; hence, as if Nero had been already deposed, it became the topic of inquiry, who should be chosen to succeed him: and the name of Rubellius Plautus, a man of noble lineage, being descended from the Julian family, through his mother, was in every body's mouth. He was himself a strict observer of the institutions of ancient times; sober in his dress; in his private character blameless and retiring; but the more he sought concealment from the dangers of public life, the

more his fame resounded. The popular voice was further stimulated by the construction put, in the same spirit of superstition, upon a flash of lightning: for, as Nero sat at meat in a villa called Sublaqueum, upon the banks of the Simbruine lakes, the viands were struck by lightning and the table overthrown; and as this occurrence took place in the neighbourhood of Tibur, whence the paternal ancestors of Plautus sprang, they believed that this was the man predestinated for empire by the decree of the deities. He was likewise warmly supported by many whose eager and commonly shortsighted ambition plunges them into projects of revolution and hazard. All this alarmed Nero, who therefore signified to Plautus by letter, "that he should consult the peace of Rome, and withdraw himself from those who malignantly aspersed him: that in Asia he had hereditary possessions, where he might pass the best of his days in security and peace." He accordingly retired thither, with Antistia his wife, and a few friends. About the same time, the inordinate propensity of Nero to voluptuousness, involved him in danger and obloquy; by entering for the purpose of swimming the fountain head of the Marcian water, which is conveyed to the city, he was considered to have polluted the sacred water, and to have profaned the sanctity of the place by washing his person there; and a dangerous fit of illness, which followed, left no doubt of the displeasure of the gods.

23. Now, Corbulo, judging it proper, after the demolition of Artaxata, to take advantage of the consternation, before it had subsided, in seizing Tigranocerta; for if he razed it he should strike fresh terror into the foe, or if he spared it acquire the reputation of clemency; marched towards it, but without any indications of exasperated feeling, lest he should banish all hopes of pardon; and yet preserving the strictness of discipline; knowing that they were a nation prone to changes, and as little to be depended upon under temptation as they were cowardly in encountering danger. The Barbarians, each following the impulse of his own will, met him with supplications, or abandoned their towns and betook themselves to the wilds: some crept into caves, accompanied with whatever was dearest to them. The methods therefore taken by the Roman general were various as the occasion: to the suppliants he extended mercy; the fugitives he pursued with speed; but towards those who had hid themselves in dens showed no pity; he filled the mouths and passes of the caverns with fagots and brushwood, and burned them out. But as he marched along the confines of the

Mardians, he was galled by the predatory bands of that people, who are protected against invasions by their mountain fastnesses: but Corbulo, by pouring in the Iberians upon them, laid waste their country, and revenged their insolence at the expense of foreign blood.

24. But, though neither he nor his army suffered at all in encounters with the enemy, they were exhausted with scarcity of provisions and fatigue, and compelled to avert famine by living on animal food. In addition to which, the scarcity of water, a scorching summer, long and remote marches, were relieved only by the unflinching endurance of the general, who himself underwent more hardships than any common soldier. They then arrived at cultivated regions, where they reaped the crops; and, of the two castles whither the Armenians had fled for safety, one was taken by assault; the other, having repulsed the first onset, was besieged and compelled to surrender. Corbulo, crossing over thence to the country of the Tauranitians, escaped an unlooked for danger; for not far from his pavilion, a Barbarian of distinction, armed with a dagger was apprehended; who, upon the rack, unfolded the order of the conspiracy, confessed that he was the author of it, and discovered his associates, who were convicted and punished, as men who under the guise of friendship were meditating villany. Not long after, his ambassadōrs sent to Tigranocerta bring tidings that the gates were open to receive him, and that the inhabitants were ready to submit to his commands. At the same time, they handed to him a golden crown, as a token of hospitality: which he accepted with every mark of honour, and in no respect detracted from their present state; that being left in the full enjoyment of it, they might continue in cordial submission.

25. But the royal citadel, which was defended by a band of resolute youths, was not captured without a struggle: for they even ventured upon a battle under the walls, but were beaten back within their fortification; which our troops carried, and at length compelled them to yield. These operations proceeded the more favourably because the Parthian forces were diverted by a war with the Hyrcanians, who had sent an embassy to the Roman emperor, to entreat his alliance; pointing to the detention of Vologeses from them as a pledge of their friendship. As these ambassadors were returning, that they might not by crossing the Euphrates be intercepted by the parties of the enemy, Corbulo furnished them with a convoy of soldiers, and conducted them as far as the shores of the Red

sea, whence, without touching the precincts of Parthia, they went back to their country.

26. Moreover, as Tiridates had passed through Media, and was thence invading the extreme parts of Armenia; Corbulo, having sent forward Verulanus, his lieutenant-general, with the auxiliary troops, and advancing himself rapidly at the head of the legions, compelled him to move off to a distance and abandon all hopes of pursuing the war: and having likewise carried fire and sword through all those quarters which he had learnt were zealous for that king, and therefore disaffected to us, he had already assumed the government of Armenia, when Tigranes arrived, a prince preferred by Nero to that crown. He was a Cappadocian, nobly descended, and grandson to king Archelaus; but having passed many years at Rome in the quality of a hostage, his spirit was humbled to a degree of abject servility: neither was he received with general unanimity, as there still remained some who favoured the family of the Arsacidæ; but the majority detesting the insolence of the Parthians, preferred a king given them by the Romans. He also gave him as a body guard, a thousand legionary soldiers, three cohorts of the allies, and two squadrons of horse; and to enable him the better to maintain his new kingdom, several portions of Armenia were subjected to the neighbouring kings, to Pharasmanes, to Polemon, Aristobulus, and Antiochus; according to the contiguity of the same to their respective dominions. Corbulo then withdrew into Syria; a province now vacant by the death of Ummidius, and assigned to him.

27. The same year, Laodicea, one of the famous cities of Asia, having been prostrated by an earthquake, recovered its pristine glory from its own resources and without any relief from us. In Italy, the ancient town of Puteoli obtained from Nero the privilege of a colony, and an appellation derived from himself. Veterans were ingrafted on the inhabitants of Tarentum and Antium, who however did not remedy the defect of population there: for many of them slipped off to the different provinces in which they had completed their period; and being unaccustomed to wedlock, or to rear children, they lived childless, and left none to succeed them when they died. For, colonies were not now established as of old, when entire legions were transplanted thither, with tribunes and centurions, and the soldiers of the several classes; so as to form a commonweal united by similarity of sentiment and mutual affection; but men unknown to each other, without a ruler, and without any reciprocity of feeling, were

suddenly assembled from, as it were, different races of men; a multitude rather than a colony.

28. The election of prætors, which used to be managed at the discretion of the senate, having been marked by an outbreak of acrimonious competition, the prince allayed the excitement by preferring to the command of a legion each of the three defeated candidates. He also enhanced the dignity of the fathers, by ordaining, that, "whoever appealed from individual judges to the senate, should hazard the forfeiture of the same sum as those who appealed to the emperor." For, theretofore it was left open and free from penalty. At the close of the year Vibius Secundus, a Roman knight, was, upon the accusation of the Moors, condemned for public plunder, and banished Italy; he was indebted for his escape from a severer doom to the opulence of Vibius Crispus, his brother.

29. In the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus, a severe defeat was sustained in Britain; where Avitus, the governor, had done no more than maintain our former conquests, as I have stated; and his successor Veranius, after having in some slight incursions ravaged the territories of the Silures, was prevented by death from further prosecution of the war: this man, though in high repute during his life for strictness of manners, yet in the style of his last will gave flagrant proof of a fawning spirit; for after much flattery bestowed on Nero, he added, "that he should completely subject that province to him, if his life were prolonged for two years." But now Suetonius Paullinus held the government of Britain; a competitor with Corbulo in the science of war, and in the estimation of the populace, who suffer no man to enjoy their favour without a rival; and he hoped by subduing that fierce enemy, to equal the renown of recovering Armenia. He therefore prepared to attack the Isle of Mona, remarkable for the valour of its inhabitants, and a common receptacle for fugitives: he built, for that end, boats with flat bottoms, to meet the difficulties of a sea abounding in shallows and subject to variations: in these the foot were embarked: the horse followed, partly by fording and partly swimming by the side of their horses, where the water was deep.

30. On the shore stood the forces of the enemy, a dense array of arms and men, with women dashing through the ranks like furies; their dress funereal, their hair dishevelled, and carrying torches in their hands. The druids around the host, pouring forth dire imprecations, with their hands uplifted towards the heavens, struck terror

into the soldiers by the strangeness of the sight; insomuch that as if their limbs were paralysed, they exposed their bodies to the weapons of the enemy, without an effort to move. Afterwards, at the earnest exhortations of the general, and from the effect of their own mutual importunities that they would not be scared by a rabble of women and fanatics, they bore down upon them, smote all that opposed them to the earth, and wrapped them in the flames themselves had kindled. A garrison was then established to overawe the vanquished, and the groves dedicated to sanguinary superstitions destroyed; for they deemed it acceptable to their deities to make their altars fume with the blood of captives, and to seek the will of the gods in the entrails of men. While Suetonius was thus employed, tidings were brought him of the sudden revolt of the province.

31. Prasutagus, king of the Icenians, a prince long renowned for opulence, had by will appointed the emperor joint heir with his own two daughters: judging that by such an instance of loyalty, he should place his kingdom and family out of the reach of harm: a design which turned out so contrary to his anticipations, that his realm was ravaged by the centurions, and his house by slaves; as if they had been the spoils of war. First of all Boadicea his wife was subjected to stripes, and his daughters ravished: and, as though the entire region had been a donation to the plunderers, all the principal Icenians were spoiled of their hereditary possessions, and the relations of the king were made slaves of. Enraged by these indignities, and dreading oppressions still more severe, for they were reduced into the form of a province, they flew to arms; having roused the Trinobantes to join in the revolt; as well as all others who, not yet broken by the yoke of servitude, had secretly coveted to recover their liberty, from their implacable antipathy to the veterans. For those who had been recently planted in the colony of Camulodunum had thrust the people out of their houses, and driven them from their lands, calling them captives and slaves. These outrages of the veterans were encouraged by the common soldiers, from similarity of occupation and the hope of enjoying the same privilege. They had also before their eyes a temple erected to the deified Claudius, which they regarded as the citadel of endless domination: priests too were appointed, who, under pretence of religious rites, exhausted their whole substance. Neither did it appear an arduous undertaking to raze a colony secured by



no fortifications: a provision neglected by our generals, who paid more attention to matters of elegance than utility.

32. Meanwhile, the statue of Victory at Camulodunum, without any apparent cause, fell down, and the face turned round, as if she yielded to the enemy: the women too, worked up to frenzy by their fears, prophesied that destruction was at hand. The circumstance of murmurs in a foreign tongue being heard in their council chamber; that their theatre rang with howlings; and that in the mouth of the Thames was seen the appearance of the colony in ruins; that at one time the ocean assumed an aspect of blood; and when the tide ebbed, the prints of human bodies were left;—all these things the Britons interpreted in confirmation of their hopes, the veterans of their fears. But, because Suetonius was at a great distance, they sought succours from Catus Decianus, procurator of the province, who yet sent them no more than two hundred men, nor these completely armed; and, in the colony itself, was but a small number of soldiers. The veterans not only relied upon the shelter and strength of the temple, but being frustrated in their measures by secret accomplices in the revolt, they neither protected themselves by a ditch or palisade; nor removed their women and old men, reserving only the youth for their defence. Unguarded, unprepared, as if in the midst of peace, they were surrounded by a host of the Barbarians. Everything else in the colony was reduced to ruins in their fury, or was consumed by fire; but the temple, whither the soldiers had retired in a body, after two days' siege was taken by storm. Moreover, Petilius Cerialis, commander of the ninth legion, as he advanced to relieve his friends, was met and encountered by the victorious Britons: his legion routed, and all his infantry slain. Cerialis, with the horse, escaped to the camp, and there defended himself in his entrenchments: Catus the procurator, terrified with this defeat, and the exasperated feeling in the province, which by his avarice he had driven to hostilities, passed over into Gaul.

33. But Suetonius, with amazing perseverance, pushed on through the midst of enemies to London; a city not indeed signalled by the title of a colony, but very much frequented by an abundance of merchants, and ships that enter its port. There, hesitating whether he should fix upon that city as the seat of the war, when he surveyed the scanty number of his men, and reflected on the terrible proofs he had of the punishment of Petilius's temerity, he resolved, with the loss of one town, to save the whole pro-

vince. Nor could the tears and wailings of those who implored his protection, divert him from giving the signal for marching, and incorporating with the marching body those who would accompany him: whoever staid behind, whether from the weakness of sex, or the infirmities of age, or the attractions of the place, fell beneath the rage of the enemy. The municipal town of Verulamium experienced the same diastrous fortune; for the Barbarians, who were charmed with plunder, but averse to other exploits of war, omitted to attack forts and garrisons, and directed their attempts to whatever afforded ample booty to the spoiler, and was difficult of preservation to those who guarded it. In the several places which I have mentioned, it appeared that seventy thousand souls had perished, of Romans and the allies. For the enemy neither made nor sold prisoners, nor transacted anything else appertaining to the commerce of war; but they hastened to butcher, hang, burn, crucify; as men who were themselves doomed to suffer capital punishment, and who snatched their revenge beforehand while they might.

34. Suetonius had already an army of near ten thousand men; namely, the fourteenth legion, with the veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the neighbourhood: so that, relinquishing all further delay, he prepared for a regular encounter, and chose a place approached by a narrow ravine, and in the rear enclosed by a wood; satisfied that the enemy could come upon him only in front, and that as the plain afforded no cover, there was no fear of ambuscade: he, therefore, drew up the legionary soldiers in close order, and around them placed the light-armed troops; the cavalry, in a dense body, being posted in the wings. The British army were everywhere flying about in parties of foot and troops of horse, in greater number than on any other occasion; and with minds so confident that they brought with them their wives, to witness their victory, and stowed them in their wagons, which they placed around upon the extreme verge of the plain.

35. Boadicea, seated in a chariot, with her two daughters before her, traversed the field, and as she came up to each nation, she called them to witness "that it was usual for Britons to war under the conduct of women: but on that occasion she entered the field not as one descended from ancestors so illustrious to recover her kingdom and her treasure; but as one of the humblest among them, to take vengeance for liberty extinguished, her own body lacerated with stripes, the chastity of her daughters defiled; that

the Romans, in the fury of their inordinate passions, had proceeded to such extremes, that the persons of those within their reach were not safe; they would not leave old age unmolested, nor virginity uncontaminated; that the gods, however, aided their righteous revenge; a legion, which dared an engagement, had already fallen; the rest skulked behind their intrenchments, or were looking about for a way to escape: they would not be able to endure the clangour and shouts of so many thousands; much less their spirit and their strength. If they reflected on the numbers of their men, and the motives that brought them into the field, they would see that in that battle they must conquer or perish. Such was the fixed resolve of a woman; the men might live if they pleased, and be the slaves of Romans."

36. Neither was Suetonius silent at a juncture so perilous: for though he confided in the bravery of his men, yet he mingled exhortations with entreaties "to despise the noises of the Barbarians, with all their impotent menaces. In that great host were to be seen more women than efficient men; unwarlike, unarmed, they would give way the instant they felt the swords and the valour of those victorious troops by whom they had been so often routed. Even in an army composed of many legions, those who turned the fortune of the day were few, and it would add to their glory, that though a small band, they earned the fame enjoyed by the whole host. They were only to keep their ranks, and having first discharged their darts, with the bosses of their shields and their swords follow up the work of havoc and carnage, without bestowing a thought upon the spoil; the victory once gained, everything would fall into their hands." Such was the ardour which the language of the general inspired, that the soldiers, long practised and experienced in many battles, so promptly put themselves in readiness to hurl their weapons upon the enemy, that Suetonius gave the signal for battle, in confident anticipation of the issue.

37. And first, the legion kept their ground immoveably, sheltering themselves within the defiles as with a bulwark, till the enemy, having come near them, had received all their darts, discharged at a sure distance, when they sallied out upon them, in a kind of wedge: equal was the ardour of the auxiliaries: and the cavalry, advancing with their pikes extended, broke through everything they met with, and that made any resistance; all the rest turned their backs, but found it difficult to escape; the inclosure made by their own carriages obstructing their flight: the

soldiers spared not even the lives of women; nay, the very beasts, pierced with darts, served to swell the heaps of the slain. The glory gained that day was signal indeed, and equal to the victories of ancient times: for, there are authors who record that of the Britons were slain almost eighty thousand; of our men, about four hundred, with not many more wounded: Boadicea ended her life by poison: Pœnius Postumus too, præfect of the camp to the second legion, learning the success of the fourteenth and twentieth, and reflecting that he had defrauded his own of equal honour, and, contrary to the laws of military duty, had disobeyed the orders of his general, ran himself through with his sword.

38. The whole army was then collected, and kept under tents, in order to finish the remains of the war. The forces were also augmented by Nero, who sent two thousand legionary soldiers, eight cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thousand horse from Germany. By their arrival the defect of legionary soldiers in the ninth legion was supplied; the cohorts and allied cavalry were posted in new winter-quarters; and such of the nations as were suspected, or opposed the Romans, were subjected to devastation by fire and sword. But nothing so much distressed the enemy as famine, for they had neglected to sow the ground; and their people of every age were sent away to the war; as they looked forward with certainty to appropriating our stores: besides, these nations, naturally headstrong, were more backward in their inclination to peace, from the circumstance that Julius Classicianus, who was sent to succeed Catus, and was at variance with Suetonius, obstructed the public good to gratify private pique: he had propagated the notion, "that a new governor was by all means to be waited for, who being free from the resentment of an enemy, and the arrogance of a conqueror, would treat the foe with humanity on their submission." At the same time, he sent advice to Rome, "that unless a successor were sent to Suetonius, there would be no end of the contest:" and, while he charged the failures of that general upon his own defects, he ascribed his successes to good fortune.

39. Accordingly, Polyclitus, one of the imperial freedmen, was despatched to inspect the condition of Britain: Nero entertaining confident hopes, that by his authority, not only would a good understanding be restored between the governor and procurator, but the discontented spirits of the Barbarians would be calmed and pacified: nor was Polyclitus backward to assume the employment; but hav-

ing travelled through Italy and Gaul, oppressing them with his enormous train, and then crossing the channel, he came with such state that he struck terror even into our soldiers. But to the enemy he was an object of derision; for the flame of popular liberty even then burned with undiminished energy among them, and they were as yet strangers to the authority of freedmen: their wonder, too, was excited that a general and army who had successfully terminated a war of such magnitude, should crouch to the commands of a slave. The transactions there, were, however, reported to the emperor in a favourable light; so that Suetonius was continued in the government: but, after having stranded a few galleys, and lost the men who rowed them, as if the war was still unfinished, he was ordered to resign his army to Petronius Turpilianus, who had just ended his consulship: who, taking care not to irritate the enemy, and receiving no provocation himself, veiled this state of spiritless inactivity under the honourable appellation of peace.

40. This same year were committed at Rome two glaring iniquities; one by a senator, the other by the desperate hand of a slave. Domitius Balbus had sustained the dignity of prætor; and his wealth and childlessness, added to his extreme age, exposed him to the machinations of villany. A will in his name was forged by Valerius Fabianus his kinsman, who was marked out for administering public offices; having combined with him in the plot Vincius Rufinus and Terentius Lentinus, both Roman knights: who associated in the same cause Antonius Primus and Asinius Marcellus; Antonius a man prompt and enterprising, Marcellus illustrious for his descent from Asinius Pollio, who was his grandfather: nor was he considered despicable in point of morals, save that he believed poverty to be the chief of evils. Fabianus therefore, in the presence of those whom I have mentioned, and others of less note, sealed the will; a fraud of which they were convicted before the senate: and Fabianus and Antonius, with Rufinus and Terentius, were all doomed to the penalties of the Cornelian law. With regard to Marcellus, the memory of his ancestors, with the entreaties of Nero, procured him an exemption rather from punishment than infamy.

41. The same day beheld the ruin of Pompeius Ælianus; a young man once invested with the dignity of quæstor, but now charged with being privy to the atrocities of Fabianus: he was therefore interdicted Italy, and also Spain, his native country. Upon Valerius Ponticus was

inflicted similar ignominy, for arraigning the delinquents at the tribunal of the prætor, that they might not be impleaded before the præfect of the city; meanwhile endeavouring to defeat the ends of justice, first under colour of the laws, and afterwards by foul play. To the decree of the senate it was added, "that whoever should hire or take a price for such employment, should be involved in the same penalty with one publicly condemned for calumny."

42. Not long after, Pedanius Secundus, præfect of the city, was murdered by his own slave; either upon refusing him his liberty, for which he had bargained at a certain price, or that he was enraged by jealousy in respect of a pathick, and could not bear his master for a rival. Now, since according to ancient custom, the whole family of slaves, who upon such occasion abode under the same roof, must be subjected to capital punishment; such was the conflux of the people, who were desirous of saving so many innocent lives, that matters proceeded even to sedition: in the senate itself were some who were favourable to the popular side, and rejected such excessive rigour; while many, on the contrary, voted against admitting any innovation: of these last was Caius Cassius, who, instead of barely giving his vote, reasoned in this manner:

43. "Many times have I assisted, conscript fathers, in this august assembly, when new decrees of senate have been demanded, contrary to the laws and institutes of our forefathers, without opposing such demands: not because I doubted that the provisions made of old upon all matters were the wiser and more equitable, and that such as were changed were altered for the worse, but lest I should appear to commend the side I espoused by an immoderate attachment to ancient institutions. At the same time I considered that whatever weight might attach to my character ought not to be destroyed by reiterated defeats, in order that it might remain entire if at any time the state stood in need of my counsels; such a conjuncture this day has brought forth: when a man of consular rank, having been murdered in his own house, by the treachery of his slaves; a fraud none of them prevented, none of them disclosed, although the decree of senate was still in full force, which denounced the pains of death to the whole household. By all means establish impunity by your decree; but then, what security will any man derive from his dignity, when even the præfecture of Rome availed not him who possessed it? who will be protected by the number of his slaves, when a band of four

hundred afforded no protection to Pedanius Secundus? To which of us will such domestics administer aid, when, even with the terrors of the law before their eyes, they stir not to protect us from danger? or is it, as some blush not to feign, that the murderer only took vengeance for injuries he had received? what injuries? had this slave any dispute about his paternal property? or had he inherited the bondman, now taken from him? let us not mince matters, but pronounce at once that the master was killed justifiably.

44. "But are we to hunt up arguments in an affair long since weighed and determined by our wiser ancestors? but even if the question were now for the first time to be decided, do you believe that a slave could conceive a purpose of murdering his master, without one menacing expression escaping him? without incautiously uttering one syllable which might intimate his design? grant that he effectually concealed his purpose; that he procured the weapon without the privity of his fellows: could he pass through the guard of slaves at the chamber door, open that door, bring in a light, perpetrate the murder, unknown to them all? Many indications of atrocious guilt precede its commission. If our slaves discover them to us, we may live, though but one among many; secure amidst those who are torn with guilty purposes; and lastly, if we must perish, we know that our death will be avenged upon the guilty persons among whom we live. By our ancestors the dispositions of slaves were suspected, even of such as were born on their estates, or in their own houses, and had, from the moment of their birth partaken of the benevolence of their masters. But now that in our families we have nations of slaves, having rites widely different from our own, and addicted to the religions of foreign countries, or none at all, it is impossible to curb such a promiscuous rabble, without the terrors of the law. But under this act, some who are innocent must perish with the guilty: true; but out of a routed army, when every tenth man is struck with a club, the lot falls upon the brave as well as the coward. Every great judicial warning involves somewhat of injustice to individuals, which is compensated by the general benefit."

45. Though no particular senator ventured to combat this judgment of Cassius, it was responded to by the dissonant voices of such as commiserated the number affected, the age of some, the sex of others, the undoubted innocence of very many of them: it was however carried by the party, who adjudged all to death. But it could not

be executed, the populace gathering tumultuously together, and threatening vehemently that they would resort to stones and firebrands. Nero, therefore, rebuked the people in an edict, and with lines of soldiers secured all the way through which the condemned were led to execution. Cingonius Varro had moved that the freedmen too, who abode under the same roof, should be deported from Italy: but this was prohibited by the prince, who urged, "that the usage of antiquity, which had not been relaxed from compassion, ought not to be made more stringent from cruelty."

46. During the same consulship, Tarquitiu Priscus was, at the suit of the Bithynians, condemned for public rapine; to the infinite gratification of the fathers, who well remembered that Statiliu Taurus, his own proconsul in Africa, had been accused by him. A general rate was also made throughout both the Gauls, by Quintu Volu-sius, Sextiu Africanus, and Trebelliu Maximus; of whom, Volusius and Africanus, priding themselves upon the splendour of their descent, were inflamed with envy of each other; and while they each looked with contempt upon Trebelliu, they rendered him superior to both.

47. The same year died Memmiu Regulu; a man as conspicuous for authority, constancy of mind, and fame, as is compatible with the darkening shadows of the imperial elevation: insomuch that when Nero was once under the pressure of sickness, and the flatterers about him were lamenting "that, if the illness proved fatal, there must be an end of the empire with that of his life;" he replied, "that the republic still had a support:" then asking, "in whom, above all others?" he subjoined, "in Memmiu Regulu." Regulu, notwithstanding, preserved his life after this, shielded by his quiet habits; and further because the renown of his family was of recent growth, and his wealth was not such as to attract envy. This year, too, Nero instituted a gymnastic school, and provided the knights and senators with oil, with Grecian laxity of morals.

48. In the consulship of Publiu Mariu and Luciu Asiniu, the prætor Antistiu, whose arbitrary conduct as tribune of the people I have recorded, composed some scurrilous verses against the prince, and recited them to a numerous convivial assembly at the house of Ostoriu Scapula. He was forthwith arraigned under the law of violated majesty, by Cossutianu Capito, who, at the entreaties of Tigellinu his father-in-law, had acquired the dignity of Senator: this was the occasion upon which this



law was first revived : though it was believed, that thereby the ruin of Antistius was not so much intended, as an opportunity of obtaining renown to the emperor ; in order that, after the accused was condemned by the senate, Cæsar might interpose his tribunitian power, and save him from death. And though Ostorius testified, that he had heard nothing at all, the witnesses for the prosecution were credited ; and Junius Marullus, consul elect, voted that “ the accused should be divested of his prætorship, and executed, according to the custom of antiquity : ” the rest, after this, concurring with him ; Pætus Thræsea, after much honourable commendation of Nero, and severe strictures upon Antistius, argued, “ that it was not incumbent upon them to determine the measure of punishment due to the guilt of the convicted criminal, living, as they were, under a prince so excellent, and unfettered as was the senate in the exercise of its functions ; halts and executioners were long since abolished : there were, moreover, penal sentences already prescribed by the laws, and in conformity to them, punishment might be pronounced without bringing the judges under the imputation of cruelty, or casting a stigma upon the times. Rather let him be confined to an island, his goods being forfeited to the state ; so that the longer his guilty existence is protracted, the greater may be the suffering he will undergo personally, while he will continue a signal example of the public clemency. ”

49. The boldness of Thræsea burst the fetters of others : so that after the consul had given leave to divide, with few exceptions they sided with Thræsea : of these few was Vitellius, a very zealot in flattery, always assailing the most upright with invectives, but silenced by reply ; as usually happens with craven spirits. The consuls however fearing to give their final sanction to the decree of senate, wrote the emperor an account of their unanimity. He hesitated for a time, struggling between shame and resentment : at last he returned an answer, “ that Antistius, altogether unprovoked by any sort of injury, had uttered many most severe aspersions upon the prince ; for which vengeance had been required from the senate : and it was fitting that a punishment proportioned to the magnitude of the offence should have been decreed. However, for himself, as he would have opposed any rigorous decree, so he would not now frustrate their lenity ; they might determine as to them seemed best : from him they had full leave even to pronounce a sentence of acquittal. ” By the recital of these expressions, and other such, it was

manifest that he was offended; but neither did the consuls therefore vary the state of the question, nor Thræsea depart from his motion, nor any of the rest flinch from what they had given their assent to. Some would not seem to expose the prince to popular odium, many felt secure in their numbers: Thræsea was governed by his habitual firmness of purpose, and a determination to preserve the dignity of his character.

50. On a charge not unlike the former, Fabricius Veiento was involved in an oppressive prosecution: it stated "that he had inserted a series of opprobrious invectives against senators and pontiffs, in the rolls to which he had given the title of codicils." To this charge it was added by Tilius Geminus his accuser, "that he had made constant traffic of the prince's favours, and the privilege of obtaining offices of state:" this determined Nero to adjudge his cause in person. Veiento was convicted, and the emperor banished him from Italy; dooming to the flames these his writings, which were universally sought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them: afterwards, when there was full permission to have them, they fell into oblivion.

51. But while the public evils grew daily more oppressive, the means and sources of redress were decreasing. It was now that Burrus departed this life; whether by poison or disease is uncertain: that it was disease, was inferred from the fact, that his throat gradually swelling internally, and the passage being choked up, he ceased to breathe. Many asserted that by the order of Nero, under colour of applying a remedy, his palate was anointed with a poisonous drug, and that Burrus having discovered the treachery, when the prince came to visit him, turned his face and eyes another way, and to his repeated inquiries about his health, made no other answer than this; 'I am well.' At Rome the sense of his loss was deep and lasting, as well from the memory of his virtue as from the spiritless simplicity of one of his successors and the flaming enormities and adulteries of the other. For Nero had created two captains of the prætorian guards; namely, Fenius Rufus for his popularity, in consequence of his administration of the public stores without deriving any profit from it; and Sofonius Tigellinus, purely from partiality to the inveterate lewdness and infamy of the man; and their influence was according to their known manner of life. Tigellinus held greater sway over the mind of Nero; and was admitted to share in his most secret debaucheries: Rufus flourished in the good opinion of

the people and soldiery, which he found a denial to him with the emperor.

52. The death of Burrus made an inroad upon the influence of Seneca; as good counsels had no longer the same force now that one of the champions of virtue was removed; and Nero naturally inclined to follow the more depraved, who assailed Seneca with various imputations: "that he had already accumulated enormous wealth, far surpassing the measure of a citizen, and was still increasing it: that he was alienating from the emperor and diverting to himself the affections of the citizens: that he sought to outdo the prince in the elegance of his gardens and the splendour of his villas." They laid to his charge also, "that he claimed a monopoly in the glory of eloquence; and that after Nero conceived a passion for versifying, he had employed himself in it with unusual assiduity: for, to the recreations of the prince, he was an open enemy; disparaged his vigour in the managing of horses; ridiculed his vocal powers whenever he sang; with what view did he endeavour to effect that in the whole republic nothing should go down which was not the product of his ingenuity? Surely Nero was passed the weakness of childhood, and arrived at the prime of youth: he ought now to discard his pedagogue, furnished as he was with instructors the most accomplished, even his own ancestors.

53. Seneca was not unapprised of the efforts of his calumniators, as they were disclosed to him by such as retained some concern for the interests of virtue; and as the emperor manifested daily more shyness towards him, he besought an opportunity of speaking to him, and having obtained it, thus began: "this is the fourteenth year, Cæsar, since I was summoned to train you for your high destiny; and the eighth since your advancement to the empire. During the intervening period, you have showered such honours and riches upon me, that nothing is wanting to complete my felicity but the capacity to use them with moderation. I shall quote great examples, such as are adapted, not to my station and fortune, but to yours. Augustus, from whom you are the fourth in descent, granted to Marcus Agrippa leave to retreat to Mitylene, and to Caius Mæcenas he allowed, even in Rome itself, a retirement as complete as in any foreign country: the former his companion in the wars; the other long harassed at Rome with manifold occupations and public cares: both received rewards ample indeed, but proportioned to their services. For myself; what other claims upon your munificence have I been able to advance, except my literary attain-

ments, nursed, so to speak, in the shade of retirement, and which have been rendered famous, because I am believed to have assisted your early years in the acquisition of learning; a glorious reward for such a service! But you encompassed me with boundless favours, unnumbered riches; so that when I ruminatè upon my situation, as I often do, I say to myself, Can it be that I, the son of a knight, the native of a province, am ranked among the chief men of Rome? Has my upstart name acquired splendour among the nobles of the land, and men who glory in a long line of honoured ancestors? where then is that philosophic spirit, which professed to be satisfied with scanty supplies? Is it employed in adorning such gardens as these? in pacing majestically through these suburban retreats? does it abound in estates so extensive as these, and in such immense sums put out at interest? One plea only occurs to my thoughts; that it becomes not me to oppose your bounties.

54. "But both of us have now filled up our measure; you, of all that the bounty of a prince could confer upon his friend: I, of all that a friend could accept from the bounty of his prince. Every addition can only furnish fresh materials for envy; which, indeed, like all other earthly things, lies prostrate beneath your towering greatness; but weighs heavily on me: I require assistance. Thus, in the same manner, as were I weary and faint with the toils of warfare or a journey, I should implore indulgence; so in this journey of life, old as I am, and unequal even to the lightest cares, since I am unable longer to sustain the weight of my own riches, I seek protection. Order your own stewards to undertake the direction of my fortune, and to annex it to your own: nor shall I by this plunge myself into poverty; but having surrendered those things by whose splendour I am exposed to the assaults of envy, all the time which is set apart for the care of gardens and villas, I shall apply once more to the cultivation of my mind. To you vigour remains more than enough, and the possession of imperial power established during so many years. We, your friends, who are more advanced in years, may take our turn of repose. This too will redound to your glory, that you had elevated to the highest posts those who could put up with a humble condition."

55. To this speech, Nero replied much in this manner: "That I am able, thus on the moment to combat your studied reasonings, is the first benefit which I acknowledge to have derived from you, who have taught me not only to speak on subjects previously considered,

but also to deliver my sentiments extemporaneously. It is true, my direct ancestor Augustus allowed Agrippa and Mæcenas to pass their time in retirement after their toils, but at that period of life when his authority protected him, whatever was the extent or nature of the concession he made to them; but nevertheless he divested neither of them of the rewards he had conferred upon them. They had earned them in war and civil perils; for in these the earlier days of Augustus were occupied: nor would your sword or your hands have been wanting had I been engaged in military affairs. But what my existing circumstances required you rendered; you nursed my childhood and directed my youth by your moral lessons, your counsel, and your precepts; and the favours you have bestowed on me, will never perish while life remains: those you have received from me, your gardens, capital, and country seats, are liable to the accidents of fortune; and though they may appear of great extent, yet many men, by no means equal to you in accomplishments, have enjoyed more. I am ashamed to instance freedmen, who in point of riches cut a greater figure than you; and when I consider this, I see occasion to blush that a man who holds the highest place in my esteem, does not as yet transcend all others in the gifts of fortune.

56. "But while you have attained maturity of years, and have yet vigour enough for business and the enjoyment of the fruits of your toils, I am only performing the early stages of the imperial career; unless perhaps you deem less of yourself than Vitellius, who was thrice consul; and think that I should fall short of Claudius. But my liberality is unable to make up to you a fortune equal to that which Volusius amassed during years of parsimony. If in any respect I deviate from the right path, owing to the proneness to error natural to youth, you should rather recall my wandering steps, and guide that strength which you have adorned, by more intense efforts to assist me. It is not your moderation, if you give back your wealth, nor your retirement, if you forsake your prince, on which the tongues of all men will be employed: but my rapaciousness, and the dread of my cruelty. But suppose your self-command should form the great theme of public applause; still it will reflect no honour upon the character of a wise man, to reap a harvest of glory to himself from a proceeding by which he brings infamy upon his friend." To these words he added kisses and embraces; framed as he was by nature, and trained by habit to veil his rancour under the guise of hollow compliments. Seneca presented

his thanks; the universal close of conferences with a sovereign: he changed however the methods of his former state of power, put a stop to the conflux of visitors, avoided a train of attendants, and seldom appeared in the streets of the city; pretending that his health was in an unfavourable state, or that he was detained at home by philosophical pursuits.

57. After the downfall of Seneca, a ready way was opened to undermine the credit of Fenius Rufus; when the crime charged upon him by his enemies, was that of his friendship for Agrippina. Tigellinus too grew daily more influential; and concluding that his mischievous devices, in which alone his power lay, would prove more agreeable if he could engage the prince by the ties of a confederacy in crime, he dived into his secret fears; and having discovered that Plautus and Sylla were the men principally dreaded, and therefore both lately sent out of the way, the former into Asia, the other into Narbon Gaul, he reminded Nero "of their noble descent, and their proximity to great armies; Plautus to that in the east; Sylla to that in Germany. For himself; he harboured not, like Burrus, separate views, but consulted purely the security of the prince: but though his safety at Rome might be insured, where they were on the spot, yet, by what measures could remote insurrections be suppressed? The nations of Gaul were excited by the dictatorial name of Sylla; nor were the several people of Asia less suspected of an attachment to the other, for the illustrious memory of his grandfather Drusus: Sylla was indigent: which was the greatest incitement to enterprise, and a counterfeiter of sloth and indolence, till he spied an opportunity for some desperate attempt. Plautus was master of vast wealth, not even pretending to a fondness for quiet; but boasting that he copied the examples of the ancient Romans: having adopted too the sect of the Stoics, with all their superciliousness and pride; a sect which prompts men to turbulence, and a life of action." This was enough, there was no delay. Sylla, by assassins, who in six days arrived at Marseilles, was despatched as he sat down to meat, without previous apprehension or intimation. His head was conveyed to Nero, who in a tone of sportive insolence remarked, "that it was disfigured by premature hoariness."

58. That the murder of Plautus was meditated, was not so easily concealed; for his life was matter of concern to many; moreover, the length of the journey by land and sea, and the intervening time, had caused it to get wind;

and amongst the people an ungrounded persuasion prevailed, that he made proposals to Corbulo, who then commanded mighty armies, and who, if men of high character and innocence were to be marked out for slaughter, stood in the first degree of jeopardy. It was even said, "that Asia had taken arms, from attachment to the young nobleman; and that the soldiers despatched to perpetrate the murder, neither strong in point of numbers nor resolute of purpose, when they could not execute their orders, had gone over to the insurrectionary cause." These groundless statements, such is the nature of rumour, were credited and propagated with exaggeration by those who had nothing else to do. For the rest, Plautus received advices from Lucius Antistius, his father-in-law, by a freedman of his own, who, by means of a brisk wind, had out-sailed the centurion, to the effect, "that he would shun a dastardly death, retirement, or escape; and that from the compassion that would be felt for a name so great, he would find good men ready to espouse his cause; that he should associate with him the resolute and daring: and in the mean time not despise anything that might be of service. If he could repulse the sixty men (the number that were coming to attack him); while information was carrying back to Néro, while another band was performing the journey to him, many events would occur in furtherance of his attempt, which might ripen into a formidable war: lastly, that he would either save his life by such measures as these, or suffer nothing more grievous from making the attempt than if he had exerted no effort."

59. But these considerations moved not Plautus; whether it was that being an exile and without arms, he foresaw no certain resource; or that he was weary of a state of doubt and anxiety: or that he was influenced by tenderness for his wife and children, to whom he imagined the prince would be more lenient, if no attempts were made that might discompose and alarm him. There are those who relate, that the advices he received from his father-in-law were of a different kind, importing that he need fear no severe infliction; and, "that two philosophers, Cœranus a Greek, and Musonius a Tuscan, had recommended firmness in awaiting death, as preferable to a life of anxiety and alarm." Certain it is, the assassins found him in the middle of the day, naked, and employed in corporeal exercise. In this situation the centurion butchered him, in the sight of Pelago the eunuch, who was by Nero set over the centurion and his band, like the minister of some tyrant over his satellites. The

head of the slain was carried to Rome; at the sight of which he said, I will relate his own words: "why does not Nero, banishing all fear, set about expediting his marriage with Poppæa, which has been procrastinated on account of alarms such as these? why not put away his wife Octavia, although her conduct is that of a modest woman, since the name of her father and the affections of the people have made her an eyesore to him?" To the senate he sent letters; but in them owned nothing of the assassination of Sylla and Plautus; but said, that both were turbulent spirits, and that it cost him much solicitude to preserve the peace of the commonwealth. Public processions and devotions were decreed to the deities on this account, and Sylla and Plautus degraded from the dignity of senators. These mockeries however were more insufferable than the horrid deeds to which they related.

60. Nero therefore having received the decree of senate, and perceiving that all his villanies passed for acts of exemplary merit, rudely repudiated Octavia, alleging, "that she was barren," and then espoused Poppæa. This woman, who had been long the concubine of Nero, and as her adulterer and her husband, exercising absolute sway over him, suborned one of Octavia's domestics to accuse her of an amour with a slave: Eucerus, a native of Alexandria, a skilful flute player, was marked out as the object of the charge: her maids were examined upon the rack; and though some of them, overcome by the intensity of the torture, made false admissions, the major part persisted in vindicating the purity of their mistress: one of them replied to Tigellinus, while urging a confession, "that the womb of Octavia was purer than his mouth." She was however put away in the first instance under the specious formality of a legal divorce, and the house of Burrus, with the estate of Plautus, ill-omened gift, were assigned to her: soon after she was banished into Campania, and a guard of soldiers placed over her: this led to frequent and undisguised complaints among the populace, who are comparatively unrestrained by prudential motives, and from the mediocrity of their circumstances are exposed to fewer dangers. They had an effect upon Nero, who in consequence recalled Octavia from banishment; but without the slightest misgiving at his atrocious villany.

61. Forthwith the people went up to the Capitol in transport, and at length poured forth unfeigned thanks to the gods. They threw down the statues of Poppæa, carried those of Octavia upon their shoulders, wreathed them



with garlands, and placed them on the forum and the temples. They even went to offer the tribute of their applause to the prince; the prince was made the object of their grateful adoration. And now they were filling the palace with their crowd and clamour, when parties of soldiers were sent out, who by beating them and threatening them with the sword, terrified and dispersed them: whatever was overthrown during the tumult was restored, and the tokens of honour to Poppæa replaced. This woman, ever prone to atrocities from the impulse of hatred, and now stimulated by her fears also, lest either a more violent outbreak of popular violence should take place, or Nero should succumb to the inclination of the people, threw herself at his knees, and said therewith, "her circumstances were not in that state that she should contend about her marriage with him, though that object was dearer to her than life; but her very life was placed in imminent jeopardy by the dependents and slaves of Octavia, who calling themselves the people of Rome, had dared to commit acts in time of peace which were seldom produced by war. But those arms were taken up against the prince: they only wanted a leader, and a civil commotion once excited, they would soon find one. Octavia has only to leave Campania and come into the city; when at her nod, in her absence; such tumults were raised. But if this was not the object, what crime had she committed? whom had she offended? was it because she was about to give a genuine offspring to the family of the Cæsars, that the Roman people chose that the spawn of an Egyptian flute-player should be palmed upon the imperial eminence? To sum up all, if that step was essential to the public weal, he should call home his mistress voluntarily rather than by compulsion, or consult his safety by a righteous retribution. The first commotion had subsided under moderate applications, but if they should despair of Octavia's being the wife of Nero, they would give her another husband."

This artfully compounded speech, adapted to excite fear and rage, at once produced the desired effect, and terrified while it inflamed the imperial hearer: but a suspicion resting only on the evidence of a slave, and neutralised by the asseverations of the tortured maids, was not strong enough for this purpose. It was therefore resolved that some person should be found who would confess the guilty commerce, and who might also be plausibly charged with the crime of rebellion. Anicetus was judged a fitting instrument for this purpose; the same who had

accomplished the murder of his mother, and, as I have related, commanded the fleet at Misenum; whom the emperor, after that horrid service, held in light esteem, but afterwards in extraordinary detestation: for the ministers of nefarious deeds seem in the eyes of their employers as living reproaches of their iniquity. Him therefore Nero summoned; and told him, "that he alone had saved the life of the prince from the dark devices of his mother: an opportunity for a service of no less magnitude now presented itself, by relieving him from a wife who was his mortal enemy: nor was there need of force or arms; he had only to admit adultery with Octavia. He promised rewards, which he said must indeed be kept a secret for the present, but of great value, and also a delightful retreat; but threatened him with death, if he declined the task. Anicetus, from an inherent perversity of principle, and a facility in crime produced by the horrible transactions in which he had been already engaged, even exceeded his orders in lying, and made confession of the adultery to the friends of the prince, whom he had summoned as a council. He was then banished to Sardinia, where he lived in exile, but not in poverty, and where he died a natural death.

63. Now, Nero in an edict stated, "that Octavia, in hopes of engaging the fleet in her conspiracy, had corrupted Anicetus the admiral:" and forgetting that he had just before accused her of barrenness, he added, "that in guilty consciousness of her lusts, she had produced abortion; and that all these were clearly proved to him." And he confined her in the island Pandataria. Never was there any exile who touched the hearts of the beholders with deeper compassion: some there were who still remembered to have seen Agrippina banished by Tiberius: the more recent sufferings of Julia were likewise recalled to mind, confined there by Claudius: but they had experienced some happiness, and the recollection of their former splendour proved some alleviation of their present horrors. To Octavia, in the first place, the day of her nuptials was in place of a funeral day, being brought under a roof where she encountered nothing but memorials of woe; her father cut off by poison, and soon afterwards her brother; then a handmaid more influential than her mistress; Poppæa wedded to her husband, only to bring destruction on his lawful wife: and lastly, a crime laid to her charge more intolerable than death in any shape.

64. And this young lady, in her twentieth year, thrown among centurions and common soldiers, and already bereft of

life under the presage of impending woes, did not however as yet enjoy the repose of death. After an interval of a few days she was ordered to die, when she protested, "she was now a widow, and only the emperor's sister;" appealed to the Germanici, the common relatives of Nero and herself; and lastly, invoked the name of Agrippina, observing, "that had she lived her marriage-state would have been made wretched, but she would not have been doomed to destruction." She was then tied fast with bonds, and her veins opened in every joint; and because the blood, coagulated from the effect of fear, flowed too slowly, her death was accelerated by the vapour of a bath, heated to the highest point. A deed of still more atrocious brutality was added; her head was cut off and conveyed to the city for Poppæa to see it. Offerings at the temples were decreed by the fathers on account of these events: a circumstance which I have recorded in order that all those who shall read the calamities of those times, as they are delivered by me or any other authors, may conclude by anticipation, that as often as a banishment or a murder was perpetrated by the prince's orders, so often thanks were rendered to the gods; and those acts which in former times were resorted to to distinguish prosperous occurrences, were now made the tokens of public disasters. Still I will not suppress the mention of any decree of the senate which is marked by unheard of adulation, or the extremity of abject servility.

65. The same year Nero is believed to have destroyed by poison the most influential of his freedmen, Doryphæus, for opposing his marriage with Poppæa; Pallas because his protracted life kept him out of the vast riches he had accumulated. Romanus had secretly criminated Seneca as an accomplice of Caius Piso; but sunk himself under the same charge brought by Seneca with greater force of evidence. Piso in consequence became alarmed; and a powerful and extensive conspiracy was formed against Nero, but it proved abortive.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

## BOOK XV.

MEANWHILE Vologeses, king of the Parthians, having heard of the acts of Corbulo, and that Tigranes, an alien, was placed upon the throne of Armenia; while he was desirous of seeking revenge for the contempt shown for the high claims of the Arsacidæ by the expulsion of his brother, was perplexed with conflicting considerations, when on the other hand he reflected on the Roman greatness, and the respect he had for the treaty which had continued without interruption between him and the Romans; for he was naturally wanting in decision, and was also hampered by the defection of the Hyrcanians, and the various wars growing out of it. Moreover, while in this state of suspense, he was further excited by intelligence of fresh indignities; for Tigranes, passing the confines of Armenia, had devastated the territories of the Adiabeni-ans, a bordering nation, more extensively and leisurely than comported with a mere predatory excursion: while the chiefs of the nations gave vent to their indignation, "that they should have sunk so low, that they were overrun, not indeed by a Roman general, but an undisciplined hostage, who had for so many years been numbered among slaves." His distress was inflamed by Monozabus, sovereign of the Adiabeni-ans, who asked angrily, "what succour he could seek, or from what quarter? Armenia was already given up, and the adjacent regions would follow it; and unless they were defended by the Parthians, they would consider that bondage under the Romans was lighter to such as surrendered themselves than to those who staid to be subdued." Tiridates too, a fugitive from his kingdom, affected him in no small degree by the silent appeal of his presence; still more when he complained, "that mighty empires were not to be held together by inaction; that men and arms must be brought into the field: that in matters of empire, right and might went together; that it became those in a private station to be content with retain-

ing their own, but it was the glory of sovereigns to battle for the possessions of others."

2. Vologeses therefore, stimulated by these considerations, assembled a council, and placing Tiridates next to himself, began thus: "this prince, the son of the same father as myself, having yielded to me the supreme dominion, in right of primogeniture, I put in possession of Armenia, which stands in the third degree of power; for Pacorus had pre-occupied Media: and I fancied that I had adjusted the interests of our family discreetly, guarding against the proverbial antipathies and rivalries between brothers. The Romans however thwart my views; and those pacific relations which in no instance they have disturbed without discomfiture, they now abruptly sever to their own destruction. I will not deny that I choose to preserve the acquisitions of my ancestors by justice rather than blood, by argument rather than arms; but if I have erred on the side of caution, I will atone for it by valour. As for you, while your resources are unimpaired, your honour unsullied, you have earned in addition the praise of moderation; a virtue not to be despised by the most exalted among men, and prized also by the gods." As soon as he had thus spoken, he set the royal diadem upon the head of Tiridates; to Moneses, a noble Parthian, he delivered a gallant band of horse, which according to custom attended the king, with the auxiliary Adiabeniens; with orders to "to drive Tigranes out of Armenia." While he himself, suspending his differences with the Hyrcanians, assembled the main forces of the country, and directed the principal operations of the war, with a view to a descent upon the Roman provinces.

3. Corbulo, when he received certain intelligence of these proceedings, sent two legions to succour Tigranes, under the command of Verulanus Severus and Vettius Bolanus, with secret injunctions, "that they should act in all cases with caution rather than despatch;" for he aimed more at keeping a war on foot, than pushing it to a conclusion: and had written to Nero, "that to defend Armenia a special general was necessary; for Syria was in the more imminent danger from the menaced attack of Vologeses." Meanwhile he disposed the remaining legions along the banks of the Euphrates; raised a body of militia from the natives of the province; posted guards at all the passes, to obstruct the inroads of the enemy; and, because that region was ill supplied with water, he built forts to secure the springs; and concealed some of the rivers by an accumulation of sand.

4. While Corbulo was thus busied in measures for securing Syria, Moneses pushed on by forced marches, that he might outstrip the report of his approach: but notwithstanding, he found Tigranes neither uninformed nor unprepared; for he had possessed himself of Tigranocerta, a city strong in the multitude of its defenders, and the magnitude of its walls. Moreover, the Nicephorius, a river of no contemptible breadth, washes a great portion of the walls, and where the river was not relied on, a vast trench was drawn: within it too was a garrison of soldiers, and provisions laid up in store. In bringing in these provisions some few of the soldiers, in their eagerness advancing too far, fell into the hands of a party of the enemy, which came upon them unawares; a circumstance which inflamed resentment rather than excited alarm. But the Parthians dare not prosecute a siege closely; with a few scattered arrows they do not dismay the besieged; and fail in their own objects. The Adiabeniensians, with ladders and engines, began to approach the walls, but were easily driven back; and soon after, our men, making a sortie, put them to the sword.

5. Corbulo however, though all his proceedings prospered, judging it wise to moderate the career of his good fortune, despatched ambassadors to Vologeses to expostulate with him upon his attack "upon a Roman province; upon his besieging a king who was a friend and confederate of Rome, and the Roman cohorts themselves;" and to warn him, "that he had better abandon the siege, or Corbulo too would encamp in the territories of the enemy." Casperius, the centurion, who was selected for this embassy, presented himself before the king at the city of Nisibis, thirty-seven miles distant from Tigranocerta, and delivered his message in a tone of defiance. It had long been the settled resolution of Vologeses to avoid an encounter with the Romans; and besides, his present measures did not proceed prosperously: the siege had proved a failure; Tigranes was secured by his forces and supplies; those who had undertaken to storm the place were put to flight; Roman legions were sent into Armenia; and others, stationed for the defence of Syria, were ready to assume the character of invaders, and make an irruption into his territory: his cavalry were enfeebled by the scarcity of forage, for a swarm of locusts suddenly appearing had devoured all the herbage and foliage. Concealing his fears therefore, and pretending an inclination to pacific counsels, he answered, "that he would send ambassadors to the Roman emperor to solicit the grant of Armenia,

and to place the peace upon a firm footing. Moreover he ordered Monoses to abandon Tigranocerta, and retired himself.

6. These results were represented by many as attributable to the fears of the king and the menaces of Corbulo; and extolled as glorious achievements. Others construed them as if a secret compact had been entered into, that both parties abandoning hostilities, and Vologeses quitting the field, Tigranes should also evacuate Armenia. Otherwise, why was the Roman army withdrawn from Tigranocerta? why give up in peace what they had defended in war? was it better to have wintered in the remote regions of Cappadocia, in huts hastily erected, than in the capital of a kingdom which their arms had so recently preserved? In every view of it it was clear that the war had been suspended, that Vologeses might be opposed by another general rather than Corbulo; and that Corbulo might not further hazard the renown he had earned through a period of so many years. For, as I have related, he had requested a commander specially appointed for the defence of Armenia; and it was reported that Cæsennius Pætus was coming: and now Cæsennius was arrived; and the forces were so divided, that Pætus should command the fourth legion and the twelfth, to which was added the fifth, lately summoned out of Mæsia, as also the auxiliaries from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia: while Corbulo continued to command the third, sixth, and tenth legions, and the forces formerly belonging to Syria. The rest they were to possess in common, or share as exigencies required. But as Corbulo could not bear a rival; so Pætus, to whom it was glory enough if he were accounted second to Corbulo, disparaged his achievements, incessantly remarking, "that no hostile blood was spilled, no spoil taken; and that all he had to do with the storming of cities was limited to the name of the thing only. For himself, he would impose tribute and laws; and, instead of the shadow of a king, subject the vanquished to the jurisdiction of Rome."

7. At this juncture, the ambassadors of Vologeses, whom I have mentioned to have been sent to the prince, returned unsuccessful: and the Parthians proceeded to open war; nor did Pætus decline it; but, with two legions, the fourth and twelfth, the former then commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus, the other by Calvisius Sabinus, he entered Armenia, under an omen of dismal import; for, in passing the Euphrates, which he crossed by a bridge, the horse which carried the consular ornaments,

became frightened without any apparent cause, and starting back again, got clear away: moreover, a victim, which stood by the winter camp, which they were fortifying, broke through the half-completed works, cleared the rampart, and fled. The javelins of the soldiers took fire; a prodigy which appeared the more remarkable, as the Parthians fight with missile weapons.

8. But Pætus, deeming lightly of these omens, ere yet his winter camp was adequately secured, and without making any provision for a supply of grain, marched hastily over mount Taurus, "to recover, as he said, the city of Tigranocerta; and lay waste the regions which Corbulo had left untouched." And he took certain castles; somewhat of glory too he won, and somewhat of booty, if he had either enjoyed his glory with moderation, or his booty with circumspection. But after long and tedious marches, in overrunning countries which could not be held; the provisions he had captured being spoiled, and the winter just setting in, he led back his army. And then, as though he had concluded the war, he wrote a letter to Nero in pompous terms, but destitute of substance.

9. Meanwhile, Corbulo occupied the bank of the Euphrates, which he had never neglected, with an increased number of stations. And, that the enemy's horse, who with great ostentation were flying about the neighbouring plains, might create no obstruction to his laying a bridge over the river, he fastened together with beams some vessels of vast bulk, with towers erected upon them; and, steering them to and fro upon the river, drove off the Barbarians with catapults and balistas; for the stones and javelins thus hurled upon them, reached to a greater distance than could be attained by the arrows discharged in the opposite direction. The bridge was then carried over the whole breadth, and the opposite heights occupied by the allied cohorts, and afterwards by the camp of the legions, with such celerity, and so formidable a display of power, that the Parthians, desisting from their project of invading Syria, directed all their efforts to the accomplishment of their design upon Armenia.

10. In that quarter, Pætus, unaware of what menaced him, had the fifth legion at a distance in Pontus; and had weakened the remaining legions by indiscriminate furloughs; when at length it was stated that Vologeses was approaching with a numerous and determined force. Forthwith he summoned the twelfth legion: but this very thing, whence he had anticipated the reputation of augmented forces, betrayed their paucity: yet few as they



were, they might have maintained their camp, and by protracting the war, have baffled all the efforts of the Parthians, if Pætus had shown any firmness, either in adhering to his own counsel or those of others. But when men of military experience had instructed him in the methods of securing himself against pressing dangers, he abandoned their plans for other and worse, lest he should appear to stand in need of the advice of others. And on this occasion, quitting his winter camp, he exclaimed that "a ditch and rampart were not the things he was commissioned to employ against the enemy, but men and arms;" and led the legions forth as if with the purpose of engaging in a battle; but afterwards, upon losing a centurion and a few private soldiers, whom he had sent in advance to reconnoitre the enemy's forces, he retreated in trepidation. And then, again, elated with empty confidence because Vologeses had not pursued them so vigorously as he expected, he stationed three thousand chosen infantry on the nearest eminence of Taurus to prevent the passage of the king; and placed on a part of the plain the auxiliary horse of the Pannonians, which formed the flower of his cavalry. His wife and son he put out of the way in a fort named Arsamosata, with a cohort to guard them; and dispersed his troops, which, if kept together, might more effectually have checked the desultory movements of the enemy. It is also said that he was with difficulty induced to admit to Corbulo that he was hard pressed by the enemy; and that Corbulo did not hurry, in order that, the dangers he was exposed to growing more imminent, the merit of relieving him might also be augmented. However, he ordered a thousand men from each of the three legions, and eight hundred auxiliary horse, with an equal number from the cohorts, to be got in readiness for marching.

11. As for Vologeses, though he was advised that Pætus beset the roads, here with his infantry, there with his horse, yet he in no respect varied his plan; but drove the auxiliary horse from their post by force and menaces, and trampled under foot the legionary troops; one centurion alone, Tarquitius Crescens, having dared to defend a tower in which he commanded a garrison. This man made frequent sallies, and slew such of the Barbarians as came up near him; till at length he was overpowered by the discharge of combustibles at all points. Such of the infantry as were not wounded, made for the remote and wild districts; the wounded betook themselves to the camp, where, under the impulse of fear, they magnified

everything—the valour of the king, the ferocity and numbers of the nations; all which was believed by the unscrupulous credulity of those who were impressed with the same fears. Nor did even the general struggle against these adverse circumstances, but had abandoned all military duties, having again sent a supplicatory letter to Corbulo, “to come quickly and protect the standards and eagles, and the shadowy remnant of the unhappy army: they would in the mean time maintain their honour, while life remained.”

12. Corbulo, undismayed at this intelligence, left a part of his forces in Syria, to retain possession of the fortifications he had erected to secure the Euphrates; and taking the route which was shortest and afforded a sufficiency of provisions, made for the country of Commagene, passing on to Cappadocia, and thence to Armenia. Besides the other customary appendages of war, a vast quantity of camels, laden with corn, accompanied the army, to repel at once both the enemy and famine. The first that he met of those who were routed, was Pactius, a centurion of the highest rank: after him came several common soldiers, who, while they strove to cover the shame of their flight, by different excuses, were by Corbulo admonished “to return to their colours, and try the mercy of Pætus: for himself, he owned himself implacable to all who were not victorious.” At the same time he addressed himself to his own legions, going from rank to rank, exhorting them, reminding them of their former victories, and pointing out to them fresh glory, which they might acquire: “it was not the villages and cities of the Armenians that they were now in pursuit of, as the recompence of their labours, but a Roman camp, and in it two legions. If individual soldiers, who have saved the life of a citizen, were presented by the hand of the general with a crown excelling all others, what and how great must that honour be when the number of those who earned it was equal to the number to be saved,—of those who were the ministers of safety, and of those who received it at their hands.” Animated by these and similar incentives in the common cause, and there were some whom the dangers which beset their brothers or their relations impelled by peculiar motives, they hastened on, marching day and night without intermission.

13. Hence, too, the more earnestly did Vologeses press the besieged; now assaulting the intrenchment of the legions, then the castle in which were guarded those who from the tenderness of their sex and years were unfit for

war; and pushed his assaults much more closely than was usual with the Parthians; in hopes by such temerity to draw out the enemy to a battle. But they could scarcely be dragged out of their tents: at most, they only endeavoured to maintain their works: part of them in this obeying the orders of their general, others from their own want of spirit; as men who waited for deliverance from Corbulo, or if overpowered by the attack of the enemy, as provided with examples in the disasters of Caudium and Numantia: "for, they said, neither did the Samnites, a single Italian state, nor the Spaniards, who were rivals of the Roman empire, possess a force equal to the Parthians; and the characters of antiquity, valorous and lauded as they were, made provision for their safety whenever fortune declared against them." By the temper of the army, thus abandoned to despair, the general was constrained to write to Vologeses: yet, the first letter he sent contained nothing supplicatory, but was conceived in a strain of complaint, "that he had thus entered upon a war to gain the kingdom of Armenia, ever subject to the Roman jurisdiction, or to a king appointed by the emperor of Rome. Peace was alike advantageous to the Parthians and to the Romans: neither ought he to consider only what presented itself to his view; that he was come at the head of the whole power of his kingdom against two legions, while to the Romans remained all the rest of the globe to aid them in the war."

14. Vologeses, without entering at all into the merits of the case, in answer to the representation, wrote back, "that he must wait the arrival of his brothers, Pacorus and Tiridates: such was the place and time appointed for deliberating as to what course they should adopt with regard to Armenia; that the gods had added fresh matter worthy of the Arsacidæ, namely, that they should also decide with respect to the Roman legions." Pætus again despatched a message, and desired a conference with the king; who directed Vasaces, his general of horse, to go. At this interview Pætus referred to "the Luculli and Pompeii, and the proceedings of the Cæsars relative to the conquest or disposal of Armenia." Vasaces alleged, "that the Romans had, indeed, a nominal and shadowy right of holding and conferring it, but the Parthians possessed the power." After much mutual discussion, Monobazus the Adiabedian was called in to attend them the next day, as a witness to their stipulations: and it was agreed, "that the legions should be relieved from the siege; all the Roman troops depart the territories of Ar-

menia; the fortresses and stores be delivered up to the Parthians; and, after performance of these conditions, Vologeses should have liberty to send ambassadors to Nero."

15. In the meantime, Pætus threw a bridge over the river Arsanias, which flowed before his camp; under pretext of preparing to march off that way: but it was, in reality, enjoined by the Parthians, as a monument and confession of their victory; for to them only it was of use: our men took a different route. Rumour added, that "the legions had passed under the yoke:" with other circumstances arising out of misfortune; an image of which was exhibited in the conduct of the Parthians; for they entered the fortifications before the Roman army had quitted them, beset the avenues, singled out the slaves and beasts of burden which formerly belonged to them, and took them away: stripped the Romans of their clothes, and seized their arms: the soldiers trembling, and giving up all they desired, to prevent any occasion of a quarrel. Vologeses, who raised a heap of all the arms and bodies of the slain, in testimony of our overthrow, abstained from seeing the legions as they were flying. After glutting his pride, he sought the praise of moderation. He crossed the river Arsanias, mounted on an elephant; but all who were next to him in dignity, forced their way through by the efforts of their horses; for a report had gone abroad that the bridge would give way under the weight, by the fraudulent contrivance of its builders. But those who were bold enough to go upon it, found it to be strong and trustworthy.

16. For the rest; it was notorious that the besieged army were provided with such supplies of grain, that they set fire to their storehouses. On the other hand, Corbulo gave out, "that the Parthians, destitute of provisions, and their forage reduced, were about to abandon the siege; neither was he above three days' march distant." He added, "that Pætus covenanted, by an oath sworn under the eagles, in the presence of those whom the king had sent to witness it, that no Roman should enter Armenia till by the arrival of letters from Nero, it were known whether he consented to the peace." But though these should be regarded as inventions to aggravate infamy, yet the remaining imputations admit of no doubt; that in one day Pætus travelled the space of forty miles; abandoning his wounded everywhere as he went; and that the trepidation of the flying troops was no less unseemly than if they had turned their backs in the day of battle. Corbulo,

with his forces, met them upon the banks of the Euphrates; but not with such a display of colours and arms as might put to shame their different plight. His bands were deeply affected with grief; and in their commiseration for the lot of their comrades, refrained not even from tears; scarcely could they exchange salutations for weeping. Rivalry in valour, and competition for fame, feelings which belong to prosperous men, had departed from their breasts; compassion alone prevailed; and the humbler the condition, the more intense the emotion.

17. Between the two leaders there followed a brief conference; Corbulo lamenting passionately "his labour lost; that the Parthians might have been put to flight, and the war thus terminated." Pætus replied, "that all things were in the same state as before: and urged that they should turn the eagles against the enemy, and with their united forces invade Armenia, exposed as it was by the departure of Vologeses." Corbulo alleged, "that from the emperor he had no such orders: that moved by the dangerous predicament of the legions, he had passed the limits of his province, and as it was uncertain whither the next efforts of the Parthians would be directed, he would return into Syria: and even thus he had cause to invoke the most favourable fortune, that his infantry, spent with tedious marches, might be able to come up with the Parthians' horse, which were fresh, and, from the evenness of the plains, would outstrip him." Pætus then withdrew to Cappadocia, and there wintered. But to Corbulo a message arrived from Vologeses, "to withdraw his garrisons beyond the Euphrates, and let the river be, as formerly, the common boundary." Corbulo, too, insisted, "that the garrisons on the other side should evacuate Armenia." At last the king complied; and the fortifications raised by Corbulo beyond the Euphrates were demolished; and the Armenians were left to their own disposal.

18. But, at Rome meanwhile, they were erecting trophies over the Parthians, and raising triumphal arches in the middle of the Capitoline hill; decreed by the senate while the war was yet raging, nor even now discontinued, from regard to appearance, and in defiance of conviction. Nay, Nero, to disguise all solicitude about foreign affairs; ordered the corn, destined to supply the populace, but now spoiled by keeping, to be thrown into the Tiber, to produce an impression that there was no fear about provisions: the price of which was nothing raised, though near two hundred vessels were by a violent storm sunk in

the very harbour; and a hundred more, brought up the Tiber, were consumed by an accidental fire. He next committed the care of the public imposts to three men of consular rank, Lucius Piso, Ducennius Geminus, and Pompeius Paullinus; inveighing against former princes, "who by the oppressive extravagance of their expenditure had exceeded their adequate incomes, while he had given to the state annually sixty thousand great sesterces."

19. A most iniquitous custom had become extremely prevalent at that time: whenever the election of magistrates, or the allotment of provinces, was at hand, the greater part of those who had no children provided themselves with sons by fraudulent adoptions: and when they had obtained prætorships and provinces in competition with fathers, they instantly dismissed such as they had adopted. Hence the genuine fathers approached the senate with loud remonstrance; representing the "rights of nature, and the toils of bringing up children, in opposition to the fraud, cunning, and facility of shortlived adoptions: to the childless, it was abundant compensation, that, exempt from anxiety and burdens, they were courted and honoured, and had everything to their wishes without solicitation or impediment. For themselves, the advantages promised by the law, and long looked forward to, vanished in disappointment and mockery, while any man becoming a parent without solicitude, and childless again without grief, might by the ceremony of a moment countervail the time-established claims of fathers." This produced a decree of senate, "that in the pursuit of any public employment whatsoever, no feigned adoptions should be of service, nor avail in inheriting estates."

20. Then followed the prosecution of Claudius Timarchus of Crete, who was charged with all the other crimes usual with provincial despots; and those who presume upon their overgrown wealth to oppress their inferiors; but one expression of his had gone so far as to offer an indignity to the senate; for he had often declared, that it depended upon him whether the "proconsuls who had obtained the government of Crete, should receive the public thanks." An occasion which Pætus Thræsea converting to the public benefit, after he had delivered his vote, "that the accused should be expelled from Crete," added the following speech: "it is a truth confirmed by experience, conscript fathers, that excellent laws and salutary warnings are amongst the good derived from the delinquencies of others: thus was the Cincian resolution produced

by the excesses of the orators; the Julian laws by the intrigues of candidates; and the Calpurnian ordinances by the avarice of the magistrates. For guilt is ever antecedent to punishment; and after offence comes correction. In order therefore to quell this fresh insolence of provincials, let us take measures worthy of the good faith and firmness of Romans, such as may in nowise infringe upon the protection due to our allies, and may efface the impression that a man's character shall depend upon anything but the judgment of citizens.

21. Of old indeed, not prætors and consuls only, but private persons were sent into the provinces to inspect their state, and to report their opinion of the submission of every person; and the nations were in fear concerning the judgment formed by individuals. But now we court foreigners, and flatter them; and as at the beck of some one of them thanks are decreed; so with greater facility is their accusation decreed: let it be decreed, and let provincials continue to enjoy the privilege of thus displaying their power: but let groundless applause, and commendations extorted by prayers, be restrained with the same rigour as the efforts of malice and cruelty. We often fall into heavier faults while we labour to oblige, than when we are not afraid to offend. Nay, some virtues are subject to popular hate; such as inflexible strictness, and a mind impregnable to the influences of favour and affection. Hence the administration of our magistrates is generally best at the beginning, but relaxes in the close; while after the manner of candidates, we solicit suffrages. Now, if this custom is suppressed, the provinces will be administered with more impartiality and firmness: for, as by the terror of the law against extortion avarice is defeated, so by abolishing the usage of giving thanks, the arts of ambition are checked."

22. This proposition from Thræsea was received with earnest and very general approbation; but a decree of the senate could not be perfected, the consuls insisting that it was foreign to the question. But afterwards, on the authority of the prince, it was ordained, "that to the council of the provinces no man should propose that thanks should be given to any prætorian or proconsular governor before the senate; and that no man should execute such a deputation." During the same consuls, the Gymnasium was struck with lightning and burnt to the ground; and the brazen statue of Nero therein melted to a shapeless mass. In Campania too, the populous city of Pompeii was in a great measure reduced to ruins by an

earthquake ; and this year died Lælia the vestal virgin, in whose place Cornelia, of the Cossian family, was chosen.

23. In the consulship of Memmius Regulus and Verginius Rufus, Poppæa presented Nero with a daughter ; which he received with a joy exceeding the lot of humanity. He named her Augusta, and conferred the same title upon Poppæa. The place where she gave birth to the child was the colony of Antium, where he himself was born : the senate had before recommended the womb of Poppæa to the gods, and undertaken public vows for her delivery : now many were added, and the whole fulfilled : supplications were also made, a temple was decreed to " Fecundity, and a contest after the model of the Actian rites ; also, that on the throne of Jupiter Capitolinus should be placed golden images of the Fortunes ; and that at Antium, in honour to the Claudian and Domitian families, Circensian games should be celebrated, as at Bovillæ in honour of the Julian race." But these were not carried into effect ; for within four months the infant died : whence arose a new series of flattery ; as they voted honour to her as to a goddess, with a " couch, a temple, and a priest." The emperor, as he had rejoiced, so he sorrowed immoderately. It was remarked, that when upon the delivery of Poppæa, the whole senate poured forth with congratulations to Antium, Thræsea, who was prohibited, received the insult undismayed, though it was the harbinger of impending destruction. It was reported that Nero afterwards vaunted to Seneca his reconciliation to Thræsea ; and that Seneca congratulated Nero upon it. The characters of these excellent men received an accession of renown from this circumstance, but their danger increased with it.

24. During these transactions, there arrived in the beginning of spring, ambassadors from the Parthians, with a message from Vologeses their king, and letters to the same purport : that he now relinquished " his former claims, so often agitated, about the possession of Armenia, since the gods, the sovereign arbiters between states however potent, had yielded the possession of that kingdom to the Parthians, not without disgrace to the Romans. He had lately blockaded Tigranes, and next Pætus and the legions ; though it was in his power to have annihilated them, he had dismissed them unhurt : he had given satisfactory proof of his power, and had put on record a specimen of his clemency : neither would his brother Tiridates refuse coming to Rome, to receive the Armenian diadem, but that the obligation of his priesthood withheld



him : he would however go to the standards, and images of Cæsar, and there in presence of the legions, solemnly receive the kingdom."

25. After reading these letters of Vologeses, so opposite to the account transmitted by Pætus, which assumed that things remained in the same situation as before ; the centurion, who had arrived with the ambassadors, was asked, " in what condition Armenia stood ? " he answered, that " all the Romans had quitted it." The mockery of the Barbarians in suing for a country which they had already seized, was then perceived ; and Nero held a consultation with the principal citizens, to determine whether they preferred a perilous war, or a disreputable peace : nor was there any hesitation in resolving upon war ; and Corbulo, who by the experience of so many years, knew both the soldiery and the enemy, was appointed to conduct it, lest through the inexperience of any other, a fresh failure should be encountered, for they were dissatisfied with Pætus. The ambassadors were therefore sent back without accomplishing their object, but with presents ; to raise hopes that, were Tiridates in person to bring his supplications, he would not fail in his suit. To Sestius was given the administration of Syria ; and to Corbulo were granted all the military forces ; with the addition of the fifteenth legion, led by Marius Celsus out of Pannonia : directions were likewise written to the kings and tetrarchs in the east, to the governors and procurators, and to the proprætors who ruled the neighbouring provinces, " to obey the orders of Corbulo ; " who was thus intrusted with much the same extensive authority, as the Roman people had conferred upon Pompey for the conduct of the piratical war. Though Pætus, upon his return to Rome, apprehended severer treatment, Nero deemed it sufficient to punish him with a stroke of humour, in much such language as this : " I pardon you forthwith ; lest one so prone to fear should grow sick if kept in further suspense."

26. Now when Corbulo had removed into Syria the fourth and twelfth legions, which from the loss of all their bravest men, and the dispirited condition of the rest, were judged of little use for war ; he drew from that province the sixth legion and the third, a body of men in unimpaired vigour, and practised in frequent and successful exertions, and led them into Armenia ; adding the fifth, which being quartered in Pontus had escaped the late defeat ; at the same time, the soldiers of the fifteenth legion, lately arrived, and some chosen bands from Illyricum and Egypt, with all the auxiliary troops of horse

and companies of foot, as also the succours from the confederate kings, were assembled at Melitene, whence he purposed crossing the Euphrates. After purifying the army by the usual solemnity of lustration, he summoned them to an assembly; when he discoursed in lofty terms of "the auspices of the emperor, and his own exploits; imputing the untoward events which had occurred to the incapacity of Pætus; this he did in a style of commanding authority, which in a military character stood in the place of eloquence.

27. He then took the route formerly traversed by Lucullus, removing the impediments which time had created: neither did he discountenance ambassadors who were approaching from Tiridates and Vologeses, with overtures of peace; but to confer with them, appointed certain centurions, with instructions of no harsh nature: "that as yet the contest had not proceeded so far that nothing could determine it but the ultimate decision of the sword: that the Roman arms had in many instances been prosperous, in some the Parthian, furnished a lesson against presumption to both. That in like manner as it concerned the interest of Tiridates to receive a kingdom untouched by devastations; so too would Vologeses better consult the advantage of the people of Parthia by an alliance with the Romans, than by mutual injuries. He well knew what terrible dissensions were rending the vitals of his kingdom; how exceeding fierce and unruly were the nations he governed. His master, the emperor, on the contrary, enjoyed a settled peace in all his dominions, and had only this single war." He at once proceeded to support his counsels by the terrors of the sword; drove from their seats the grandees of Armenia, who first revolted from us; razed their castles; and filled with equal dismay the inhabitant of the mountain and the vale, the powerful and the feeble.

28. The name of Corbulo was held in no aversion, much less in hostile hate, even amongst the Barbarians: whence they believed his counsel sincere. Vologeses therefore did not show an intractable spirit with regard to the general question, and solicited a truce for certain of his provinces. Tiridates demanded a day and place for conference; an early day was appointed: as for the place, since the Barbarians chose that in which they had lately besieged Pætus and the legions, for the sake of the remembrance of their success there, Corbulo made no objection to it; that the contrast of his fortune might enhance his glory; nor was the disgrace of Pætus studiously ag-

gravated; which was chiefly evinced by the fact that he ordered the son of Pætus, a tribune, to take some companies and cover the remains of the unfortunate encounter. Upon the day stipulated, Tiberius Alexander, an illustrious Roman knight, assigned to him as a coadjutor in the war; and with him Vivianus Annius, son-in-law of Corbulo, not yet of senatorial age, but employed as deputy commander of the fifth legion, entered the camp of Tiridates, as a compliment to him, and that with such hostages he might fear no guile. Then each took twenty horsemen; and at the sight of Corbulo the king leaped first from his horse, nor was Corbulo slow to return the courtesy; but both dismounted joined right hands.

29. Then the Roman captain proceeded to laud the young prince, "for renouncing desperate projects, and adopting safe and pacific counsels." Tiridates, after a long preface "on the splendour of his lineage," observed a tone of moderation in his subsequent remarks, insomuch that he said, "he would proceed to Rome and present a spectacle which would give to Cæsar a renown unparalleled—one of the Arsacidæ a suppliant before him, while no reverse of fortune had visited the affairs of Parthia." It was then agreed that he should lay down the royal diadem before the image of Cæsar, and not resume it except from the hand of Nero; and the conference ended with an embrace. Then after an interval of a few days, the two armies met with great pomp and circumstance on both sides: there stood the Parthian horse, ranged in troops, with the standards of their several nations; here were posted the battalions of the legions, their eagles glittering, their ensigns displayed, with the images of their gods, and forming a kind of temple. A tribunal, placed in the centre, supported a chair of state, on which the statue of Nero rested. Tiridates approached, and having immolated the victims in due form, he lifted the diadem from his head and laid it at the feet of the statue; while every heart throbbed with intense emotion; which was augmented by the image of the slaughter or siege of the Roman armies, that was still grafted upon their eyes: "but now, they reflected, the current of fortune was changed: Tiridates would go to Rome a spectacle to the nations, and in a character how little below that of a captive!"

30. To the splendour of renown Corbulo added the graces of courtesy and the delights of the banquet; during which the king, as often as he observed any usage which was new to him, was frequent in his inquiries what it

might mean; as that a centurion advertised the general, when the watch was first set, and the company at the banquet broke up at the sound of a trumpet? why the fuel upon the altar reared before the augural was kindled with a torch? all which Corbulo explaining in a strain of exaggeration, inspired him with admiration of the ancient institutions of the Romans. The next day, Tiridates besought "as much time, before he undertook so long a journey, as might suffice to visit his brothers and his mother;" and, for an hostage, delivered up his daughter, and wrote a suppliant letter to Nero.

31. He accordingly departed, and found Pacorus in Media; and Vologeses at Ecbatana, who was far from being unconcerned about his brother: for, by a special embassy, he had desired of Corbulo, "that Tiridates might not be subjected to any semblance of slavery; nor surrender his sword, nor be debarred from embracing the governors of provinces; nor stand waiting at their gates for admittance; and, that in Rome, the same honour should be paid to him as to the consuls." In truth, that prince, habituated to the haughty bearing of foreign despots, was a stranger to the maxims of the Romans, with whom the realities of power are considered of importance, while its empty formalities are discarded.

32. The same year, Cæsar conferred upon the nations of the maritime Alps the privileges of Latium: to the Roman knights he assigned places in the Circus before the seats of the populace: for, till that time, they sat there without discrimination; since the regulations of the Roscian law were confined to the fourteen rows of the theatre. This year too was exhibited a combat of gladiators equally magnificent with the former; but many ladies of illustrious quality, and many senators, were degraded by entering the lists.

33. In the consulship of Caius Lecanius and Marcus Licinius, Nero's passion for appearing on the public stage, became every day more vehement: hitherto he had only sung in private houses or gardens, at the games called 'Juvenalia,' which he despised as not sufficiently public, and too confined for a voice so powerful. Wanting courage however to come out at Rome, he chose Naples for the purpose, as being a Greek city; his object was "to commence there, that crossing over thence into Achaia, and gaining the crowns that conferred such signal honour and were from of old held sacred, he might with this accession of fame win the favour of the citizens. Accordingly a herd of people collected from the small towns, and

those whom the rumour of such an exhibition had attracted from the neighbouring colonies and municipalities, together with such as attended the emperor, either to do him honour or for various services, including even bands of soldiers, filled the Neapolitan theatre.

34. An accident occurred there which, in the opinion of many, was ominous of evil; but Nero regarded it as indicating the especial care and favour of the gods; for the theatre, when the audience had retired, being empty, fell into a heap of ruins without hurting any one. Nero therefore returned thanks to the gods in songs composed for the purpose; and also celebrated the story of the recent accident, while intending to cross the Adriatic, he rested at Beneventum, where Vatinius presented a famous show of gladiators. Vatinius was one of the most hateful monsters of that court; bred in a shoemaker's stall, deformed, and with a vein of low wit, he was at first admitted as a buffoon; but afterwards, by bringing accusations against every worthy man, he arrived at such high consideration, that in favour, in opulence, and in the power to injure, he attained pre-eminence among the base also.

35. Nero, while attending the exhibition of this man, relaxed not in his career of iniquity even in the midst of his pleasures; for in those very days was Torquatus Silanus forced to die; because, in addition to the splendour of the Junian family, he represented himself as great-grandson of the deified Augustus. The accusers had orders to charge him with "prodigality in his bounties; and that he had no other resource than in revolution; nay, that already he kept men of no mean rank with the style of secretaries, accountants, treasurers: names belonging to the imperial function, and preparations for assuming it." All his confidential freedmen were then bound and hurried off; and Torquatus, seeing his impending condemnation, opened the veins of both his arms. After this event Nero, as usual, remarked, "that however guilty, and justly hopeless of clearing himself, he would however have lived had he waited for the clemency of his judge."

36. Nero, having deferred his voyage to Greece, for reasons which were not known, soon after revisited Rome, while his thoughts were occupied with fantastic notions of showing himself to the provinces in the east, especially Egypt. The next thing he did was to assure the citizens that "his absence would not be of long continuance; and the commonwealth, in all its parts, would continue in the same perfect quiet and prosperity;" and then, for the

success of that journey; betook himself in devotion to the Capitol. While he was there, paying his worship to the deities, as he entered, amongst others, the temple of Vesta, he was seized with a trembling, which shook every joint: whether it were that he was overpowered with awe of the divinity, or from the recollection of his atrocities, for he knew no intermission of fear, he abandoned his design, earnestly declaring "that every other consideration with him was absorbed by his love for his country; that he had seen the sad countenances of the citizens, and heard their ill-suppressed complaints that he was about to undertake so long a journey, whose short excursions they were unable to bear, accustomed as they were to be revived under misfortunes by the sight of their prince. Therefore, as in the relations of private life, the pledges of affection which were nearest in blood were the most potent, so the Roman people had the greatest weight with him, and he must yield to their wish to keep him with them." These and similar expressions were acceptable to the people from their propensity to diversions, and because they apprehended a scarcity of provisions if he should absent himself; a consideration of paramount concern with them. The senate and nobles were in doubt whether he were more to be dreaded when at a distance or present; but subsequently, as usually happens in cases of violent fear, they regarded the course which he adopted as the more pregnant with danger.

37. Nero himself, to make it believed that he enjoyed himself nowhere so much as at Rome, caused banquets to be prepared in the public places, and used the whole city as his house. Remarkable above all others for the display of luxury and the noise it made in the world was the feast given by Tigellinus, which I will describe by way of specimen, that I may not have to repeat the instances of similar prodigality. For this purpose, he built, in the lake of Agrippa, a raft which supported the banquet, which was moved to and fro by other vessels, drawing it after them: the vessels were striped with gold and ivory, and rowed by bands of pathics, who were ranged according to their age, and accomplishments in the science of debauchery. He had procured fowl and venison from remote regions, with sea-fish even from the ocean: upon the margin of the lake were erected brothels, filled with ladies of distinction: over against them naked harlots were exposed to view: now, were beheld obscene gestures and motions; and as soon as darkness came on, all the neighbouring groves and circumjacent dwellings

resounded with music, and glared with lights. Nero wallowed in all sorts of defilements, lawful and unlawful: and seemed to leave no atrocity which could add to his pollution, till a few days afterwards, he married, as a woman, one of this contaminated herd, named Pythagoras, with all the solemnities of wedlock: the Roman emperor put on the nuptial veil; the augurs, the portion, the bridal bed, the nuptial torches, were all seen; in fine, everything exposed to view which, even in a female, is covered by the night.

38. There followed a dreadful disaster; whether fortuitously, or by the wicked contrivance of the prince, is not determined, for both are asserted by historians: but of all the calamities which ever befell this city, from the rage of fire, this was the most terrible and severe. It broke out in that part of the Circus which is contiguous to mounts Palatine and Cœlius; where, by reason of shops, in which were kept such goods as minister alimnt to fire, the moment it commenced it acquired strength, and being accelerated by the wind, it spread at once through the whole extent of the Circus: for, neither were the houses secured by enclosures, nor the temples environed with walls, nor was there any other obstacle to intercept its progress; but the flame, spreading every way impetuously, invaded first the lower regions of the city, then mounted to the higher; then again, ravaging the lower, it baffled every effort to extinguish it, by the rapidity of its destructive course, and from the liability of the city to conflagration, in consequence of the narrow and intricate alleys, and the irregularity of the streets in ancient Rome. Add to this, the wailings of terrified women, the infirm condition of the aged, and the helplessness of childhood: such as strove to provide for themselves, and those who laboured to assist others; these dragging the feeble, those waiting for them; some hurrying, others lingering; altogether created a scene of universal confusion and embarrassment: and while they looked back upon the danger in their rear, they often found themselves beset before, and on their sides: or if they had escaped into the quarters adjoining, these too were already seized by the devouring flames; even the parts which they believed remote and exempt, were found to be in the same distress. At last, not knowing what to shun, or where to seek sanctuary, they crowded the streets, and lay along in the open fields. Some, from the loss of their whole substance, even the means of their daily sustenance; others from affection for their relations, whom they had not been able to snatch from the flames, suffered

themselves to perish in them, though they had opportunity to escape. Neither dared any man offer to check the fire: so repeated were the menaces of many who forbade to extinguish it; and, because others openly threw firebrands, with loud declarations, "that they had one who authorised them;" whether they did it that they might plunder with the less restraint, or in consequence of orders given.

39. Nero, who was at that juncture sojourning at Antium, did not return to the city till the fire approached that quarter of his house which connected the palace with the gardens of Mæcenas: nor could it, however, be prevented from devouring the house and palace, and everything around. But for the relief of the people, thus destitute, and driven from their dwellings, he opened the field of Mars and the monumtental edifices erected by Agrippa, and even his own gardens. He likewise reared temporary houses for the reception of the forlorn multitude: and from Ostia and the neighbouring cities, were brought, up the river, household necessaries; and the price of grain was reduced to three sesterces the measure. All which proceedings, though of a popular character, were thrown away, because a rumour had become universally current "that at the very time when the city was in flames, Nero, going on the stage of his private theatre, sang 'The Destruction of Troy,' assimilating the present disaster to that catastrophe of ancient times."

40. At length, on the sixth day, the conflagration was stayed at the foot of Esquilæ, by pulling down an immense quantity of buildings, so that an open space, and as it were void air, might check the raging element by breaking the continuity. But ere the consternation had subsided, the fire broke out afresh, with no little violence, but in regions more spacious, and therefore with less destruction of human life: but more extensive havoc was made of the temples, and the porticoes dedicated to amusement. This conflagration, too, was the subject of more censorious remark, as it arose in the Æmilian possessions of Tigellinus: and Nero seemed to aim at the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his own name: for, of the fourteen quarters into which Rome is divided, four were still standing entire, three were levelled with the ground; and, in the seven others, there remained only here and there a few remnants of houses, shattered and half consumed.

41. It were no very easy task to recount the number of tenements and temples which were lost: but the following,



most venerable for antiquity and sanctity, were consumed: that dedicated by Servius Tullius to the Moon; the temple and great altar consecrated by Evander the Arcadian to Hercules while present; the chapel vowed by Romulus to Jupiter Stator; the palace of Numa, with the temple of Vesta, and in it the tutelar gods of Rome. Moreover, the treasures accumulated by so many victories, the beautiful productions of Greek artists, ancient writings of authors celebrated for genius, and till then preserved entire, were consumed: and though great was the beauty of the city, in its renovated form, the older inhabitants remembered many decorations of the ancient which could not be replaced in the modern city. There were some who remarked that the commencement of this fire showed itself on the fourteenth, before the calends of July, the day on which the Senones set fire to the captured city. Others carried their investigation so far as to determine that an equal number of years, months, and days, intervened between the two fires.

42. To proceed; Nero appropriated to his own purposes the ruins of his country, and founded upon them a palace; in which the old-fashioned, and, in those luxurious times, common ornaments of gold and precious stones, were not so much the objects of attraction, as lands and lakes; in one part, woods like vast deserts; in another part, open spaces and expansive prospects. The projectors and superintendents of this plan were Severus and Celer, men of such ingenuity and daring enterprise as to attempt to conquer by art the obstacles of nature, and fool away the treasures of the prince: they had even undertaken to sink a navigable canal from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, over an arid shore, or through opposing mountains: nor indeed does there occur anything of a humid nature for supplying water; except the Pomptine marshes; the rest is either craggy rock or a parched soil: and had it even been possible to break through these obstructions, the toil had been intolerable, and disproportioned to the object. Nero, however, who longed to achieve things that exceeded credibility, exerted all his might to perforate the mountains adjoining to Avernus: and to this day there remain traces of his abortive project.

43. But the rest of the old site not occupied by his palace, was laid out, not, as after the Gallic fire, without discrimination and regularity, but with the lines of streets measured out, broad spaces left for transit, the height of the buildings limited, open areas left, and porticoes added

to protect the front of the clustered dwellings: these porticoes Nero engaged to rear at his own expense, and then to deliver to each proprietor the areas about them, cleared. He moreover proposed rewards proportioned to every man's rank and private substance, and fixed a day within which, if their houses, single or clustered, were finished, they should receive them: he appointed the marshes of Ostia for a receptacle of the rubbish, and that the vessels which had conveyed grain up the Tiber should return laden with rubbish; that the buildings themselves should be raised to a certain portion of their height without beams, and arched with stone from the quarries of Gabii or Alba, that stone being proof against fire: that over the water springs, which had been improperly intercepted by private individuals, overseers should be placed, to provide for their flowing in greater abundance, and in a greater number of places, for the supply of the public: that every housekeeper should have in his yard means for extinguishing fire; neither should there be party walls, but every house should be enclosed by its own walls. These regulations, which were favourably received, in consideration of their utility, were also a source of beauty to the new city: yet some there were who believed that the ancient form was more conducive to health; as from the narrowness of the streets, and the height of the buildings, the rays of the sun were more excluded; whereas now, the spacious breadth of the streets, without any shade to protect it, was more intensely heated in warm weather.

44. Such were the provisions made by human counsels. The gods were next addressed with expiations; and recourse had to the Sibyl's books. By admonition from them, to Vulcan, Ceres, and Proserpina, supplicatory sacrifices were made, and Juno propitiated by the matrons, first in the Capitol, then upon the nearest shore, where, by water drawn from the sea, the temple and image of the goddess were besprinkled; and the ceremony of placing the goddess in her sacred chair, and her vigil, were celebrated by ladies who had husbands. But not all the relief that could come from man, not all the bounties that the prince could bestow, nor all the atonements which could be presented to the gods, availed to relieve Nero from the infamy of being believed to have ordered the conflagration. Hence, to suppress the rumour, he falsely charged with the guilt, and punished with the most exquisite tortures, the persons commonly called Christians, who were hated for their

enormities. Christus, the founder of that name, was put to death as a criminal by Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa, in the reign of Tiberius: but the pernicious superstition, repressed for a time, broke out again, not only through Judæa, where the mischief originated, but through the city of Rome also, whither all things horrible and disgraceful flow, from all quarters, as to a common receptacle, and where they are encouraged. Accordingly, first those were seized who confessed they were Christians: next, on their information, a vast multitude were convicted, not so much on the charge of burning the city, as of hating the human race. And in their deaths they were also made the subjects of sport, for they were covered with the hides of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs, or nailed to crosses, or set fire to, and when day declined, burnt to serve for nocturnal lights. Nero offered his own gardens for that spectacle, and exhibited a Circensian game, indiscriminately mingling with the common people in the habit of a charioteer, or else standing in his chariot. Whence a feeling of compassion arose towards the sufferers, though guilty and deserving to be made examples of by capital punishment, because they seemed not to be cut off for the public good, but victims to the ferocity of one man.

45. In the meantime, in order to supply money, all Italy was pillaged, the provinces ruined: both the people in alliance with us, and the states which are called free. Even the gods were not exempt from plunder on this occasion, their temples in the city being despoiled, and all the gold conveyed away, which the Roman people, in every age, either in gratitude for triumphs, or in fulfilment of vows, had consecrated, in times of prosperity, or in seasons of dismay. Through Greece and Asia indeed, the gifts and oblations, and even the statues of the deities were carried off; Acratus and Secundus Carinas being sent into those provinces for the purpose: the former, Nero's freedman, a prompt instrument in any iniquity; the other, acquainted with Greek learning, so far as relates to lip-knowledge, but unadorned with virtuous accomplishments. Of Seneca it was reported, "that to avert from himself the odium of this sacrilege; he prayed to retire to a seat of his, remote from Rome, and being refused, feigned indisposition, as though his nerves were affected, and confined himself to his chamber." Some authors have recorded, "that a freedman of his, named Cleonicus, had, by the command of Nero, prepared poison for his master, who escaped it, either from the discovery made by the

freedman, or from the caution inspired by his own apprehensions, as he supported nature by a diet perfectly simple, satisfying the cravings of hunger by wild fruits, and the solicitations of thirst from the running brook."

46. About the same time a body of gladiators, at the city of Præneste, having made an attempt to escape, were quelled by the guard of soldiers placed there to keep them; while the people, whose nature it is to be at once eager for political changes and terrified at their approach, were already agitated with rumours about another Spartacus, and the calamities of old. Nor was it long after this that a fatal disaster befell the fleet; not in a hostile encounter; for never was there a time of more profound peace: but Nero had ordered the galleys to return to the coast of Campania, on a specified day, without any allowance for the casualties of the deep: so that the pilots, though the sea raged, weighed from the port of Formiæ, and by a violent tempest from the south, while they struggled to double the cape of Misenum, were driven upon the shore of Cuma, where many galleys of three banks of oars, and smaller vessels on all hands, were wrecked.

47. In the close of the year, the public mind was occupied with accounts of prodigies, which seemed the harbingers of impending calamities. At no other time did lightning flash with such frequency; there appeared also a comet; an omen ever expiated by Nero with the effusion of illustrious blood. In the streets and roads were found exposed several monstrous births with double heads, some of the human species, some of brutes; or were discovered in sacrifices at which custom required beasts that are pregnant: and in the territory of Placentia, by the side of the public way, was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg: a prodigy which, according to the interpretation returned by the soothsayers, boded "that for human kind another head was preparing, but one which would never arrive at strength, or remain concealed; for that this had been contracted in the womb, and came into the world by the wayside."

48. Silius Nerva and Atticus Vestinus then entered upon the consulship; when a conspiracy sprang into existence and grew into importance at the same instant; a conspiracy in which senators, knights, soldiers, and even women, had entered with the ardour of competition, both from detestation of Nero and attachment to Caius Piso, who being a descendant of the Calpurnian race, and connected with many illustrious families, through the noble house of his father, enjoyed a brilliant reputation with the

people in consequence of his virtues, or qualities that wore the attractive form of virtues: for, he was a master of eloquence, and employed it in the defence of his fellow citizens; he was generous to his friends, and even towards such as were unknown to him, courteous in his language and address. He possessed also accidental recommendations: a tall person and a handsome face. But his morals were lax; his love of pleasure unrestrained by moderation; he gave way to delicacy and display, and occasionally to luxurious excess. Many found no fault with him in these respects, for in the general rage for vicious indulgence they were not for having a strait-laced and austere person at the head of affairs.

49. It was in no inordinate ambition of his own that the conspiracy originated; and yet I could not easily state who concerted it, or who instigated a plot which such a number espoused: that Subrius Flavius, tribune of a prætorian cohort, and Sulpicius Asper the centurion, were the foremost in it, the firmness with which they encountered death evinces. Lucanus Annæus, and Plautius Lateranus, consul elect, brought into it a spirit of keen animosity; the former stimulated by personal provocations, as Nero had obstructed the fame of his poems, and from a ridiculous rivalry forbade their publication: Lateranus, induced to join it, not from any personal injury, but from affection for the republic. But there were two men, Flavius Scævinius and Afranius Quintianus, both of senatorian rank, who belied their previous character in taking a leading part in so great an enterprise; for the mind of Scævinius had been enervated with sensuality, and therefore his time was consumed in sleep and languor. Quintianus was infamous for effeminacy; and having been vilified by Nero in a virulent satire, he sought to revenge the indignity.

50. Now while these persons, as well in conferences with each other as amongst their friends, were declaiming upon "the enormities of the prince, the approaching dissolution of the empire, and the necessity of choosing some one capable of restoring the afflicted state," they drew into the combination Tullius Senecio, Cervarius Proculus, Vulcatius Araricus, Julius Tugurinus, Munatius Gratus, Antonius Natalis, and Martius Festus; all Roman knights. One of these, Senecio, who had lived in intimacy with Nero, and preserved even then the face of friendship, was on that account the more beset with perils. To Natalis all the secret purposes of Piso were communicated without reserve: the rest sought their separate interests in a change.

Of military men, besides Subrius and Sulpicius, already mentioned, Granius Silvanus and Staius Proximus, tribunes of the prætorian bands, with the centurions, Maximus Scaurus and Venetus Paullus, were admitted into the plot. But their main dependence was in Fenius Rufus, captain of the imperial guards, a man of conduct and high estimation, but rivalled in the affections of the prince by Tigellinus, who was recommended by his cruelty and impurity, and who perpetually harassed him with false accusations, and had frequently put him in fear of his life, representing him as "having had a criminal connection with Agrippina, and from grief at her untimely end inflexibly bent upon revenge." Accordingly, when the conspirators felt assured, by language frequently used by him, that the captain of the prætorian band had resolved to take a part, they now deliberated with more confidence on the time and place for the assassination; and Subrius Flavius was said to have conceived a strong inclination to attack Nero while singing on the stage, or his house being on fire, to fall on him while he was scampering from place to place in the night unattended by his guards. In the latter case, the opportunity of finding him alone; in the former, the very numbers who would witness the glorious achievement had impelled his noble nature into action, had not an over anxiety to execute it with impunity held him back; a feeling which is ever adverse to attempts of magnitude.

51. While the conspirators were hesitating, and protracting the issue of their hopes and fears, a woman named Epicharis, (and how she became acquainted with the affair is involved in mystery; nor had she ever manifested a concern for worthy objects before,) began to animate the conspirators, and goad them on by reproaches; but at length disgusted with their dilatoriness, while sojourning in Campania, she tried every effort to shake the allegiance of the officers of the fleet at Misenum, and engage them in the plot. The following circumstance gave her an opening. Volusius Proculus, who was one of the parties employed in the murder of Nero's mother, and as he thought had not been promoted proportionately to the magnitude of the crime, was a chiliarch in that fleet. Being previously known to Epicharis, or having recently formed a friendship with her, he disclosed to her the services he had rendered Nero, and the little advantage he had reaped from them; adding complaints, and his settled purpose of being revenged should an opportunity present itself. This inspired her with a hope that he might be worked upon and win over others to the scheme; and the

fleet formed a powerful auxiliary, and had frequent opportunities of effecting the object, for Nero took delight in resorting to the sea at Puteoli and Misenum. Epicharis therefore entered more at large into matters, and went through all the atrocities of the prince, concluding with the remark, "that Nero had stripped the senate of all their powers; but," she added, "they had taken measures to punish him for overturning the constitution: Proculus had only to address himself manfully to the work, and bring over to their side the most energetic of the troops, and he might depend upon receiving suitable rewards." She, however, concealed the names of the conspirators: whence it was that, though he laid before Nero her whole discourse, his evidence was of no avail. For when Epicharis was summoned, and confronted with the informer, as his charge against her was supported by no witnesses, she easily confuted him. But she was detained in prison; as Nero suspected that these matters were not therefore false, even though they had not been proved to be true.

52. The conspirators however, distressed with apprehensions of a discovery, resolved to hasten on the assassination at Baiæ, in a villa of Piso's, whither the emperor, charmed with the loveliness of the place, was in the habit of going, and where he entered the bath and banquet without his guards, and unincumbered by the pomp of his imperial state. But Piso declined, under pretext of "the odium that would attach to him if the sacred rites of the table, and the gods of hospitality, were imbrued with the blood of a prince, whatever his character: it were more advisable to despatch him at Rome, in that detested house built with the spoils of the citizens; or rather in the face of the public, to execute a deed which they had undertaken for the benefit of the public." Thus he reasoned openly amongst the conspirators; but in his heart he dreaded lest Lucius Silanus, a man of the highest quality, and by the tuition of Caius Cassius, by whom he was brought up, formed to every noble aspiration, should seize upon the government; while those who stood aloof from the conspiracy, and those who compassionated Nero as a victim of treachery, would render him zealous assistance. Many believed that "Piso likewise feared the ardent spirit of the consul Vestinus, lest he might be prompted to restore liberty; or, selecting another emperor, acquire the merit of having conferred the empire upon him." For he was no party to the conspiracy, although Nero, under colour of that charge,

afterwards satiated his inveterate rancour towards a guiltless man.

53. At length they agreed to perpetrate their designs upon the anniversary sacred to Ceres, and solemnised with Circensian games; as the emperor, who seldom came abroad, but remained shut up in his palace or gardens, was wont to frequent the diversions of the Circus, where, amidst the gaiety of the sports, access to him was more easily obtained. Their plan of proceeding in the plot they had thus arranged: "Lateranus, a man of determined spirit and gigantic power, approaching the prince with humblest supplication, and falling at his knees under pretence of imploring assistance in supporting himself, was to throw him down by surprise and press upon him: and when thus prostrate and hampered, the tribunes and centurions, and each of the rest as his courage prompted him, were to rush in and despatch him: Scævinius, at his own earnest request, performing the principal part; for he had a dagger from the temple of Safety in Etruria, or, as others have related, of Fortune in the town of Ferentum, and wore it as a weapon devoted to a deed of magnitude. Piso meanwhile was to wait at the temple of Ceres, whence Fenius, the captain of the guards, and the rest should summon him, that they might take him into the camp attended by Antonia, daughter of Claudius Cæsar, to conciliate the favour of the people:" as Caius Plinius relates. I was myself determined not to conceal what is stated under any circumstances: although it appeared improbable that Antonia would have lent her name and hazarded her life in a project from which she had nothing to hope for, or that Piso, remarkable for his love of his wife, should have entered into a matrimonial contract with another; unless it be that the lust of domination burns with a flame so fierce as to overpower all other affections of the human breast.

54. It is matter of astonishment that in a conspiracy embracing persons of different families, rank, age, and sex, rich and poor, all its proceedings should have been kept secret and undivulged so long. At length, however, its discovery commenced in the house of Scævinius, who on the day before the intended execution of the plot, after a long conference with Antonius Natalis, returned home and sealed his will. He then drew from its scabbard the dagger of which I have spoken before, and remarking angrily that it was blunted from the effects of time, gave orders that it should be whetted upon a stone, and be made to



flame up into a point. This task he assigned to his freedman, Milichus. At the same time he partook of a repast more than ordinarily sumptuous: his most favourite slaves were presented with their liberty, and the others with money; and he himself seemed sad, and manifestly meditated some momentous business, although he assumed an air of cheerfulness, in his conversation running from one subject to another. At last he cautioned the same Milichus to provide bandages for wounds, and materials for stanching blood; whether it was that he was acquainted with the conspiracy, and had continued faithful up to that time, or that he had no previous knowledge of it, and then for the first time suspicion flashed upon him, as most subsequent authors have stated. For when the slave, with the sordid spirit that belongs to his condition, pondered on the rewards of perfidy, and the image of boundless riches and power presented itself to his vision, conscience, the safety of his patron, gratitude for the boon of liberty, all gave way: moreover he had taken counsel of his wife also, a woman's counsel, the worst in such a matter, for, as might be expected, she alarmed him by fresh motives for fear; "many freedmen and slaves," she said, "stood by and heard the same that he had: the silence of one person would be of no avail; while the rewards would be gained by him who should be the first to make the discovery."

55. Milichus, therefore, at the first dawn of day, went direct to the Servilian gardens; and being refused admittance, declared, in a tone of earnestness, that he had matters to communicate of the deepest, the most serious importance: he was conducted by the porters to Epaphroditus, a freedman of Nero's, and by him presently to Nero himself: to whom he represented "the imminent danger that threatened him, the formidable conspiracies concerted," with all the circumstances which he had heard, and made out by conjecture, even showing the dagger destined to destroy him, and desiring to be confronted with the criminal. Scaevinus was seized and haled away by the soldiers; and proceeding to make his defence, he answered, "that the dagger which had been produced against him, was a relic ever held sacred in their family, always kept in his chamber, and thence surreptitiously conveyed by the villany of his freedman. Testamentary documents he had often sealed, without observing any distinction of days: frequently before this he had bestowed liberty and presents upon his slaves: with the greater liberality on this occasion, because his fortune being reduced, and his creditors importunate, he

feared his will would not be fulfilled. No one could deny that he had always kept a liberal table; that his style of living was elegant, and such as rigid censors did not altogether approve of; the applications for wounds had been ordered by him; but because his other allegations were negatived by notorious facts, the accuser had subjoined a charge in which he might make himself at once the informer and witness." His arguments were aided by the undaunted spirit he showed; he turned round upon his accuser, and represented him as being "unworthy of credit, and covered with guilt," and that with a tone and look so confident, that the information would have broken down, had not his wife reminded Milichus that "Antonius Natalis had had many and secret conversations with Scævinius, and that both were confidants of Caius Piso."

56. Natalis therefore was called, and they were asked apart "what the nature of the conversation was, and what its subject;" when, as their answers agreed not, strong suspicion arose, and they were put in chains; and when shown the instruments of torture, and threatened with them, their courage failed them. First, however, Natalis, who was the better acquainted with the whole conspiracy, and also better qualified to manage the impeachment, confessed in the first place the guilt of Piso: then he added Annæus Seneca; whether it was that he had been the medium of communication between Seneca and Piso, or to gain favour with Nero, whose hostility to Seneca led him to seek all sorts of devices to destroy him. Now Scævinius, having learnt that a confession was made by Natalis, with the same weakness, or believing that already the whole confederacy was disclosed, and from his own silence no advantage was to be expected, gave up the other accomplices. Of these Lucanus, Quinctianus, and Senecio, persisted long in denying the charge; but at length surrendering their principles on a promise of impunity, to apologise for their backwardness, Lucan informed against Atilla, his own mother, Quinctianus against Glitius Gallus, and Senecio against Annius Pollio, their most intimate friends.

57. Nero meanwhile recollected that, upon the information of Volucius Proculus, Epicharis was held in custody; and supposing the body of a woman unequal to the pain, ordered her to be torn to pieces by the instruments of torture. But neither stripes, nor fire, nor the rage of the tormentors, who tore her with the more vehemence, lest they should be scorned by a woman, could vanquish her, so as not to deny the allegations. Thus the first day

of torture was passed without producing any effect on her. The day following, as she was being brought back to suffer the same torments, riding in a chair, for, all her members being disjoined, she could not support herself; taking off the girdle that bound her breasts, she tied it in a noose to the canopy of the chair, and placing her neck in it, hung upon it with the whole weight of her body, and forced out the slender remains of life: a freedwoman, by thus screening strangers, and persons almost unknown to her, though pressed to do so by such extreme torture, exhibiting an example which derived augmented lustre from the fact that free-born persons, men, Roman knights, and senators, untouched by the instruments of torture, each of them, betrayed their dearest pledges of affection. For, Lucan too and Senecio, and Quinctianus, omitted not to give up accomplices on all hands, while Nero grew more and more alarmed; though he had fenced himself in by increasing the number of the guard manifold.

58. Nay, he seemed to have put the city itself in ward, having manned the walls with bands of soldiers, and planted troops on the sea coast and the bank of the river. Through the squares, from house to house, in the country also and the nearest municipal towns, foot and horse were flying about, mixed with Germans, in whom the prince confided, as being foreigners. Henceforth troops of the accused in continuous succession were haled along, and lay waiting at the gates of the gardens: and when they had gone in to make their defence, "to have shown any token of kindly feeling towards the conspirators; nay, even to have spoken to them, though fortuitously; or to have met them, however unexpectedly; or to have been common guests at the same table, or sat together at some public show;" all this was considered as proof of guilt; since, besides the cruel scrutiny made by Nero and Tigellinus, Fenius Rufus also pressed upon them with a severity that spurned all bounds, not having been, as yet, named by the informers, but to create a belief that he was not privy to the conspiracy, by his harshness towards his associates. And when Subrius Flavius, who stood by, asked him by signs whether he should draw his sword and kill Nero during the very inquisition, this same man signified dissent, and checked his effort while bringing back his hand to the hilt of his sword.

59. There were those who, when the conspiracy was first betrayed, while Milichus was under examination, and while Scævinius wavered, exhorted Piso, "to proceed di-

rectly to the camp, or mount the rostrum, and throw himself on the affections of the people and soldiery: if his accomplices co-operated in his efforts, those too who were not so, would follow; and when the design was avowed, and the commotion begun, great would be the excitement: which, in all new attempts, is of infinite importance; that Nero had made no provision against such a contingency: even brave men were daunted by unforeseen alarms: much less would that comedian, guarded forsooth by Tigellinus with his host of harlots, dare to risk an armed encounter: that many difficulties, which to dastardly spirits appeared insuperable, were got over in the course of the experiment: that in such a multitude of accomplices, it was vain to expect constancy and secrecy: that their minds would not be proof against temptation, nor their bodies against pain: that torture and rewards would penetrate all things: that men would soon come to bind Piso himself, and put him to an ignominious death. How much more honourably would he fall, while clinging to the commonwealth; while invoking aid in defence of liberty! It were better that the soldiers refused to join him, that the people forsook him, provided that, if he lost his life in the attempt, he perished in a manner worthy of his ancestors and posterity." Upon Piso these reasonings had no influence: after he had appeared in public for a short time, he secluded himself at home, and was preparing his mind to encounter death, when at his house arrived a band of soldiers, chosen by Nero from among the novices and those who had served but a short time; for the old soldiers were feared, as tinctured with partiality for the conspirators. He died by severing the veins of his arms. He left a will full of odious flattery to Nero, in tenderness to his wife, a depraved woman, and void of every recommendation but personal beauty, whom he had taken away from her husband, a friend of his. His name was Domitius Silius, and hers Arria Galla; and both concurred, he by his passiveness, she by her wantonness, to blazon the infamy of Piso.

60. The next death added by Nero was that of Plautius Lateranus, consul elect; and with such precipitation, that he would not allow him to embrace his children, nor the usual brief interval to choose his mode of death. He was dragged to the place allotted for the execution of slaves, and there, by the hand of Statius the tribune, slaughtered. In his death he maintained the most invincible silence, not charging his executioner with participation in the design for which he suffered. The destruction

of Seneca followed, to the infinite joy of the prince; not because he had ascertained that he was a party to the conspiracy, but that he might assail him with the sword, since poison had failed: for, Natalis only had named him; and his disclosure amounted but to this, "that he had been sent by Piso to visit Seneca, then indisposed, to complain that he was refused admittance; and to represent, that it would be better if they maintained their friendship by intercourse: that to this Seneca replied, that talking to each other and frequent interviews, were to the service of neither: but upon the safety of Piso his own security rested." Granius Silvanus, tribune of a prætorian cohort, was ordered to represent this to Seneca, and to demand of him, "whether he admitted the words of Natalis, and his own answers. Seneca had that very day, either from chance or design, returned from Campania, and rested at a villa of his, four miles from Rome: thither arrived the tribune towards evening, and beset the villa with his men; and then, as he sat at table with Paullina his wife, and two friends, delivered his orders from the emperor.

61. Seneca replied, "that Natalis had in truth been sent to him, and in the name of Piso complained, that he was debarred from visiting him; and that he had excused himself on the score of illness and his love of retirement; but he had no motive to declare, that he preferred the safety of a private man to his own security; nor was his disposition prone to flattery; as no man better knew than Nero who had experienced more frequent proofs of the freedom than the servility of Seneca." When this answer was by the tribune reported to Nero, in presence of Poppæa and Tigellinus, who composed the cabinet council, the raging tyrant asked, whether Seneca meditated a voluntary death? the tribune averred, "that he had manifested no symptoms of fear; and neither in his words or looks did he detect any indication of regret." He was therefore commanded to return, and tell him he was doomed to die. Fabius Rusticus writes, "that the tribune did not return by the road he went, but turning off went to Fenius, captain of the guards, and stating to him the emperor's orders, asked whether he should obey him; and was by him admonished to execute them:" thus displaying that want of spirit which by some fatality prevailed universally; for Silvanus too was one of the conspirators, and yet was contributing to multiply the atrocities he had conspired to avenge. He avoided however seeing and speaking to Seneca; but sent in a centurion to apprise him of his final doom.

62. Seneca undismayed, called for tables to make his will; and, as this was prohibited by the centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, "that since he was debarred from requiting their services, he bequeathed them that which alone was now left him, but which yet was the fairest legacy he had to leave them—the example of his life: and if they kept it in view, they would reap the fame due to honourable acquirements and inviolable friendship." At the same time he endeavoured to repress their tears and restore their fortitude, now by soothing language, and now in a more animated strain and in a tone of rebuke, asking them, "where were the precepts of philosophy? where the rules of conduct under impending evils, studied for so many years? For who was unapprised of the ferocious disposition of Nero? Nor could anything else be expected after he had murdered his mother and brother, than that he should proceed to destroy his nursing father and preceptor."

63. After these and similar reasonings addressed to the company in general, he embraced his wife; and after a brief but vigorous effort to get the better of the apprehensions that pressed upon him at that moment, he besought and implored her "to refrain from surrendering herself to endless grief; but endeavour to mitigate her regret for her husband by means of those honourable consolations which she would experience in the contemplation of his virtuous life." Paullina, on the contrary, urged her purpose to die with him, and called for the hand of the executioner. When Seneca, unwilling to impede her glory, and also from affection, as he was anxious not to leave one who was dear to him above every thing, exposed to the hard usage of the world, thus addressed her: "I had pointed out to you how to soften the ills of life; but you prefer the renown of dying: I will not envy you the honour of the example. Though both display the same unflinching fortitude in encountering death: still the glory of your exit will be superior to mine." After this, both had the veins of their arms opened with the same stroke: as the blood flowed slowly from the aged body of Seneca, attenuated as it was too by scanty sustenance, he had the veins of his legs and hams also cut; and unable to bear up under the excessive torture, lest by his own sufferings he should overpower the resolution of his wife, and by witnessing her anguish be betrayed into impatience himself, he advised her to retire into another chamber. His eloquence continued to flow during the latest moments of his existence, and summoning his secretaries, he dictated

many things, which as they have been published in his own words, I forbear to exhibit in other language.

64. Nero bore no personal dislike to Paullina, and, to avoid inflaming the public abhorrence of his cruelty, he ordered her death to be prevented. At the instance of the soldiers, her slaves and freedmen bound up her arms, and stanch'd the blood; but, whether with her own concurrence, is uncertain. For such is the proneness of the people to put the worse construction upon things, that there were some who believed, "that while she feared the wrath of Nero was implacable, she aimed at the applause of sharing her husband's fate; but when she had reason to hope he would relent, she yielded to the attractions of life; to which she added but a few years, ever cherishing a laudable recollection of her husband, while her face and limbs exhibited such deadly paleness, that it was plain the vital energy had been much exhausted. Seneca meanwhile, his blood continuing to flow but slowly, and death advancing at a lingering pace, besought Statius Annæus, long esteemed by him as a sincere friend and expert physician, to bring him a draught of the poison which he had long kept in store; the same which is used at Athens to despatch those who by the state are adjudged to die; when brought to him, he took it; but in vain, his limbs being now cold, and his body impervious to the power of poison. At length he had recourse to a warm water bath, whence he besprinkled the slaves nearest him, adding, that "of this liquor he made a libation to Jupiter the Deliverer." From thence, he was conveyed into a stove and suffocated with the steam. His corpse was burnt without any funeral solemnity; for thus he had directed in his will: even then when, in the plenitude of wealth and influence, he had an eye to his latter end.

65. It was rumoured that Subrius Flavius, in a secret consultation with the centurions, and even with the privity of Seneca, had determined, that, as soon as Nero was slain by the aid of Piso, Piso too should be despatched, and the empire transferred to Seneca, as though he had been chosen for the imperial eminence by men of blameless lives, for the renown of his virtues." Nay, even the words of Flavius were in every one's mouth, "that the disgrace would continue as before, if a minstrel were deposed only to be succeeded by a tragedian." For, as Nero was wont to sing to the guitar, so was Piso in the dress of a tragedian.

66. But the share the soldiers took in the conspiracy no longer remained a mystery: the indignation with which the informers saw Fenius Rufus, who was an accomplice,

acting the part of an inquisitor, set them on fire to impeach him. Accordingly, when pressing his interrogations upon the accused, and threatening them, Scævinius, with a sarcastic smile, told him, "that no one knew more about the matter than himself;" and turning round upon him, exhorted him "to prove his gratitude to so good a prince." Fenius could neither speak in refutation of this, nor keep silence; but stammering out his words, and exhibiting manifest signs of extreme alarm, while all the other conspirators, and particularly Cervarius Proculus, strained every nerve to bring the charge home to him, the emperor directed Cassius, a soldier who was ordered to attend there on account of his remarkable bodily strength, to lay hands on him and bind him in chains.

67. Soon afterwards, Subrius Flavius, the tribune, was involved in destruction on the impeachment of the same men. At first he endeavoured to wrest to his defence the diversity of his mode of life, and urged that he who bore arms would never league himself with unarmed and effeminate persons in accomplishing so daring a deed. Then, being sorely beset, he thought the best thing he could do would be to assume the glory of avowing his guilt; and on being asked by Nero, from what motive he had gone the length of renouncing his oath of allegiance, he said, "I hated you; nor had you a soldier more true to you while you deserved to be loved: I began to hate you from the time you showed yourself the impious murderer of your mother and your wife, a coachman, a stage-player, an incendiary." I have given the very words, because they were not published, as in the case of Seneca; and it was equally fitting that the unadorned but nervous sentiments of a soldier should be known. It was well known that nothing which occurred during that conspiracy fell so painfully upon the ears of Nero; who as he was prompt in the perpetration of villany, had likewise an antipathy to hearing of his flagitious doings. The execution of Flavius was committed to the tribune Veianus Niger. He directed a pit to be dug in the adjoining field; which Flavius derided, "as too confined and shallow;" and addressing himself to the soldiers that stood around him, he said, "even this is not done according to rule;" and being admonished by the tribune to extend his neck boldly, "I wish," he said, "you may strike as boldly." And sure enough the tribune trembled excessively; and having hardly severed his head from his body at two blows, made a boast of his cruelty to Nero; observing, that he finished him with a blow and a half.



68. The next example of constancy was furnished by Sulpicius Asper, the centurion; who, in answer to a question of Nero, why he had conspired to kill him, said, in few words, "that was the only way of remedying his atrocities;" and immediately underwent his prescribed doom. Nor did the other centurions show a want of spirit in undergoing the punishment of death; but Fenius Rufus did not exhibit equal firmness, but crowded his lamentations into his will. Nero was anxiously expecting that Vestinus the consul also would be involved in this charge; as he esteemed him a man of a violent spirit and virulently disaffected. But the conspirators had not imparted their counsels to Vestinus; some from long-standing animosities, but the greater part because they believed him to be a headstrong and intractable person. But the antipathy of Nero arose out of their intimate acquaintance, during which Vestinus learned and scorned the cowardly spirit of the prince, while the prince feared the independent bearing of his friend, having been frequently made the butt of his cutting raillery; which, when founded upon truth in any considerable degree, long rankles in the memory. An additional motive for resentment arose out of a recent occurrence, for Vestinus had married Statilia Messalina, not without knowing that Cæsar also was one of her gallants.

69. When therefore there appeared no accuser, and no charge that could be brought against him, Nero, since he could not assume the guise of a judge, resorted to the violence of the tyrant, and despatched Gerelanus the tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders "to forestall the machinations of the consul; to take possession of his citadel, and surprise his band of chosen youths:" for, the house of Vestinus overlooked the Forum, and he kept a number of beautiful slaves, of the same age. He had that day discharged all the functions of consul; and was celebrating a banquet totally void of fear, or perhaps in order to hide his fears, when the soldiers entering, told him the tribune wanted him: without a moment's delay he rose from table, and every particular of the business was at once carried into instant execution: he was shut up in a chamber; a physician was at hand; his veins were opened; and, while yet full of life, he was conveyed into a bath and immersed in hot water; not a word betokening regret escaped him. Meanwhile, those who supped with him, were enclosed with a guard; nor released till the night was far spent, and till Nero, having pictured to himself and passed his jokes upon the terror of men expect-

ing when they rose from the table to be put to death, signified that "they had paid dear enough for their consular supper."

70. The next execution he ordered was that of Marcus Annæus Lucanus. His blood gushing out, when he perceived his feet and hands grow cold, and life retiring gradually from the extremities; while his heart was still warm, and he retained his senses; calling to mind some verses of his own, in which he had described a wounded soldier expiring in a similar manner, he repeated the very verses; and they were the last words he uttered. After this, Senecio, and Quinctianus, and Scævinius, died in a manner at variance with their former dissolute course of life; and soon afterwards, the remaining conspirators were cut off, but without saying or doing any thing worthy of record.

71. But at one and the same time the city was thronged with funerals, and the Capitol with victims. One whose son, another whose brother, a third whose kinsman or friend had been put to death, returned thanks to the gods, decked the house of Nero with laurel, fell at his knees, and wearied his right hand with kisses. And the emperor believing that the joy was undissembled, rewarded Antonius Natalis and Cervarius Proculus with impunity, for their despatch in impeaching the traitors. Milichus, enriched with rewards, adopted the name of Saviour, employing a Greek term to denote it. Of the tribunes, Granius Silvanus, though absolved, fell by his own hand; Statius Proximus rendered useless the pardon he had received from the emperor, by the foolish way in which he met his death. Next, the following tribunes were bereft of their commands: Pompeius, Cornelius Martialis, Flavius Nepos, and Statius Domitius; not on the ground that they bore any ill-will towards the emperor, but that they nevertheless were supposed to do so. To Nonius Priscus, by reason of the friendship of Seneca, to Clitius Gallus, and Annius Pollio, rather calumniated than convicted, banishment was adjudged. Antonia Flaccilla accompanied Priscus her husband, and Gallus was attended by his wife Egnatia Maximilla, who originally possessed great and unimpaired wealth, which was afterwards taken from her; both which circumstances increased her renown. Rufus Crispinus was also driven into banishment; for which the conspiracy furnished a pretence: but in reality from the jealousy of Nero; as he had been once the husband of Poppæa. Virginus and Musonius Rufus owed their banishment to the splendour of their reputation. For Virginus kept the Roman youth warmly attached to him by

his eloquence; Musonius by his lectures on philosophy. Cluvidienus Quietus, Julius Agrippa, Blitius Catulinus, Petronius Priscus, and Julius Altinus, in a host and batch, as it were, were allowed the range of the islands of the Ægean sea. But Cadicia the wife of Scævinius, and Cæsonius Maximus, were banished Italy; only knowing that they were accused, by the punishment inflicted. Atilla, the mother of Annæus Lucanus, was designedly passed over, without pardon and without punishment.

72. This business being concluded, Nero addressed the assembled soldiery, distributed among them a largess of two thousand sesterces a-man; and further allowed them to have corn gratuitously, whereas before they paid the market price. Then, as if about to recount the transactions of a war, he summoned the senate. Upon Petronius Turpilianus, the consular, upon Cocceius Nerva, prætor elect, and Tigellinus, captain of the prætorian guards, he conferred the triumphal ornaments; signalling Tigellinus and Nerva in such a manner, that, besides their triumphal statues erected in the Forum, he placed their images in the palace also. He granted the consular decorations to Nymphidius: of whom, since his name now first occurs, I shall recite a few particulars. For he too will bear a part in the calamities of Rome. The son then of a freedwoman who had prostituted her beautiful person among the slaves and freedmen of the emperors, he boasted that he was the offspring of Caius Cæsar, as, by some chance, he was tall in figure and of a stern countenance; or else it was that Cæsar, who was partial to harlots as well as to others, amused himself with the mother of this man also.

73. But Nero having assembled the fathers, addressed a speech to them; and issuing an edict to the people, subjoined the evidence against the conspirators which had been taken down in writing, and also their confessions; for he was vituperated unmercifully by the people, among whom it was rifely reported "that he had wrought the destruction of blameless men from motives of jealousy or fear." But all who concerned themselves in ascertaining the truth, doubted not, at the time, that a conspiracy had been formed, matured, and suppressed, and the exiles who returned to the city after the decease of Nero, admit it. In the senate, when each of the members humbled himself to acts of adulation, more and more abject in proportion to his grief at what had happened, Salienus Clemens made a fierce attack upon Junius Gallio, who was terrified at the death of his brother Seneca, and who earnestly prayed

that his own life might be spared. He called him "a public enemy and a parricide;" but was deterred from proceeding by the general opinion of the senate, "that he should not appear to pervert public grievances to the objects of private animosity, nor revive, as occasions for renewed severities, matters which had been set at rest and obliterated by the clemency of the prince."

74. And now it was decreed that "public thanksgivings and oblations should be paid to the deities, and peculiar honours to the sun; the god who, possessing an ancient chapel in the Circus, the place intended for the perpetration of the deed, had brought to light the secrets of the conspiracy: that the Circensian games, in honour of Ceres, should be solemnised with an additional number of chariot races; that the month of April should bear the name of Nero; and to the goddess Salus a temple erected in the place whence Scævinius had brought out the dagger." The dagger Nero himself dedicated in the Capitol, and inscribed it to Jupiter Vindex, a circumstance which at that time did not attract particular notice. But, after the revolt of Julius Vindex it was construed as an omen and presage of future vengeance. In the journals of the senate I find that Cerialis Anicius, consul elect, instead of voting on the question, moved, "that a temple should, with all possible speed, be erected, at the charge of the state, to the deified Nero:" a motion by which he meant to intimate that he had out-topped the pinnacle of mortal greatness, and deserved the worship given to the gods; but which was interpreted as an omen of his approaching decease, for divine worship is not paid to a prince before he has ceased to sojourn among men.

# THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

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## BOOK XVI.

AFTER this, Nero was made the object of fortune's sport, through his own credulity and the representations of Cesellius Bassus, a Carthaginian by birth, and of a wild and irregular cast of mind; who perverted a vision of the still night into a foundation for the most confident hopes: making a voyage to Rome, he procured access to the prince by money, and laid before him the intelligence that "there had been discovered on his estate a cavern of immense depth, containing a vast quantity of gold, not reduced to the form of coin, but in shapeless masses, as it used to be in ancient times. In fact, ingots of surprising weight were lying in one part, and in another were standing bars of the same metal: treasures which had lain concealed for so long a period to augment the happiness of the present times. For the rest, to show the probability of the thing, he suggested that Dido the Phœnician, when she fled from Tyre, and founded the city of Carthage, had secreted those treasures, lest the newly-established people should run riot from superabundance of wealth; or the kings of the Numidians, otherwise inimically disposed, should be incited to make war upon her by a desire to get possession of the gold."

2. In consequence of this, Nero, without sufficient evidence of the veracity of the man, or the credibility of his story, and without having sent persons to ascertain whether the facts were as reported, even heightened the popular expectation himself, and despatched persons to convey away the wealth as though it had been spoil already acquired. Three-oared galleys and chosen mariners were employed, to facilitate despatch; nor during those days did any other topic engage the credulity of the people or the discussions of the wise. It happened also that the quinquennial games were then celebrating, on closing the second lustrum; and the poets and orators drew their principal materials from this source for praising the

prince: for they said, that not only were the customary fruits produced, and gold mixed with other metals, but the earth gave forth her treasures with unheard-of exuberance, and the gods brought riches and laid them at his feet; with such other degrading flatteries as men of the highest eloquence and the most abject servility could invent, well assured of the credulous facility of the prince.

3. Meanwhile, his extravagance, encouraged by these chimerical anticipations, grew still more excessive; and his existing treasures were wasted under the idea that fresh ones had fallen in which would supply his lavish expenditure for many years. Nay, he even now made largesses from this source, and the expectation of riches was one of the causes of the impoverishment of the state: for Bassus having made excavations on his own estate, and on the surrounding lands, to a wide extent, affirming now this and then another place as the site of the promised mine, and attended not only by the soldiers but a throng of rustics engaged to do the work, at length came to his senses, and, wondering that his dreams should never have proved false before, and that this was the first time he had been mocked by one, he escaped from the anguish of shame and the dangers that threatened him, by a voluntary death. Some authors have stated that he was thrown into chains, and soon after released, his goods being taken from him in lieu of the royal treasure.

4. Meanwhile, as the quinquennial games were now approaching, the senate, to avert the disgrace of the emperor's appearing, offered to him "the victory in song;" and added "the crown of eloquence," to veil the indecorum of his theatrical exhibition. But Nero insisting, "that he needed not the favour and protection of the senate, and declaring that he was a match for his competitors, and would obtain the honours due to his talents by the conscientious decision of the judges," first recited a poem upon the stage; but afterwards, the people importuning him "to give them the benefit of all his accomplishments," (their very words), he mounted the orchestra, and complied with all the laws of the harp: not to sit down from fatigue; not to wipe off the perspiration with any thing but the garment he wore; and that no secretions from the mouth or nostrils should be visible. Lastly, going down upon his knee, and stretching out his hand in a supplicatory form to the persons assembled there, he awaited the voices of the judges with pretended agitation; and the populace of the city, for their part, accustomed to encourage the gesticulations of the stage-players, ap-

plauded him from one end of the theatre to the other, in measured time, and according to a set form of clapping: you would have supposed that they were delighted, and possibly they were, from insensibility to the public disgrace.

5. But those who had come from remote municipal towns, and occupied that part of Italy where strictness of manners and primitive simplicity were still preserved; those, too, who had come from the various distant provinces in the capacity of ambassadors, or on private business, could neither endure this sight, nor were able to perform the degrading task; for their inexperienced hands soon tired, and they embarrassed those who understood it; in consequence of which they were often struck by the soldiers, who were stationed in different parts of the benches, that not a moment of time should be misapplied in discordant applause or sluggish silence. It is certain that many knights were trampled to death in making their way through the crowded avenues and the pressing multitude; and that others, from being on the seats for a day and a night, without intermission, were seized with dangerous disease; for, in truth, they had more serious apprehensions if they failed in attending the exhibition, there being many employed openly, and more secretly, to note the names and countenances, the alacrity or reluctance of the company. The consequence was, that punishment was at once inflicted on the meaner sort, while his resentment against persons of rank was stifled for the present, and paid off afterwards: and it was said that "Vespasian was severely rebuked by Phœbus, his freedman, for closing his eyes as if in sleep; and having been with difficulty shielded by the entreaties of men of influence, escaped the destruction that threatened him afterwards by the fatality which reserved him for greater things."

6. The diversions of the theatre were followed by the death of Poppæa; occasioned by a fit of passion in her husband, who gave her a violent blow with his foot when she was pregnant; for I cannot believe he poisoned her; as some have stated, rather from spite than conviction; as he desired to have children, and was devoted to his wife. Her body was not consumed by fire, according to the rites of the Romans; but, after the manner of foreign monarchs, embalmed by being filled with spices, and laid in the tomb of the Julian family. Her obsequies, however, were publicly celebrated, and from the rostrum the emperor magnified "her beauty and her lot, in having been the mother

of an infant enrolled amongst the gods," with many other gifts of fortune, which he treated as so many virtues.

7. The death of Poppæa was mourned, in appearance, but rejoiced at by those who recollected her character, on account of her lewdness and cruelty; and, besides the reproach of this murder, Nero earned fresh detestation by forbidding Caius Cassius to assist at her funeral; the first signal this of impending doom; nor was it long postponed; and Silanus was involved in the same fate, without guilt in either, except that Cassius was pre-eminent for hereditary opulence and sedate manners; Silanus for the splendour of his ancestry, and the modesty of his youth. Nero therefore sent a letter to the senate, and argued for "the necessity of removing both from any share in the administration of the state;" to Cassius, objecting "that amongst the images of his ancestors, he preserved with veneration that of Caius Cassius, thus inscribed, 'The leader of the party;' and that because he meditated a civil war and defection from the house of the Cæsars: and as if it were not enough to employ the memory of a name implacably hostile to it for purposes of rebellion, he had attached to his cause Lucius Silanus, a young man of noble family and impetuous spirit, as a fit example to point to in drawing others into his revolutionary schemes."

8. He then assailed Silanus himself, with the same imputations as he had objected to his uncle Torquatus; "that he made arrangements for performing the various duties of empire; and appointed his freedmen treasurers, auditors, and secretaries:" imputations false in fact and principle, for Silanus was particularly on his guard in consequence of his fears; and had been frightened into precautionary measures by the destruction of his uncle. Nero next prompted persons to assume the name of informers, and falsely accuse Lepida the wife of Cassius, and aunt of Silanus, "of incest with her nephew, and of practising horrible magic rites." Vulcatius Tullinus and Marcellus Cornelius, senators, and Calpurnius Fabatus a Roman knight, were implicated as accomplices, who, by appealing to Cæsar, eluded immediate condemnation; and afterwards, Nero being occupied with atrocities of surpassing magnitude, they escaped, as too insignificant to engage his attention.

9. The senate then pronounced sentence of banishment against Cassius and Silanus; but referred the case of Lepida to Cæsar. Cassius was deported into Sardinia, where he was allowed to pass the few remaining years of his life. Silanus was removed to Ostia, under colour of being con-



veyed to Naxos, and afterwards confined in Barium, a city of Apulia: while there, supporting himself from the resources of wisdom, under a lot of extreme hardship, he was laid hold of by a centurion sent to kill him, who advised him to open his veins: but he answered, "that his mind was made up to death, but he would not allow an assassin the glory of inflicting it." The centurion on the other hand perceiving that though unarmed he was a man of surpassing strength, and showed more of indignation than fear, directed the soldiers to overpower him: nor did Silanus fail to make vigorous resistance, and to deal blows with as much effect as he could with naked hands, till he fell, as though in battle, from wounds received from the centurion in the front of his body.

10. Nor with less intrepidity did Lucius Vetus and his mother-in-law Sextia, with Pollutia his daughter, meet their death. The prince long hated these persons, who while living seemed to reproach him with the murder of Rubellius Plautus, son-in-law to Lucius Vetus: but an opportunity for giving scope to his savage purpose was administered by a freedman of Vetus, named Fortunatus, who having embezzled his patron's property, turned accuser: having united with him in the plot Claudius Demianus, who for his crimes in Asia was put in chains by Vetus, proconsul there; but was now released by Nero, in recompense for this accusation. The accused, when informed of this, and that his freedman and himself were permitted to arraign each other on a footing of equality, retired to his seat near Formiæ; when a guard of soldiers secretly beset him: with him was his daughter, who, in addition to the danger that now loured, had been suffering agonies of grief ever since she beheld the assassins sent to butcher Plautus her husband; and, as she had clasped his gory neck, she preserved the garments stained by his blood; a widow, devoted to unrelenting grief, and declining all nutriment, beyond what was necessary to keep her alive. Upon this occasion, at the instance of her father, she travelled to Naples; and, since she was denied access to Nero, she besieged his gates, and besought him "to hear an innocent man, and not sacrifice his former colleague in the consulship to his freedman;" sometimes imploring him in the piercing tones of woman's grief, sometimes overstepping the modesty of her sex and assailing him in accents of bitter reproach; till the emperor convinced her that he was alike impregnable to supplication and remonstrance.

11. Hence she informed her father, "that he must ba-

nish all hope, and meet his fate in the best way he could." Tidings at the same time arrived, "that the senate was hastening his trial, and proceeding to a sentence of extreme severity." There were some who persuaded him to bequeath to Nero the bulk of his fortune, as the best expedient "to secure to his grandchildren the remainder;" but spurning this proposal, lest he should cast a stain upon a life spent in a manner verging upon ancient liberty by closing it with an act of servility, he distributed amongst his domestics all his ready money, with orders, "to appropriate to themselves everything portable; and that three couches only should be reserved for the funeral rites." They then opened their veins in the same chamber, with the same knife; and each being covered with one garment only, and that from regard to modesty, they were without delay conveyed into baths; the father's eyes fixed upon his daughter, the grandmother's upon her granddaughter, and hers upon both: each praying with rival earnestness for a quick and easy passage of the soul, and to leave the others still alive, though soon to follow. And fate observed the order of nature; for life was first extinguished in the elder, and then in her who was yet in its early stage. They were arraigned after their burial; and it was decreed that "they should be punished according to ancient precedent." Nero interposed; granting them uncontrolled option of death: such were the mockeries that were superadded after the murders were consummated.

12. Publius Gallus, a Roman knight who had been intimate with Fenius Rufus, and not unacquainted with Vetus, was, therefore, prohibited fire and water. To the freedman and accuser, in recompense of the service, a place in the theatre was assigned amongst the tribunes' runners. And as the name April was changed into that of Nero, so was May into that of Claudius, and June into that of Germanicus: Cornelius Orfitus, on whose motion these alterations were made, declared, "that he had proposed superseding the name of June because two of the Junii Torquati, executed for treason, had rendered that name inauspicious."

13. This year, stained with so many acts of tyranny and blood, was by the gods also branded with storms and pestilences: by a whirlwind the country of Campania was ravaged, villages were overturned, plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth scattered: its violence extended as far as the neighbourhood of the city of Rome, in which a terrible pestilence was sweeping away every living thing

without any discernible derangement of the atmosphere; though the houses were filled with dead and the streets with funerals: neither sex nor age was exempt from danger: bondmen and free were snatched off indiscriminately, amidst the wailings of wives and children; who, whilst they were yet attending and lamenting them, were themselves seized, and frequently burnt on the same funeral pile; knights and senators, though they were carried off in common with the inferior orders, were yet less lamented in their deaths; from the consideration that by falling in a mortality which spared none, they did but prevent the cruelty of the prince. The same year levies were made through Narbon Gaul, Africa, and Asia, for recruiting the legions in Illyricum, from which all who were debilitated by years or sickness were discharged. To the inhabitants of Lyons, to solace them for their late calamity by fire, the emperor presented four thousand great sesterces, to repair the damages of their city; a sum which they had formerly presented to Rome, during a time of distraction and calamity.

14. In the consulship of Caius Suetonius and Lucius Telesinus, Antistius Sosianus, who was punished, as I have related, with exile, for defamatory verses composed upon Nero, becoming apprised of the honours paid to informers, and of the emperor's propensity to acts of blood, and being withal a man of a restless spirit, and prompt in laying hold of opportunities, formed a friendship, based on the similitude of their lot, with Pammenes, an exile of the same place, celebrated for his skill in the arts of the Chaldeans, and on that account connected in friendship with many. Concluding that it was not for nothing that so many messengers went to him, and so many consultations were had with him, he learnt also that, from Publius Anteius a yearly stipend was allowed him: nor was it unknown to Sosianus that Anteius was regarded with jealousy by Nero for the attachment of Agrippina to him: that his opulence was eminently calculated to stimulate the rapacity of the prince, and that to this cause multitudes owed their destruction. Having therefore intercepted letters from Anteius, and even stolen the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and the future events of his life, which were secretly kept in the custody of Pammenes: and having also found out the scheme of the birth and fortune of Ostorius Scapula, he wrote to the emperor, "that if he could obtain a short intermission of banishment, he would bring him intelligence of mighty import, and materially affecting his safety; for Anteius

and Ostorius were meditating attempts upon the state, and diving into their own and Cæsar's destiny." Immediately light galleys were despatched, and Sosianus conveyed with expedition to Rome; where, when his disclosures were known, Anteius and Ostorius were considered rather in the light of men already condemned, than defendants in a prosecution: insomuch that no one would witness the execution of Anteius's will, till Tigellinus authorised it. Anteius was previously warned not to obstruct the validity of his will, when he took poison; but impatient at the slowness of its operation, accelerated his death by opening his veins.

15. Ostorius was then at an estate of his in a remote quarter of Italy, on the borders of Liguria; thither a centurion was sent with orders to despatch him. The motive for such precipitation was founded on the following considerations: Ostorius was a man of high military renown; had earned a civic crown in Britain; possessed prodigious bodily strength, and extraordinary experience in war: Nero, therefore, who was always timorous, and whose fears were excited to the utmost by the recently detected conspiracy, was apprehensive of an attack from him. The centurion accordingly, having beset every way of escape from the villa, acquainted Ostorius with his orders from the emperor: Ostorius turned against himself the bravery so often displayed against the foe; and seeing that from his veins, though completely severed, there flowed but little blood, availed himself of the assistance of a slave so far as to make him hold out a poniard firmly; he then pressed his right hand towards him, and at the same time bounding forward, received the weapon in his throat.

16. Even if I were describing foreign wars, and deaths encountered in defence of the commonwealth, still if they were attended with so unvarying an uniformity of circumstances, I should be surfeited with the task myself, and should expect to tire the patience of others, who would turn away from the long and melancholy catalogue of deaths, however honourably incurred by their countrymen. But in the case before us, the mind is fatigued and oppressed with sorrow at the contemplation of passive servility, and such a torrent of blood poured forth in time of peace. The only indulgence I would crave of my readers is that they will pardon me for deigning to mention the fate of men who yielded up their lives so tamely. It was the wrath of heaven against the Roman state; the effects of which it is impossible to describe at once, and then leave the subject, as in the case of armies overthrown, or

cities captured. Let it be granted as a boon to the posterity of those illustrious men, that as in respect of burial they are distinguished from the common herd by their funeral obsequies, so likewise in the narrative of their deaths they may receive and retain a distinct and separate place in the records of history.

17. For within a few days Annæus Mela, Cerialis Anicius, Rufius Crispinus, and Gaius Petronius, were put to death in one troop. Mela and Crispinus were Roman knights, ranking with senators: the latter had been once captain of the prætorian guards, and presented with consular ornaments, but lately banished, as an accomplice in the conspiracy, into Sardinia; where, upon notice that he was doomed to die, he slew himself. Mela, who was own brother to Gallio and Seneca, had forborne suing for the great offices of state, from a wayward ambition, that a Roman knight might be equal in influence with men of consular dignity: he also thought that to act as procurator to the prince, in the ministration of his revenues, was a shorter way to wealth. He was also the father of Lucan; a vast accession to his fame: but after the fate of his son, while rigorously looking up his effects, he raised an accuser, in the person of Fabius Romanus, one of Lucan's intimate friends. He feigned, "that the father and son were equally cognisant of the conspiracy," counterfeiting letters to this purport in the hand of Lucan; on their perusal, Nero, who was ravenous for his wealth, ordered them to be carried to the accused. Mela opened his veins; a mode of death adopted at that time with the utmost alacrity, after having made a hasty will, in which he bequeathed to Tigellinus and his son-in-law Cossutianus Capito, an immense sum of money, to secure the remainder. It is added that, complaining in his will of the injustice of his doom, he wrote, "that he died guiltless of every crime deserving death; and yet Rufius Crispinus and Anicius Cerialis, bitter enemies of the prince, were suffered to live." But this was believed to be a fiction, to justify the execution of Crispinus, already slain, and of Cerialis, who was marked out for death: nor indeed was it long ere he became his own executioner, but with less commiseration than the rest; because it was remembered that he had disclosed a conspiracy to Caligula.

18. Concerning Caius Petronius some few particulars must be recapitulated. He passed his day in sleep, the night in visits and diversions: as others by industry, so Petronius was raised into notice by indolence. Nor was he considered a debauchee and prodigal, like most of those

who exhaust their substance, but he was curious and refined in his luxury; and the more of laxity and a certain recklessness his words and actions exhibited, the better they were received, as wearing the appearance of undisguised nature. However as proconsul of Bithynia, and afterwards as consul, he showed himself possessed of vigour, and equal to the transaction of affairs: but forthwith relapsing into vices, or the affectation of vices, he was enrolled among the few intimate companions of Nero, who looked up to him as a decisive authority in matters of taste, esteeming nothing elegant or delicately luxurious which had not been commended to him on the judgment of Petronius. Hence the hate of Tigellinus, who regarded him as his rival; and in the science of pleasures his superior. He had therefore recourse to the cruelty of the prince, a passion to which all his other depraved appetites gave place, laying to the charge of Petronius an intimacy with Scævinius; having seduced one of his slaves to accuse his master, precluded him from all defence, and haled away to prison most of his domestics.

19. Nero happened at that time to be upon the road to Campania, and Petronius having accompanied him as far as Cuma, was there apprehended. He determined not to linger in suspense between hope and fear; and yet did not force out life by one violent effort; but ordering his yeins to be opened, had them bound again; then opened them afresh as inclination prompted; addressing his friends, but not in serious mood, or with the view of gaining the praise of fortitude; and listened to them while they recited, not anything relating to the soul's immortality, or the opinions of philosophers, but elegant poems and smooth verses. Some of his slaves he rewarded with presents; others he whipped: he also feasted, and took a nap, so that his death, though compulsory, had all the appearance of being natural. Neither in his will did he flatter Nero or Tigellinus, or any other of those in power, as most of those did who perished in this way, but wrote a detailed account of the horrid practices of the prince, specifying his pathicks and harlots, and all his monstrous debaucheries, and sealing it sent it to Nero; he then broke the signet, that it might not be employed thereafter to fabricate evidence affecting the safety of any one.

20. While Nero was perplexed with doubts as to the means by which the nature of his nocturnal doings was divulged, his suspicion alighted on Silia, who was not unknown, by reason of her marriage with a senator, had been made privy to all his debaucheries, and was particu-

larly intimate with Petronius. Accordingly, as having blabbed what she had seen and undergone, she was driven into banishment: a sacrifice this to his own personal hate. To the animosity of Tigellinus he surrendered Numicius Thermus, who had been prætor; because a freedman of Thermus had thrown out some criminal imputations upon Tigellinus, which the freedman himself expiated by the torture of the rack, and his guiltless patron by death.

21. After shedding the blood of so many men of eminence, Nero at length conceived a burning passion to extirpate virtue herself, by putting to death Thræsea Pætus and Bareas Soranus; both of whom had incurred his fierce displeasure long ago: but Thræsea had furnished him with additional motives to hostility, by going out of the senate when the question relative to Agrippina was put, as I have recorded; by not giving the aid and countenance he ought at the Juvenalian sports; and this offence produced a deeper impression because the same Thræsea had performed in the habit of a tragedian at the games of the Cestus, instituted by Antenor the Trojan, at Pata-vium, his native place; also on the day Antistius the prætor was being condemned to die for lampooning Nero, he proposed a mitigated sentence, and carried it; and having purposely absented himself on the occasion of decreeing divine honours to Poppæa, he was not present at her funeral. These impressions Capito Cossutianus would not suffer to be effaced; for besides that he had a mind impetuously prone to flagitious acts, he was exasperated against Thræsea because he had been convicted in consequence of the powerful aid he rendered the deputies of Cilicia in their prosecution of him for peculation.

22. In addition to these he further laid to his charge that "he had avoided the established practice of renewing the oath at the beginning of the year: that he had absented himself from the ceremony of making vows for the preservation of the prince, though he was invested with the Quindecimviral priesthood: he had never made oblations for the safety of the prince, nor for his heavenly voice; that he who had formerly been so assiduous and indefatigable, who was wont to put himself forward as a promoter or opponent of every trivial motion, had not entered the senate for three years; and that in a very recent instance, when the fathers assembled with such eagerness to repress Silanus and Vetus, he preferred attending to the affairs of his clients. That this conduct amounted to revolt and sedition; and if there were many who dared to do the same, there would be a civil war. As formerly,

in the case of Caius Cæsar and Marcus Cato, so now, said he, this city, ever longing for dissension, resounds with the names of you, Nero, and Thræsea; and he has his followers, or rather body-guards, who have not as yet attained to his forwardness of language, but ape his modes and mien, austere and sour in their deportment, in order to upbraid you for licentiousness. This is the only man who neglects to give honour to the gods in regard of your safety and your accomplishments. Grant that he is contemptuously indifferent about the prosperity of the prince: yet is not his malice satiated by his griefs and distresses? It was in the same spirit that he believed not in the deification of Poppæa, and omitted to swear to observe the acts of the deified Augustus and the deified Julius. He despises the rites of religion, and sets at naught the laws. The journals of the Roman people are read throughout the provinces and armies with more intense interest, in order to learn what Thræsea has not done. Either let us adopt those principles of his, if they are preferable, or let the champion and adviser of a revolutionary party be removed. It was the same odious set that gave birth to the Tuberos and Favonii, names unpalatable even to the ancient republic. Under the mask of liberty, they aim at the subversion of government; and should they succeed, they will then attack liberty herself. In vain have you banished Cassius, if you shall suffer the imitators of the Bruti to gather numbers and strength. Lastly, write nothing yourself to the senate about Thræsea, let the senate adjudicate upon his case, and leave the senate to our management." Nero encouraging Cossutianus in his designs, gave additional impulse to a mind already eager for action from the promptings of resentment; and appointed Marcellus Eprius, a man of keen eloquence, to assist him in the business.

23. The task of accusing Bareas Soranus was already claimed by Ostorius Sabinus a Roman knight, after the return of Bareas from the proconsular government of Asia, in which his justice and energy aggravated the offence he had given to the prince; as well as that he had exerted himself in opening the port of Ephesus, and left unpunished the efforts of the citizens of Pergamus in preventing Acratus, a freedman of Cæsar's, from removing their statues and pictures. But the ostensible subject of the charge was, "his friendship with Plautus, and sinister practices with the view of inducing the province to revolt." The juncture chosen for their condemnation was the arrival of Tiridates to receive the crown of Armenia;



in order that while the people were gossiping about foreign matters, a domestic atrocity might pass unnoticed; or else it was to make a display of the greatness of the imperial power, by the execution of illustrious men, under the idea that it was a regal feat.

24. Accordingly, when the city emptied itself to receive the emperor, and to gaze on a foreign king, Thræsea had orders not to appear; his spirit, however, sank not, but he composed a memorial to Nero, requiring to know "the allegations against him; and averring that he would clear himself, were he apprised of the charges, and had an opportunity of refutation." Nero received the memorial with eagerness, hoping that Thræsea, under the influence of terror, had written what might magnify the glory of the prince, and tarnish his own fair fame; but finding himself disappointed, he played the coward himself, and dreading the countenance, the high bearing, and independent spirit of a guiltless man, he ordered the senate to be summoned.

25. Thræsea then consulted with his nearest friends, whether he should attempt a defence or treat the charge with disdain. They were divided in the advice they gave: those who counselled him to enter the senate, said "they had no apprehension of his quailing; they were sure nothing would escape him but what would increase his glory. It belonged to the timorous and spiritless to fling a veil of privacy over their last moments; the people should be allowed to look upon the spectacle of a man going forth to meet death; the senate should hear his words, transcending human energy, and seeming as though they issued from the lips of some divinity. The very miracle of the thing might work relents even in Nero; but if he should stand firm in his cruelty, yet doubtless an honourable death would be remembered by posterity far more reverentially than the timorous conduct of those who perished in silence.

26. Those on the contrary who were for his waiting the issue at home, concurred in the merit ascribed to Thræsea; but observed, "that mockeries and insults awaited him; it were better not to have his ears assailed with invectives and reproaches. Not only were Cossutianus and Eprius forward in villany; there were others beside, who perhaps would assault him with their hands and weapons, to gratify the brutality of Nero; while even the good would be constrained by fear to follow their example. Rather should he spare the senate, of which he had ever been an ornament, the infamy of such an out-

rage; and leave unproved what would have been the decree of the fathers on seeing Thræsea before them arraigned as a criminal. Any scheme with the object of touching the heart of Nero with shame for his atrocities, must prove abortive; much more ground was there for fearing lest he should vent his fury upon his wife, his family, and all his other pledges of affection. For these reasons therefore, having never swerved from his integrity, or brought a stain upon his honour, he should be content to die with the renown enjoyed by those in whose footsteps he had trodden, and whose pursuits he had emulated in his life." Rusticus Arulenus, a young man of fiery spirit, was present at this consultation, and from an ardent passion for fame, offered to interpose his veto to the decree of senate; for he was tribune of the people. Thræsea restrained his impetuosity, and cautioned him against an opposition "useless and unavailing to the accused, and fatal to its author: as for himself, he had passed the best of his days; and must not now abandon the post which he had kept through life. Arulenus had but just entered upon the career of office, and had not committed himself as to his future proceedings. Deeply and cautiously should he weigh beforehand what path he would pursue in the discharge of public duties at a time like the present." However he reserved it as matter for his own private consideration, whether he ought to appear in the senate.

27. But lo, on the next day two prætorian cohorts under arms, environed the temple of Venus Genetrix; a number of men in plain clothes, but openly armed with swords, had beset the entrance of the senate; and throughout the great squares, and several temples, were posted bands of soldiers: and through the midst of this terrific and menacing array, the senators passed to their assembly; where an address from the prince was read by his quæstor. Without accusing any individual by name, he charged the fathers generally with "abandoning their public functions, and setting an example which had led the Roman knights into sloth and inaction. And what ground was there for wonder that there was no attendance from remote provinces, when most of them having obtained the consulate and priesthoods, preferred devoting their talents to the embellishment of their gardens?" This furnished a weapon as it were for the accusers, which they clutched with avidity.

28. Cossutianus taking the lead, Marcellus followed with increased vehemence, exclaiming, "that the very ex-

istence of the commonwealth was jeopard'd; that the clemency of the sovereign was checked by the contumacy of subordinates. That hitherto the fathers had carried their forbearance to excess, in allowing such persons to escape punishment, as Thræsea, who had renounced his allegiance: his son-in-law Helvidius Priscus, who was possessed with the same mania; together with Paconius Agrippinus, who inherited his father's detestation of princes: and Curtius Montanus, the author of verses of an odious description. That he should make it matter of charge that he missed a man of consular rank in the senate; who was also a priest, but absented himself from the ceremony of making vows: who was a citizen, but declined the annual oath; were it not that trampling upon all the civil and sacred institutions of our ancestors, Thræsea had avowedly put on the character of a traitor and enemy. To make short of the matter, accustomed as he has been to act the part of a senator, and screen the calumniators of the prince, let him come and give his opinion as to what reforms and changes he would have: more endurable would it be to hear him vituperating particular measures, than to have him condemning the whole system by sullen silence. Was it peace throughout the round world, or victories achieved by our armies without loss, that excited his displeasure? A man who mourned over the public prosperity; who would have the courts, the theatres, the temples deserted, and threatened to banish himself from his country, they should never allow to accomplish the objects of his unprincipled ambition. These their decrees, their magistrates, and the city of Rome itself, were to him as though they were not. He ought to sever by death his connection with a state, all affection for which he had long renounced, and whose very sight he now loathed."

29. While these and similar remarks flashed from the lips of Marcellus, with corresponding tones of voice, expression of countenance and looks, for he was naturally stern and menacing, the senate no longer felt that sadness which they had so often experienced, and which had become familiar to them from the frequency of perils; but a sensation of unwonted and deeper dread came over them, seeing as they did before them the hands and weapons of the soldiery; at the same time the venerable form of Thræsea presented itself to their imagination: there were some too who were touched with compassion for Helvidius, who was about to suffer through a connection which involved no guilt. And, thought they, what charge could

be brought against Agrippinus, save the unhappy fate of his father? for he too, equally innocent as his son, had fallen a victim to the ferocity of Tiberius. But as for Montanus, who was a moral young man, and whose poems were not of a scurrilous character, he was driven from his country simply because he had put forth a specimen of his talent."

30. But in the meantime Ostorius Sabinus, the accuser of Soranus, entered the senate, and proceeded to charge him with "his friendship for Rubellius Plautus; with having administered his proconsulate of Asia with a view to popularity, and with consulting his own private objects rather than the public benefit; encouraging disaffection in the various communities." These were old affairs; but a charge of recent date involved the daughter in the father's peril: it was, "that she had distributed sums of money among the magi." Such was the fact, it must be admitted; but it arose from the filial piety of Servilia, for that was her name, who out of affection for her parent, and with the simplicity natural to so young a creature, had merely consulted them "on the safety of the family: whether Nero would be disposed to mercy, and whether the investigation before the senate would issue in anything of a formidable nature." Accordingly she was summoned before the senate, and the two parties were stationed on opposite sides before the judgment seat of the consuls; the father, far advanced in years: the daughter, not yet twenty, widowed, and desolate; her husband, Pollio, having been recently banished. And so oppressed was she with the thought of having added to her father's dangers, that she could not even look towards him.

31. The accuser then questioned her, "whether she had not sold her bridal ornaments, and even the chain off her neck, to raise money for the performance of magic rites?" At first she fell prostrate upon the floor, and continued for a long time bathed in tears and speechless; afterwards, embracing the altar and its appendages, she said, "I have prayed to no malignant deities: I have used no spells: nor did I seek aught by my unhappy prayers than that you, Cæsar, and you, fathers, would preserve this best of fathers unharmed. With this view I gave up my jewels, my raiment, and the ornaments belonging to my station; as I would have given up my blood and life, had they required them. To those men, till then unknown to me, it belongs to declare whose ministers they are, and what mysteries they use; the prince's name was never uttered by me ex-

cept among the gods. Yet to all this proceeding of mine, whatever it were, my most unhappy father is a stranger; and if it is a crime, I alone am the delinquent."

32. Soranus, while she was yet speaking, caught up her words, and cried with earnestness, "that his daughter went not with him to the province; such was her tender age she could not have been acquainted with Plautus. She was not implicated in the charges against her husband; he implored them, that as her only crime was too much piety, they would separate her case from his; but as for himself, he would submit to whatever fate awaited him." At the same time he sprang forward to embrace his daughter, who flew to meet him; but the consular lictors stepped between and prevented them. The witnesses were then heard; and the indignation excited by the appearance of Publius Egnatius as a witness, equalled the sympathy kindled by the barbarity of the accusation. Egnatius was a client of Soranus, but now bribed to crush his friend. He professed to be a follower of the Stoic sect, and in his exterior and language had learned to exhibit the semblance of virtue, but in his heart was perfidious and crafty, hiding beneath his superficial virtues the vices of avarice and lust. And when his latent depravity was drawn out by the power of money, he afforded a warning that as we guard against men who are wrapt in villany and contaminated with notorious vices, so must we guard against those who wear a fair but false appearance of virtuous pursuits, and are capable of betraying friendship.

33. The same day however furnished a bright example of virtue in the person of Cassius Asclepiodotus, a man conspicuous among the Bithynians for the extent of his wealth, who continued to treat Soranus in the decline with the same respect he had constantly shown him in the meridian of his fortune: the consequence was, that he was stripped of all his property, and driven into exile: thus exemplifying the indifference of the gods towards patterns of virtue and of vice. Thræsea, Soranus, and Servilia were indulged with the choice of their mode of death: Helvidius and Paconius were banished from Italy: Montanus, for the sake of his father, was pardoned, with a proviso, "that he should never be admitted to any office in the state." To Eprius and Cossutianus was decreed a reward of five thousand great sesterces; to Ostorius twelve hundred great sesterces, with the ornaments of the quæstorship.

34. The quæstor of the consul was then, on the approach of evening, despatched to Thræsea, who was in his garden.

He was surrounded by numerous parties of illustrious men and women; but was chiefly attentive to Demetrius, a professor of the Cynic school. With this philosopher, as far as could be conjectured by the intensesness of his looks, and by certain words, which when they happened to raise their voices were over-heard, he was reasoning and inquiring about the nature of the soul, and its disjunction from the body, when he was interrupted by the arrival of Domitius Cecilianus, one of his most intimate friends, who informed him of what the senate had decreed. When upon these sad tidings the whole company melted into passionate lamentations and tears, Thræsea pressed them "to hasten away, and not involve themselves in danger because he was condemned to die." And as Arria his wife essayed to emulate the example of her mother, and to share his fate with her husband, he besought her "to preserve her life, nor deprive their common daughter of her only remaining refuge."

35. He then went forth into a portico, and there the quæstor found him, in a frame of mind approaching to exultation, as he had learned that his son-in-law Helvidius was only banished from Italy. Then having received the decree of the senate, he took Helvidius and Demetrius into his chamber, and stretching out both his arms, when the blood began to flow he called the quæstor to him, and sprinkling it upon the floor, he said, "let us make a libation to Jove the Deliverer. Behold, young man, and may the gods avert the omen, but you are fallen upon such times that it may be useful to fortify your mind by examples of unflinching firmness." Afterwards suffering violent torture from the slow approach of death, turning to Demetrius \* \* \* \*

# THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

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## BOOK I.

MY narrative commences with the second consulship of Servius Galba, in which Titus Vinius was his colleague. For of the antecedent period of eight hundred and twenty years from the foundation of Rome, the history has been composed by various authors; who, as long as they had before them the transactions of the Roman people, wrote with as much eloquence as freedom. After the battle of Actium, when, to close the scene of civil distraction, all power was centred in a single ruler, those noble examples of the historic character quitted the field. Truth was then violated in various ways; first from indifference and ignorance of public affairs, the administration of which had now passed into other hands: soon after, from an extravagant propensity to flattery, or on the other hand from detestation of those who held the sovereign power. Between both parties, one cringing, the other burning with resentment, the care of posterity was lost sight of. There is however this difference: men are naturally disgusted with the time-serving historian; while spleen and calumny are received with a greedy ear: for flattery labours under the odious charge of servility, while malignity wears the imposing appearance of independence. Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, were neither known to me by favours nor injuries. I will not deny that my own elevation, begun by Vespasian, was advanced by Titus, and carried to a still greater extent by Domitian: but the historian who enters on his office with a profession of inviolable integrity, must not allow himself to be influenced by affection or antipathy in delineating any character. The history of the sovereignty of the deified Nerva and the reign of Trajan, eminently rich as they are in materials, and free from danger, I have reserved for the evening of my days, if my life continues—times when men were blessed with the

rare privilege of thinking with freedom and uttering what they thought.

2. The period now before me is fertile in vicissitudes, pregnant with sanguinary encounters, embroiled with intestine dissensions, and even in the intervals of peace, deformed with horrors: four princes put to death; three civil wars; with foreign enemies more; and, in some conjunctures, both at once; prosperity in the East, disasters in the West; Illyricum convulsed; both the Gauls on the eve of revolt; Britain conquered, and, in the moment of conquest, lost again; the Sarmatians and the Suevians rising up at once against us; the Dacians renowned for defeats given and sustained; and even the Parthians well nigh induced to take up arms by the trick of a pretended Nero. Italy afflicted moreover with calamities, unheard of, or occurring again after a long series of ages; cities overwhelmed or swallowed up by earthquakes in the fertile country of Campania; Rome laid waste by fire; her most ancient temples destroyed; the Capitol itself wrapt in flames by the hands of citizens; the ceremonies of religion violated; enormous adulteries; the sea crowded with exiles; rocks stained with blood of murdered citizens; Rome itself a theatre of still greater horrors; there nobility and wealth, dignities borne and declined, were alike treated as crimes: there virtue was a source of certain ruin; the guilty acts of informers, and their wages were alike detestable; for some of them having obtained priest-hoods and consulates which they regarded as spoils; others, imperial procuratorships, and posts of greater influence with the prince, they carried rapine and plunder in every direction, impelled by personal hate, and armed with terror. Slaves were practised upon against their masters; freedmen betrayed their patrons; and he, who had no enemy, died by the treachery of friends.

3. And yet this period, barren as it was of virtue, produced some honourable examples. Mothers went with their sons into voluntary exile; wives followed their husbands in banishment; relations stood boldly forth in the cause of their kindred; sons-in-law shrunk not; slaves, even on the rack, scorned to renounce their fidelity; eminent citizens, doomed to die, bore their lot with fortitude, and their deaths were nothing inferior to those of the applauded characters of antiquity. In addition to the misfortunes incident to humanity, the earth and skies teemed with prodigies, terrific warnings by thunder and lightning, and prognostics, auspicious or disastrous, ambiguous or plain. Indeed never was it established by more terrible



calamities on the Roman people, or by more decisive indications that the gods are not concerned about the protection of the innocent, but the punishment of the guilty.

4. Before however I proceed in the execution of my plan, it will be proper I think to inquire what was the state of affairs at Rome, what the feeling in her armies; how the provinces stood affected, wherein consisted the strength or weakness of the empire, that we may not only have a recital of events and the issues of things which are often ascribable to chance, but may learn the plans pursued and the causes of events. As the death of Nero, in the first burst of joy was hailed with exultation, so the senate, the people of Rome, the prætorian guards, and the legions, wherever stationed, were variously affected by that event. A secret of empire was then let out, namely, that elsewhere than at Rome an emperor might be created. The fathers were highly pleased, as they were at once restored to their legislative independence, which they exercised freely considering that the prince was new to his office and absent. The principal Roman knights were next to them the most gratified. Honest men among the people, such as were connected with families of credit; and the clients and freedmen of condemned and exiled men were animated with hope. The inferior populace, who loitered in the theatre and circus; the slaves of abandoned character, and those who having wasted their substance were supported by the vices of Nero, were plunged in grief, and eager to learn the floating rumour.

5. The prætorian guards, by habit and the obligation of their oath, had been always devoted to the imperial family. Their revolt from Nero was not so much their own inclination as the management of their leaders. They saw the promise of a donative in the name of Galba still unperformed. They reflected that peace affords no opportunity to gain the recompense due to valour; and that the favours of the new prince would be engrossed by the legions to whom he owed his elevation; strongly inclined of themselves to bring about a change, they were further instigated by the arts of Nymphidius Sabinus, their commanding officer, who aimed at the sovereignty. The conspiracy was crushed in the bud, and Nymphidius perished in the attempt. But the soldiers had thrown off the mask, and the sense of guilt remained. They even talked of Galba with contempt, and inveighed against his advanced age and avarice: the rigorous discipline by which he had acquired his military character, inflamed the

prejudices of men, who had been trained to such habits during a long peace of fourteen years, by Nero, that they now loved the vices of the princes as much as formerly they venerated their virtues. To this cause was added an expression of Galba, commendable for its constitutional character, but dangerous to himself. He said, he chose his soldiers, but did not buy them. But his other proceedings were not framed according to this model.

6. Galba, being now in the decline of life, resigned himself altogether to Titus Vinius and Cornelius Laco; the former the most profligate of men, and the latter despised for his sluggish inactivity. By those pernicious ministers he was involved in the popular hatred due to their own flagitious deeds. The wickedness of Vinius, and the incapacity of Laco, proved his ruin in the end. He made his approach to Rome by slow journeys, marking his way with blood. Cingonius Varro, consul elect, and Petronius Turpilianus, of consular rank, were put to death; the former as an accomplice in the enterprise of Nymphidius, and the latter because he had been appointed general under Nero. They were condemned unheard and undefended; and, for that reason, thought the innocent victims of a barbarous policy. Galba's entry into the city of Rome, after the massacre of several thousands of unarmed soldiers, formed a disastrous omen of things to come; and even the men who executed the orders of their general had reason to fear the consequences. Rome was filled with a strange and unusual body of troops. Besides the forces drawn from the fleet, and left as a garrison by Nero, Galba, when he entered the city, brought with him a legion from Spain. To these must be added the several companies from Germany, from Britain, and Illyricum, which had been sent forward towards the Caspian straits to serve in the war then intended against the Albanians, and, in a short time afterwards, recalled to crush the attempts of Vindex: a vast mass of materials for the effectuation of political changes; as they were not devotedly attached to any one leader, so were they ready for the purposes of any who had the courage to lead them on.

7. It happened at this conjuncture, that an account arrived of the murders of Clodius Macer in Africa, and Fonteius Capito in Germany. Macer, beyond all doubt, was engaged in schemes of ambition, and, in the midst of his projects, was cut off by Trebonius Garutianus, the procurator of the province, who had received his orders from Galba. Capito was put to death by Cornelius

Aquinus and Fabius Valens, for similar attempts. Some thought that Capito, however branded with avarice, rapacity, and other vices, had not added to his crimes the guilt of rebellion; but that the authors of his destruction, having first endeavoured to draw him into their own designs, combined to execute on an innocent victim the vengeance due to their own iniquity. Galba, with his usual facility, or, perhaps, wishing to avoid the danger of an inquiry into what could not be recalled, thought it prudent to give his sanction to the acts of his officers, however unjust and cruel. Both executions were, notwithstanding, the subject of public censure: the usual fate of princes who have once incurred displeasure; their actions, whether good or evil, serve to increase the public hate. The emperor's freedmen, domineering without controul, now brought everything into the market. The slaves were eager to seize the booty suddenly presented to them, and, fearing the uncertainty of an old man's life, hastened to enrich themselves. The new court exhibited all the vices of Nero's reign, without the same apology. The very age of Galba was a subject of ridicule and loathing with men who were accustomed to the youth of Nero; and who, according to the custom of the populace, formed their estimate of their emperors according to their figure and personal graces.

8. Such was the state of feeling at Rome, as in a city where so vast a multitude was congregated. Of the provinces, Spain was governed by Cluvius Rufus, a man distinguished by his eloquence, and experienced in the arts of peace, but not of war. In both the Gauls the name of Vindex was still held in veneration; and the people, pleased with their recent admission to the freedom of Rome, and the diminution of their tribute, showed no symptoms of disaffection. However, the inhabitants of the cities contiguous to the German armies saw, with discontent, that they were not thought worthy of the like honour; and some of them, whose territories were encroached upon, grieved at the good extended to others as much as if it were an injury done to themselves. In Germany the soldiers, flushed with pride by their late victory, yet dreading the imputation of having espoused another party, were by turns inflamed with rage and overwhelmed with fear. From such a number of soldiers, who had the power of the sword in their own hands, the greatest danger was to be apprehended. They had been slow to detach themselves from Nero; nor did Verginius declare immediately for Galba: whether from his own ambitious projects, cannot now be known. The soldiers,

it is agreed, made him a tender of the imperial dignity. The death of Fonteius Capito was another cause of discontent; such as could not deny its justice, exclaimed against it with indignation. Galba, under a show of friendship, had recalled Verginius from his post: the legions had therefore now no leader. That he was not sent back, and was even arraigned, they regarded as an imputation upon themselves.

9. The legions on the Upper Rhine were ill retained in their duty by Hordeonius Flaccus, an officer far advanced in years, disabled in his limbs, without vigour of mind or authority. Unequal to the command even in quiet times, his feeble endeavours to enforce obedience served only to irritate the minds of men disposed to mutiny. On the lower Rhine, the army had been for some time without a general of consular rank, till Aulus Vitellius, son of the person of that name who had been censor and three times consul, was sent by Galba to take upon him the command. This satisfied the soldiery. In Britain every thing was quiet. It must be admitted that, during the civil wars that followed, no legion conducted themselves more correctly, whether it was that, situated at a distance, and divided by the ocean from the rest of the world, they did not catch the phrensy of the times, or that they knew no enemies but those of their country, and were not taught by civil discord to hate one another. Illyricum remained in a state of tranquillity, though the legions drawn by Nero from that country found the means, while they loitered in Italy, of tampering with Verginius. But the armies, separated by a long interval, the best expedient to preserve the allegiance of the military, could neither communicate their vices nor combine their forces.

10. The East was hitherto free from commotion. Licinius Mucianus governed the province of Syria with four legions. He was distinguished equally for his good and evil fortune. In his youth, the favour of the great was the object of his ambition, and in that pursuit he wasted his fortune. His circumstances growing desperate, and suspecting the displeasure of Claudius, he retired into Asia, and there lived in obscurity, as little removed from the condition of an exile, as he was afterwards from that of a sovereign. He united in his character a mixture of repugnant qualities: he was affable and arrogant; addicted to pleasure, and a man of business. When at leisure from affairs, he gave a loose to his luxurious passions; when on an expedition, he displayed qualities of a

high order. In his public capacities you might praise him, but as a private man he was in bad odour. With those who were under him, and with his friends and colleagues, his varied accomplishments gave him a commanding influence; but he was fitter to raise others to the imperial dignity, than to obtain it for himself. The war against the Jews had been committed by Nero to Flavius Vespasian, at the head of three legions. He had entertained no design, nor wish, against the interest of Galba. He sent his son Titus to Rome, as will be seen hereafter, with congratulations to Galba, and assurances of fidelity. That the sovereign power was marked out by the secret counsels of heaven, and by portents and responses for Vespasian and his two sons, we began to believe after his accession.

11. Egypt, and the forces appointed to keep it in awe, were, according to the system of Augustus, confided to Roman knights, with the powers of kings. Difficult of access, and at the same time prolific in corn; with a people, who, from superstition and insolence, were discordant and prone to change; unacquainted with laws, and unhabituated to the civil authority, it was the policy of Augustus to retain the administration of this country in his own hands. In the present juncture, Tiberius Alexander, a native of the country, was intrusted with the government of the province. Africa, and the legions quartered there, were, since the murder of Clodius Macer, willing to submit to any prince, after having experienced the government of an inferior master. The two Mauritanias, Rhætia, Noricum, and Thrace, with the places committed to the care of imperial procurators, according to their proximity to each army, caught the spirit of antipathy or favour from a superior force. The ungarrisoned provinces, and Italy in particular, were open to the first invader, the ready prey of any conqueror. Such was the situation of the Roman world, when Servius Galba, in his second consulship, and Titus Vinius, his colleague, began their year; to them their last, to the commonwealth all but the year of its destruction.

12. A few days after the calends of January, letters arrived at Rome from Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of Belgic Gaul, with intelligence that the legions in Upper Germany, disregarding the obligation of their oath, demanded another emperor, leaving the choice to the judgment of the senate and the Roman people, that the sedition might be viewed the more leniently. This intelligence induced Galba to hasten the adoption of a suc-

cessor ; a point which he had for some time revolved in his mind, and often discussed with his secret advisers. During the few months of his reign, no subject had so much engrossed the public conversation ; at first from mere garrulity and passion for talking about such things, afterwards from consideration of the advanced age of the emperor. Few were able to think with judgment, and fewer had the virtue to feel for the public good. Private views and party connections suggested various candidates. Different factions were formed, and all intrigued, caballed, and clamoured, as their hopes or fears directed ; and even spite to Titus Vinius, as he grew in power every day, and was for that very cause proportionately hated by the people. In truth, the very facility of Galba stimulated the cupidity of his friends, who were eagerly seeking advantages from his elevation, since, weak and credulous as he was, they had the less to fear and more to gain from their rapacity.

13. The whole sovereign power was in the hands of Titus Vinius, the consul, and Cornelius Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards. Nor was the influence of Icelus inferior to either of the former. He was one of the emperor's freedmen, lately created a Roman knight, and honoured with the equestrian name of Martianus. The three ministers were soon at variance. In all inferior transactions they drew different ways ; but in the choice of a successor they were divided into two factions. Vinius declared for Marcus Otho : Laco and Icelus joined in opposition to that measure, not so much to favour a friend of their own, as to thwart Otho. Galba was not to learn the connection between Vinius and Otho. The busy gossips settled it that they were to become related as father and son-in-law ; for Vinius had a daughter a widow, and Otho was unmarried. I think also, that Galba was actuated by concern for the state, and that he saw that the sovereign power was wrested out of the hands of Nero in vain, if transferred to a man like Otho : a stranger, from his earliest days, to every fair pursuit, and in the pride of manhood distinguished by nothing but riot and debauchery. His emulation in luxury recommended him to the notice of Nero ; and, in consequence of his being privy to his lusts, he became the depository of his principal mistress Poppæa, till Octavia was put away. But Otho's fidelity in respect of this same Poppæa soon became suspected, and he was sent to Lusitania, under pretext of governing that province. Otho, having gained popularity in the administration of his province, was the first to espouse the interest of Galba. While the war lasted

he continued an active partisan, shining conspicuously among those who figured in it. Hence his hopes of the imperial adoption, which he cherished with daily increasing ardour; most of the soldiers favouring his views, and the creatures of Nero's court zealously supporting him, as a congenial character.

14. Galba saw, with deep anxiety, a storm gathering in Germany, and where it would burst he could not foresee. Of Vitellius and his designs no certain account arrived. The revolt of the legions filled him with apprehensions, and he reposed no confidence in the prætorian guards. The nomination of a successor seemed, in such a crisis, to be the best expedient; and for that purpose he held a cabinet council. Besides Vinius and Laco, he thought proper to summon Marius Celsus, consul elect, and Ducennius Geminus, the præfect of the city. Having prefaced the business by a short speech concerning his age and infirmities, he sent for Piso Licinianus; whether of his own free choice, or at the instigation of Laco, remains uncertain. That minister had contracted an intimacy with him at the house of Rubellius Plautus, though he now craftily recommended him as though a stranger. To this conduct the fair esteem in which Piso was held gave an appearance of sincerity. Piso was the son of Marcus Crassus and Scribonia, both of illustrious descent. His aspect and deportment savoured of primitive manners. By the candid and impartial he was called strict and severe; by malignant judges, morose and sullen. That part of his character which excited suspicion in the anxious minds of others, recommended him to his future parent.

15. Galba, we are told, taking Piso by the hand, addressed him in the following manner: "If the adoption which I am now to make, were, like the act of a private citizen, to be acknowledged as the law *Curiata* directs, in the presence of pontiffs, I should derive the highest honour to myself from an alliance with a person descended from the great Pompey and Marcus Crassus: and, in return, you would add to the nobility of your own family the lustre of the Sulpician and Lutatian names. Called by the consent of gods and men to the sovereignty, I am now induced by your rare accomplishments, and the love I feel for my country, to present to you, without any effort on your part, that imperial dignity, for which our ancestors led armies to the field, and which I myself obtained in battle. For this proceeding I have the example of Augustus, who placed in the next degree of elevation to himself, first his sister's son Marcellus, and then Agrippa his son-in-law,

his grandsons afterwards, and, finally, Tiberius, the son of his wife. Augustus, indeed, looked for an heir in his own family; I in the bosom of the commonwealth. If, upon such an occasion, I could listen to private affection, I have a numerous train of relations, and I have companions in arms. But it was not from motives of ambition that I accepted the sovereignty of the state: I brought with me to the seat of government an upright intention; and that I now act on the same principle may be fairly seen, when, in my present choice, I postpone not only my own relations, but even yours. You have a brother, in point of nobility your equal; by priority of birth your superior; and, if your merit did not supersede him, a man worthy of the highest elevation. You are now at the time of life at which the passions subside. Your former conduct requires no apology. Fortune has hitherto frowned upon you: you must now beware of her smiles. Prosperity tries the human heart with more powerful temptations. We struggle with adversity, but success undermines our principles. You will carry with you to the highest station, and endeavour to retain unshaken, good faith, independent spirit, constancy in friendship; the prime virtues of the human character: but others will seek to weaken them by fawning complaisance; adulation will break in upon you; flattery, the bane of all true affection, and self-interest, will lay snares to seduce you. To-day you and I converse with perfect candour and singleness of purpose: how will others deal with us? Their respect will be paid to our fortunes, not to ourselves. To guide a prince by honest counsels, is a laborious task: to humour the inclinations of any prince whatsoever, is a work which may be accomplished without the zealous affection of the heart.

16. "If the mighty fabric of this empire could subsist and balance itself without a ruler, the glory of restoring the old republic should be mine. But such has long been the state of things, and we cannot alter it, that, at my age, all that remains for me is to bequeath to the people an able successor: while your youth can give them nothing better than a virtuous prince. Under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, we were all, as it were, the heir-loom of one family: that we begin to be elected will have the effect of a return to liberty. The Julian and the Claudian race are both extinct, and eminent virtue will now succeed by adoption. To be born the son of a prince is the result of chance; mankind consider it in no higher light. In adoption, an unbiassed and deliberate judgment is exercised, and the public



voice will serve as a guide in the choice. Let Nero be ever before your eyes: proud of his long line of ancestors, and warm with the blood of the Cæsars, it was not Vindex, at the head of a province naked and disarmed, nor myself, with only one legion: his own excesses, his own cruelty, hurled him from the necks of mankind. Of a prince condemned by a public sentence there was till then no example. As to myself, raised as I was by the events of war, and called to the sovereignty by the deliberate voice of the people, envy and malice will pursue me, however immaculate I may be. But after the storm that lately shook the empire, if two legions still waver in their duty, your courage must not be disconcerted. My reign did not begin in a state of undisturbed peace. Old age, at present, is the objection urged against me; but when it is known whom I have adopted, I shall appear young in my successor. Nero will ever be regretted by the vile and profligate: that good men may not regret him, it will be ours to provide. More than I have said the time will not admit: if I have made a proper choice, I have achieved all I designed. In distinguishing good from evil, the most effectual and compendious course, is to consider what you would approve or repudiate were you a subject and another the sovereign. It is not at Rome as in despotic governments, where one particular family are lords, and the rest groan in bondage. You are to reign over men who can neither endure absolute slavery, nor unqualified liberty." To this effect Galba delivered himself, as though he was creating a prince; and the rest conversed with Piso as with a Prince regularly constituted.

17. Piso, we are told, neither at the first moment, nor afterwards, when all eyes were fixed upon him, betrayed any symptom of immoderate joy or discomposure. He addressed the emperor, now his father, in terms of profound respect, and spoke of himself with reserve and modesty. His mien and countenance remained unaltered, as though he possessed the power, rather than desired it. The next consideration was, whether the adoption should be announced in the forum, the senate, or the camp. The latter was preferred: the army would feel the compliment; whose affections, though it were base to purchase them by bribery and intrigue, were to be sought by fair and honourable means. Meanwhile, the anxious populace surrounded the palace, impatient for the important news; while those who sought to stifle the ill-suppressed rumour increased its vehemence.

18. On the fourth of the ides of January the rain fell

in torrents, while thunder and lightning, and all the terrors of heaven, produced a scene of confusion and alarm seldom witnessed. From ancient times this phenomenon was sufficient to dissolve all public assemblies: but Galba was not to be deterred from his purpose. He proceeded to the camp, regardless of prodigies, which he considered as the effect of natural causes; or, it might be, that what was fixed by fate, though foreshown, could not be avoided. A vast conflux of soldiers assembled in the camp. Galba addressed them in a short speech, such as becomes the imperial dignity. He told them that, in conformity to the example of Augustus, and the practice of the army, where each soldier chooses his companion in arms, he had adopted Piso for his son. Fearing that his silence on the subject of the German revolt might tend to magnify the danger, he added, that the fourth and eighteenth legions were, by the artifice of a few factious leaders, incited to disorder; but their transgression went no further than words and expressions, and they would soon return to their allegiance. He added no flattery, nor hopes of a donative. The tribunes, notwithstanding, with the centurions and soldiers who stood nearest to him, made an acceptable response. Through the rest of the lines a deep and sullen silence prevailed. They saw that, in war, they were deprived of those gratuities which had been always granted in time of peace, and were become their indefeasible right. The emperor, beyond all doubt, had it in his power to secure the affections of the soldiers. From a parsimonious old man the smallest mark of liberality would have made an impression. His primitive inflexibility and excessive strictness hurt his cause: we cannot now bear the exercise of these virtues.

19. Galba then addressed the senate in a speech, like that to the soldiers, brief and unadorned. Piso delivered himself with grace and eloquence. The fathers heard him with attention; many with the warmth of unfeigned affection; others, who in their hearts opposed his interest, with moderate zeal; while the greatest number made a tender of their services, with private views, and regardless of their country. In the time that followed between his adoption and his death (an interval of four days) Piso neither said nor did anything in public. As messengers upon the heels of one another now came posting to Rome, with tidings of the revolt in Germany, and as in the city men were athirst for news, and swallowed the worst with avidity, the fathers resolved to treat by their deputies with the German legions. In a secret council it was discussed whether

Piso should go with the embassy, to give a more imposing effect, that the army might have before their eyes the authority of the senate in the ambassadors, and the majesty of the empire in Piso. It was further thought advisable that Laco, the præfect of the prætorian guards, should accompany the deputation; but he opposed the measure. Nor was the choice of the ambassadors easily arranged. The whole was left to Galba's judgment, and he executed it with shameful indecision. Men were appointed, excused, or substituted; as fear or ambition prompted them to make interest for the service, or for permission to remain at home.

20. The means of raising money came next under consideration. Various expedients were proposed, but none appeared so just, as that of making reprisals on such as by their rapacity had impoverished the commonwealth. Nero had lavished in donations two millions of great sesterces. The men who had enriched themselves by this profusion were allowed to retain a tenth part of the plunder, and were sued for the rest. But scarcely the tenth part was left unexpended. Prodigal no less of the public money than of their own, they had squandered all in riot and debauchery. The most rapacious and profligate had neither lands nor money. The wreck of their fortunes consisted only of the instruments of vice. To enforce the resumption of the grants, a court of thirty Roman knights was appointed; a tribunal, odious on account of its novelty, and troublesome from the number that composed it, and the intrigue that prevailed. Nothing was to be seen but sales and brokers; the whole city was in a ferment with public auctions. However, it was matter of infinite joy that those on whom Nero had bestowed his bounties were as poor as those whom he had robbed. About the same time several tribunes were discharged from the service: Antonius Taurus and Antonius Naso, both of the prætorian guards; Æmilius Pacensis, from the city cohorts, and Julius Fronto, from the night-watch. But this, so far from being a remedy, served only to alarm and irritate the rest of the officers. They concluded that all were suspected, and that from timidity and cunning they were being expelled one by one.

21. Otho, in the mean time, felt every motive that could inflame ambition. In quiet times he had nothing before him but despair; trouble and confusion were his only source of hope. His luxury was too great for the revenue of a prince, and his poverty unendurable in one below a sovereign. He hated Galba, and envied Piso. To these he added pretended fears, to give a colour to his inordi-

nate ambition. He said, "he had been an offence to Nero; he must not now wait for a second Lusitania, nor another honourable banishment, under pretence of friendship. The man whom the public voice has named for the succession, was sure to be suspected by the reigning prince. It was that jealousy that ruined his interest with a superannuated emperor; and would act with greater force on the mind of a young man, naturally truculent, and in his long exile grown fierce and savage. Otho might be doomed to destruction. This was therefore the time for action and a bold stroke while the authority of Galba was waning, and that of Piso not yet established. The convulsions of states, and the change of masters, afford the true season for courage and vigorous enterprise: when inactivity is ruin, and temerity may be crowned with success, hesitation is folly. To die is the common lot of humanity. In the grave, the only distinction is between oblivion and renown. And if the same end awaits the guilty and the innocent, the man of spirit will earn his death."

22. The mind of Otho was not, like his body, soft and effeminate. His slaves and freedmen lived in a course of luxury unknown to private families. Aware of his attachment to such pleasures, they painted to him in lively colours the joys of Nero's court; adultery without control, the choice of wives and concubines, and all the other excesses of despotic courts. These, if he dared nobly, they represented to him as his own; if he remained inactive, as the prize of others. The astrologers also inflamed his ardour: they announced great commotions, and to Otho a year of glory. This is a description of men dangerous to princes, and a fallacious reliance to their aspiring subjects; a description of men who will always be proscribed, but always harboured in our city. It was with this vile crew of fortune-tellers that Poppæa held secret consultations when she aspired to the imperial bed. One of these, a man named Ptolemy, accompanied Otho into Spain. He had there foretold that Otho would survive Nero; and the event giving credit to his art, he took upon him to promise greater things. Galba was on the verge of life, and Otho in his vigour. From the current of popular rumour grounded thereon, and his own calculations of probability, he persuaded Otho that he was destined to the imperial dignity. These bodings were welcome to the ear of Otho: he considered them as the effect of science, and believed the whole, with that natural credulity, which receives the marvellous for reality. Ptolemy followed up his work: he now inspired the plan of trea-

son, and Otho embraced it with avidity. The heart that has formed such a wish, has no scruple about the means.

23. Whether this bold conspiracy was then first imagined, or prepared and settled long before, cannot now be known. It is, however, certain that Otho had been in the habit of courting the affections of the army, either with a view to the succession, or, with a design to some bold step. On their march, in the lines, at their quarters, he made it his business to converse freely with all; he accosted the veterans by name, and, reminding them of their joint service under Nero, called them his brother-soldiers; he renewed his acquaintance with some; he inquired after others, and with his interest and his purse was ready to be their friend. Mingling complaints, and, with malignant insinuation glancing at Galba, he omitted nothing that could fill the vulgar mind with discontent. Fatiguing marches, provisions ill supplied, and rigorous discipline, were now regarded as the more oppressive, because having known the times when they visited the lakes of Campania, and sailed to the cities of Achaia, now, the Alps, the Pyrenees, and long tracts of country, were to be marched over with a load of amour.

24. While the minds of the soldiers were thus excited, Mævius Pudens, a near relation of Tigellinus, added fuel to the flame. Whoever was known to be of a light and versatile disposition, in distress for money, or fond of public commotions, this man attracted to his party. He sapped his way with a degree of dexterity, as unperceived as it was successful. As often as Galba was entertained at Otho's house, he distributed to the cohort on duty a hundred sesterces for every man, under colour of an allowance for their entertainment. The effect of this donation, given to them, as it were openly, Otho increased with individuals by more secret presents; a corruptor so bold and shameless, that, when Cocceius Proculus, a soldier of the body-guard, was engaged in a litigation with one of his neighbours about a portion of the boundaries of their grounds, Otho bought the whole estate of the neighbouring party, and conveyed it to the soldier as a present. These practices gave no jealousy to the commander of the prætorian bands: so far from penetrating dark transactions, he could not see what escaped no eye but his own.

25. Otho then chose one of his freedmen, by name Onomastus, to conduct the enterprise. He attached to him as his accomplices, Barbuius Proculus, whose duty it was to bear

the watchword to the life-guards, and one Veturius, a supernumerary of the same body. Otho sounded them on various topics; and finding them subtle and resolute, he loaded them both with presents, and dismissed them with a sum of money, to be employed in bribing the rest of the guards. In this manner two soldiers undertook to dispose of the Roman empire, and succeeded in it. A few only were made privy to the plot. The rest, whose minds were not made up, they stimulated by opposite arts. The soldiers of note were told, that having received favours from Nymphidius, they were suspected. The loss of the donative, so often promised, and still withheld, was the topic enforced, to inflame the minds of the common men with resentment and despair. Numbers lamented the loss of Nero, and longed for the former laxity of discipline; and the idea of changing their place of service diffused a general terror.

26. The spirit of disaffection spread, as it were by contagion, to the legions and the auxiliary troops, already agitated by the news of the revolt in Germany. The vile and profligate were so ready for mutiny, and the upright to connive, that, on the day after the ides of January, they formed a resolution to take Otho under their care, as he returned from supper, and, without further delay, proclaim him emperor. This project, however, did not take effect. In the darkness of the night, and the confusion inseparable from it, no man could answer for the consequences. The city was full of soldiers; and among men inflamed with liquor, no union, no concerted measure, could be expected. The traitors desisted from their purpose, with no patriotic motive; for they had deliberately conspired to imbrue their hand in the blood of their sovereign, but they were afraid that the first who offered himself to the troops from Germany and Pannonia, might by those strangers, and in the dark, be mistaken for Otho, and saluted emperor. The plot began to transpire, and must have been by various circumstances brought to light, had not the chief conspirators suppressed them. Some facts, however, reached the ears of Galba; but Laco explained everything away. The præfect of the guards had no knowledge of the military character, opposed every measure, however excellent, which did not originate with himself, and, by the perversity of his nature, was always at variance with those of superior talents.

27. On the eighteenth day before the calends of Fe-

bruary, Galba assisted at a sacrifice in the temple of Apollo, when Umbricius the augur, after inspecting the entrails of the victims, announced impending treason, and an enemy within the walls of Rome. Otho, who stood near the emperor, heard this prediction, but interpreted it in his own favour, pleased with omens that promised so well to his cause. In that moment, Onomastus came to inform him, that his builders and surveyors were waiting to talk with him on business. This, as had been concerted, was a signal that the conspirators were assembling, and ready to strike the decisive blow. Otho told such as wondered at his sudden departure, that, being on the point of purchasing certain farm-houses, which from their age were thought to be out of repair, he had appointed workmen to examine the buildings before he concluded his bargain, and then walked off, supported by his freedman; and, passing through the palace formerly belonging to Tiberius, went to the Velabrum, and thence to the golden mile-stone near the temple of Saturn. At that place a party of the prætorian soldiers, in number three and twenty, saluted him emperor. The sight of such an insignificant handful of men struck him with dismay; but his partisans drew their swords, and, placing him in a litter, carried him off. They were joined in their way by an equal number, some of them accomplices in the treason; others, in wonder and astonishment: some brandishing their swords, and shouting, others in silence, determined to see the issue before they took a decided part.

28. Julius Martialis, a military tribune, at that time commanded the guard in the camp. Either amazed at a treason so daring, or imagining that it extended wider, and dreading destruction if he attempted to oppose the torrent, he created a suspicion in many of a confederacy in guilt. The rest of the tribunes and centurions, in their solicitude for their immediate safety, lost all sense of honour and constancy. Such, in that alarming crisis, was the disposition of the camp: a few seditious incendiaries dared to attempt an act of the foulest treason; more wished to see it, and all were disposed to acquiesce.

29. Galba, in the mean time, ignorant of all that passed, continued in the temple, attentive to the sacred rites, and with his prayers fatiguing the gods of an empire now no longer his. Intelligence at length arrived, that a senator (whom, no man could tell) was carried in triumph to the camp. Otho was soon after announced. At the same time the people poured in from every quarter, according as each fell in with him; some representing the

danger as greater than it was, others lessening it, not even then forgetting their habitual flattery. A council was called. On deliberation, it was thought advisable to sound the dispositions of the cohort then on duty before the palace, but not by Galba in person. His authority was to be reserved entire, to meet more pressing necessities. Piso called the men together, and, from the steps of the palace, addressed them to the following purport: "It is now, my fellow-soldiers, the sixth day since I was made by adoption heir to this great empire. Whether the honour was to be desired or dreaded, was more than I could then foresee: with what advantage to my own family in particular, or to the commonwealth at large, it will be yours to determine; not that I fear any sadder fate personally; for trained in the school of adversity, I now perceive that even the smiles are no less perilous than the frowns of fortune. I grieve for the situation of an aged father, the senate, and the empire itself, should we fall this day by the hands of assassins, or, which to a generous mind is no less affliction, find ourselves obliged to shed the blood of our fellow-citizens. In the late revolution, it was matter of joy that the city was not discoloured with Roman blood, and that, without civil discord, the reins of government passed into other hands. To secure the same tranquillity after the decease of Galba was the object of the late adoption.

30. "I will neither boast of my nobility, nor claim the merit of moderation. In contrast with Otho there is indeed no necessity to call our virtues to our aid. His vices, even when he played the friend of Nero, were the ruin of his country: in those he places all his glory. And can he, by a life of debauchery, that proud gait, and effeminate dress, earn the empire of the world? Those with whom profusion passes for liberality, are deceived. Otho will show that he knows how to squander, but not to bestow. The objects that even now engross his thoughts, are lawless gratifications, carousals, and the embraces of lascivious women. These with him are the privileges of sovereignty. The debauchery and pleasures will be his: it will be yours to blush and bear the disgrace. For of those who by their crimes have risen to power, there is not an instance of one who administered it with virtue. Galba was raised by the consentient voice of the world to his present situation: his inclination, and your consent, have added me to the line of the Cæsars. If the commonwealth, the senate, and the people, are mere empty names, yet, my fellow-soldiers, it concerns you that the worst and most abandoned of mankind should not



create an emperor. The legions, it is true, have at different times mutinied against their generals; but your fidelity and character have never been questioned. Nero abandoned you; you did not desert him. And shall less than thirty runaways and deserters, whom no man would suffer to vote in the choice of a tribune or centurion, dispose of the Roman empire at their will and pleasure? Will you allow such a precedent? and, by conniving at it, will you become accomplices in the guilt? The example will pass into the provinces. Galba and I may suffer the consequences of treason; but the calamities of a civil war must remain for you. By murdering your prince you may earn the wages of iniquity; but the reward of virtue will not be less. You will as certainly receive a donative for your innocence from us, as a largess for murder and rebellion from others."

31. During this harangue, the soldiers belonging to the guard withdrew from the place. The rest of the cohort shewed no sign of discontent; and, as usual in a disturbed state of things, displayed their colours as a matter of course, and without any preconcerted design, rather than, as was imagined afterwards, with a concealed purpose of treachery and revolt. Celsus Marius was sent to use his influence with the chosen forces from Illyricum, at that time encamped under the portico of Vipsanius. Orders were likewise given to Amulius Serenus and Domitius Sabinus, centurions of the first rank, to draw from the temple of Liberty the German soldiers there. The legion, draughted from the marines, was not to be trusted. They had seen, on Galba's entry into Rome, the massacre of their comrades, and the survivors, with minds exasperated, panted for revenge. At the same time, Cetrius Severus, Subrius Dexter, and Pompeius Longinus, three military tribunes, made the best of their way to the prætorian camp, to try if the mutiny, as yet in its early stage, and not full grown, might be appeased by wholesome advice. Subrius and Cetrius were assailed with menaces. Longinus was roughly handled. The revolted took away his weapons, unwilling to listen to a man, whom they considered as an officer promoted out of his turn, by the favour of Galba, and, for that reason, faithful to his prince. The marine legion, without hesitation, joined the prætorian malcontents. The chosen troops of the Illyrian army, obliged Celsus to retire under a shower of darts. The veterans from Germany wavered for a long time, suffering as they still were from bodily weakness, though their minds were favourably disposed; for they had been

sent by Nero to Alexandria; but, being recalled, they returned to Rome, worn out with toil, and weakened by sickness during their voyage; and Galba had been particularly attentive in recruiting their strength.

32. The whole populace, in the mean time, with a crowd of slaves intermixed, crowded the palace, demanding, with discordant cries, vengeance on the head of Otho and his partisans, as though they were clamouring in the circus or amphitheatre for some spectacle. Without judgment or sincerity; for before the close of day, the same mouths were bawling as loudly for the reverse of what they desired in the morning, but according to the established custom of courting with heedless shouts and unmeaning acclamation the reigning prince, whoever he may be. Galba, in the mean time, balanced between two opposite opinions. Titus Vinius was for his remaining in the palace. "The slaves," he said, "might be armed, and all the avenues secured. The prince should by no means expose himself to a frantic mob. Due time should be allowed for the seditious to repent, and for good men to form a plan of union. Crimes succeeded by sudden despatch: honest counsels gained vigour by delay. Lastly, should it be hereafter proper to sally forth, that expedient would be still in reserve: but should he repent of the step once taken, it would depend upon others whether he could retrace it.

33. It was argued by the rest, "that the exigence called for vigorous measures, before the as yet powerless conspiracy of a few traitors gained strength. Otho himself would then be thrown into a state of trepidation and perplexity: Otho, who, having gone off by stealth, and presenting himself among men to whom he is a total stranger, is now learning how to enact the prince through the hesitation and supineness of those who allow the opportunities for action to elapse. They must not linger till the usurper, having settled matters in the camp, invades the forum, and, under the eye of Galba, ascends the capitol; while, in the mean time, our valiant emperor remains trembling in his palace with his warlike friends, barricades his house even to the door and threshold, resolved forsooth to endure a siege. Slaves too will render a precious service, if we neglect the people, now ready to support our cause, and suffer their first impulse of indignation to subside. What is dishonourable is proportionably dangerous. If we must fall, let us bravely meet our fate. Mankind will applaud our valour, and Otho, the author of our ruin, will be the object of

public detestation." Vinius maintained his former opinion. Laco opposed him with warmth, and even with violent menaces. In this he was prompted by Icelus, who obstinately sought to gratify private malice, at the risk of ruin to his country.

34. Galba hesitated no longer to adopt what appeared to him the more plausible advice. Piso, notwithstanding, was sent forward to the camp, as being a young man of high expectation, and lately called to the first honours of the state, and also as the enemy of Vinius; whether it was that he really hated him, or that the enemies of the minister wished it; and certainly malice imputed, is easily believed. Piso was hardly gone forth, when a rumour prevailed that Otho was slain in the camp. The report at first was vague and uncertain, but like all important lies, it was confirmed by men who averred that they were on the spot, and saw the blow given; the account gaining easy credence, what with those who rejoiced in it, and those who cared not to scrutinise it. It was afterwards thought to be a rumour, framed and encouraged by Otho's friends, who mingled in the crowd, and published a false report of good news, in order to entice Galba from his palace.

35. Then indeed not only the vulgar and ignorant multitude were transported beyond all bounds, but the knights and senators were hurried away with the torrent; they forgot their fears; they rushed to the emperor's presence; broke open the doors of the palace, and complaining that the punishment of treason was taken out of their hands, the men who, as it appeared soon after, were the most likely to shrink from danger, displayed their zeal with ostentation; lavish of words, yet cowards in their hearts. No man knew that Otho was slain, yet all averred it as a fact. In this situation, wanting certain intelligence, but overpowered by the consentient voice of mistaken men, Galba determined to go forth from his palace. He called for his armour, and finding himself too feeble from age and bodily constitution for the throng that gathered round him, he was supported in a litter. Before he left the palace, Julius Atticus, a soldier of the body-guard, accosted him with a bloody sword in his hand, crying aloud, "It was I that killed Otho." Galba answered, "Comrade, who gave you orders?" So signally was the spirit of the man adapted to repress the licentiousness of the soldiers; by their insolence undismayed, by their flattery unseduced.

36. Meanwhile, the prætorian guards with one voice declared for Otho. They ranged themselves in a body round his person, and, not content with that, in the ardour of their zeal, placed him, amidst the standards and eagles, on the very tribunal where, a little before, stood the golden statue of Galba. The tribunes and centurions were not suffered to approach. The common soldiers, even went so far as to give orders to watch the motions of all in command. The whole camp resounded with shouts and tumult, and mutual exhortations, not, as in a concourse of the people and of the lower orders, with varying acclamations prompted by heartless adulation, but they embraced their comrades as they saw them advancing; they clasped their hands, pressed them to their bosoms with their shields, placed them by Otho's side; they repeated the military oath, and administered it to all. They recommended the prince of their own choice to the affections of the men, and the men, in their turn, to the favour of the prince. Otho, on his part, omitted nothing; he paid his court to the rabble with his hands outstretched, scattering kisses in profusion, and, in order to be emperor, crouching like a slave. After the marine legion had taken the oath of fidelity, Otho felt himself inspired with uncommon ardour. Having hitherto incited the soldiers man by man, he judged it right to animate them in a body, and taking his station on the rampart of the camp, spoke to the following effect:

37. "In what character I now address you I am unable to declare: a private man I cannot call myself, for you have bestowed upon me the title of prince: nor can I style myself a prince, while another is still in possession of the sovereign power. In what description you yourselves are to be classed, is to me matter of doubt; and must remain so, till the question is decided, Whether you have in your camp the emperor of Rome, or a public enemy? Hear ye how the same voice that demands vengeance on me, calls for your destruction? so evident is it that we can neither die nor live otherwise than together. Such is the humanity of Galba, perhaps he has already pronounced our doom; since, without a request, of his own free will, he could consign to the sword so many thousand innocent soldiers. My heart recoils with horror, when I reflect on the disastrous day on which he made his public entry into the city; and on that, his only victory, when after receiving the submission of the suppliant soldiers, he ordered the whole body to be decimated in the view of the people.

Under these auspices he entered the city of Rome;—and what has been since the glory of his reign? Obultronus Sabinus and Cornelius Marcellus have been murdered in Spain; Betuus Chilo in Gaul; Fonteius Capito in Germany; and Clodius Macer in Africa. Add to these Cingonius Varro, butchered on his march, Turpilianus in the heart of the city, and Nymphidius in the camp. Is there a province, is there in any part of the empire a single camp, which he has not defiled with blood? or, as he will tell you, reformed and amended? What all good men call a deed of barbarity, passes with him for a correction of abuses; while under specious names he confounds the nature of things: calls cruelty justice, avarice economy, and massacre military discipline. Since the death of Nero not more than seven months have elapsed; and, in that time, Icelus his freedman has amassed, by plunder, more enormous wealth than the Polycliti, the Vatini, the Ægialii, were able to do. Even Titus Vinus, if he had seized the empire, would not have oppressed us with such rapacity, such wanton barbarity. As it is, he at once tramples upon us as his own subjects, and pours scorn upon us as though we were another's. His house alone contains wealth sufficient to discharge the donative which is never forthcoming, and is daily cast in your teeth.

38. “And that you might despair of improvement under the successor even of Galba, he has recalled from banishment a man, in his temper dark and gloomy, hardened in avarice, whom he judged the counterpart of himself. You remember, my fellow-soldiers, the day on which that adoption was made; a day deformed with storms and tempests, when the warring elements announced the awful displeasure of the gods. The senate and the people are now of one mind. They depend upon your valour. It is your generous ardour that must give vigour to our honourable enterprise. Without your aid the best designs must prove abortive. It is not to a war, nor even to danger, that I am now to conduct you: the armies of Rome are on our side. The single cohort remaining with Galba is composed of citizens, not of soldiers; and they do not stand forth in his defence; they detain him as their prisoner. When they see you advancing in firm array, when my signal is given, the only struggle will be, who may charge my gratitude with the heaviest debt. There is no place for delay in a project which cannot be applauded unless it be gone through with successfully.” He then ordered the magazine of arms to be thrown open. The soldiers seized their weapons; they

paid no regard to military rules; no distinction was observed; the prætorians, the legions, and the auxiliaries crowded together, and shields and helmets were snatched up in a tumultuary manner. No tribune, no centurion, gave orders. Each man was his own commanding officer and encourager; while the most abandoned drew their principal incitement from the grief that overwhelmed the good.

39. The number of the rebels increasing every moment, and their noise and clamour reaching the city of Rome, Piso, in a state of alarm, met Galba, who had left the palace, on his way to the Forum. Marius Celsus had now brought unfavourable tidings. Some advised the emperor to return to his palace; others were for taking possession of the Capitol, and the major part for proceeding directly to the rostra; numbers gave their advice, for no better reason than to oppose the opinions of others; and, as usually happens in unfortunate projects, those steps were deemed best the opportunity for which had elapsed. We are told that Laco, without the privity of Galba, formed a design against the life of Vinius. The murder of that minister, he thought, would appease the fury of the soldiers, or it may be that he suspected treachery, and thought him joined in a secret league with Otho: in fine, perhaps his own malice was the motive. The inconvenience of the time and place made him hesitate: the sword once drawn, it is difficult to check the carnage. Messengers arriving every moment, and the desertion of friends, increased the consternation; and the zeal of all those who at first were so forward in vaunting their fidelity and courage, now waxed cold.

40. Galba meanwhile was borne in various directions, according as the waving multitude impelled him. The temples, the porticoes, and great halls round the forum, were filled with crowds of sorrowing spectators. A deep and sullen silence prevailed. The very rabble was hushed. Amazement sat on every face. Their eyes watched every motion, and their ears caught every sound. It was not a tumult, it was not the stillness of peace, but the silence of terrible anticipation and high-wrought resentment. Otho, however, received intelligence that the populace had recourse to arms, and thereupon ordered his troops to push forward with rapidity, and prevent the impending danger. At his command the Roman soldiers, as if marching to dethrone an eastern monarch, a Vologeses, or a Pacorus, and not their own lawful sovereign, advanced with impetuous fury to imbrue their

hands in the blood of an old man, defenceless and unarmed. They entered the city; they dispersed the common people, trampled the senate under foot, with swords drawn, and horses at full speed, they burst into the forum. The sight of the Capitol, the sanctity of the temples that overhung it, the majesty of former princes, and of those who were to succeed, deterred them not from committing a detestable parricide, sure to be punished by the prince that succeeds to the sovereign power, be he who he may.

41. The prætorians no sooner appeared in sight, than the standard-bearer of the cohort still remaining with Galba (his name, we are told, was Atilius Vergilio) tore off the image of Galba, and dashed it on the ground. That signal given, the soldiers, with one voice, declared for Otho. The people fled in consternation. Such as hesitated were attacked sword in hand. The men, who carried Galba in a litter, in their fright let him fall to the ground near the Curtian lake. His last words, according as men admired or hatēd him, have been variously reported. According to some, he asked, in a suppliant tone, What harm he had done? and prayed for a few days, that he might discharge the donative due to the soldiers. Others assure us, that he promptly presented his neck to the assassin's stroke, and said with a firm voice, "Strike; if the good of the commonwealth requires it." To ruffians thirsting for blood, no matter what he said. By what hand the blow was given, cannot now be known. Some impute it to Terentius, a resumed veteran; others to Lecanius. A still more general tradition states, that Camurius, a common soldier of the fifteenth legion, killed him by cutting his throat, with his sword pressed against it. The rest tore his legs and arms with brutal rage, for his breast was covered with armour; and many wounds were inflicted, in a savage and ferocious spirit, upon the body as it lay headless.

42. Titus Vinius was the next victim. The manner in which he met his fate is likewise left uncertain: whether on the first assault his utterance was suppressed by fear, or whether he had power to call out, that Otho had given no orders against his life. Those words, if really spoken, might be an effort of pusillanimity to save his life, or they were the confession of a man, who was actually an accomplice in the conspiracy. His life and manners leave no room to doubt but he was capable of joining in a parricide, of which his own administration was the principal cause. He fell before the temple of Julius, by a wound in

the joint of his knee, and as he lay, he was run through the body by Julius Carus, a legionary soldier.

43. The age beheld on that day a splendid example of courage and fidelity, in the conduct of Sempronius Densus, a centurion of the prætorian cohort. Having been ordered by Galba to join the guard that escorted Piso, he no sooner saw a band of armed assassins, than he advanced to oppose their fury, brandishing his poniard, and exclaiming against the horrible deed. By drawing the attention of the murderers upon himself with his voice, with his hand, he gave Piso, wounded as he was, an opportunity of making his escape. Piso reached the temple of Vesta, where a slave of the state, touched with compassion, conducted him to his own private apartment. Piso lay concealed for some time, not indebted to the sanctity of the temple, nor to the rights of religion, but sheltered by the obscurity of the place from the destruction that threatened him. At length, Sulpicius Florus, who belonged to a British cohort, and had been made by Galba a citizen of Rome, and Statius Marcus, a prætorian soldier, arrived in quest of him by Otho's special order. By these two men he was dragged to the vestibule of the temple, where, under repeated blows, he breathed his last.

44. No murder, we are told, gave so much satisfaction to Otho, nor was there, among the heads cut off, one on which he gazed with such insatiable delight. Whether it was that by this event he first felt himself relieved from all apprehensions, and his mind could admit sensations of joy, or that the fate of Galba, bringing to his thoughts an idea of majesty fallen from a state of elevation, and the death of Vinus, awakening the memory of an early friendship, had caused his heart, though ruthless, to melt at the mournful image they presented. When Piso fell, an enemy and a rival expired; and he thought it just and reasonable to exult in the event. The three heads were fixed on poles, and carried about amidst the ensigns of the cohorts, by the side of the eagle of the legion. A band of soldiers followed, stretching forth their hands reeking with blood, and boasting aloud that they gave the mortal wounds, or that they were present aiding and abetting; all, with truth or falsehood, claiming the honour of an atrocious deed. No less than one hundred and twenty memorials, presented on this occasion, by persons who claimed the reward of crimes committed on that day, were afterwards found by Vitellius; and the several authors, after diligent search made by his orders, were punished with death, not from motives of regard for



the memory of Galba, but with the usual policy of princes, as a security for the present, and as a warning of future vengeance.

45. Another senate and another people seemed now to be in possession of Rome. All pressed forward to the camp. Every man endeavoured to distance those near him, and strive with those before him. They reviled Galba, and applauded the judgment of the soldiers. They kissed the hand of Otho, and, in proportion to their want of sincerity, the more they multiplied their compliments. Otho was not deficient in his attention to each severally; taking care, by his looks and actions, to restrain the ferocious spirit of the soldiers, who seemed to threaten further mischief. Marius Celsus, the consul elect, was the object of their vengeance. He had been the friend of Galba, and in the last extremity continued faithful to that unhappy prince. His talents and integrity gave offence to them, as though they were noxious qualities. They demanded his immediate execution. Their views were apparent. The best and ablest men in Rome were doomed to destruction by them. But Otho's authority, though sufficient to command the perpetration of crimes, was not yet adequate to prohibiting them. In pretended fury he ordered Celsus to be loaded with irons, as a man reserved for heavier punishment, and by that stratagem saved him from immediate destruction.

46. From this time the soldiers had every thing their own way. The prætorians chose their own præfect; namely, Plotius Firmus, formerly a common soldier, raised afterwards to the command of the night-guard, and, even during the life of Galba, a partisan of Otho's. To him they added Licinius Proculus, a man who, living in intimacy with Otho, was supposed to be an accomplice in his designs. As governor of Rome they named Flavius Sabinus, in accordance with the judgment of Nero, who had committed to him the same charge. The majority meant it as a compliment to Vespasian, his brother. Their next object was to abolish the fees exacted by the centurions for occasional exemptions from duty, and for leave of absence; for they were an annual tribute out of the pockets of common men. A fourth part of every company was rambling about the country, or loitering in the very camp, provided the centurion received his perquisites. Nor was the soldier solicitous about the price: he purchased a right to be idle, and the means by which he enabled himself to defray the expense gave him no kind of scruple. By theft, by robbery, and by servile employments, he gained

enough to purchase an exemption from military duties. Then, whoever had hoarded up a little money, was, for that reason, harassed with labour and severity, till he purchased an exemption. By these extortions the soldier was impoverished, his industry moreover relaxed, and he returned to the camp poor instead of rich, and lazy instead of active. And so again another and another had his principles corrupted by poverty and irregularities similarly induced whence they fell rapidly into sedition and dissension, and lastly into civil war. To remedy the mischief, and, at the same time, not to alienate the minds of the centurions, by giving up these fees as a bounty to the common soldiers, Otho undertook to pay an annual equivalent to the officers out of his own revenue. This reform was, no doubt, both wise and just. Good princes adopted it afterwards, and made it a settled rule in the military system. Laco, the late commander of the prætorians, was condemned to an island, there, as was given out, to pass the remainder of his days; but a veteran soldier, whom Otho had despatched for the purpose, put an end to his life. Martianus Icelus, being of no higher rank than that of a manumitted slave, was publicly executed.

47. After a day spent in guilt and carnage, the joy that succeeded completed the climax of abominations. The prætor of the city summoned the senate. The magistrates emulated each other in adulation. The fathers assembled without delay. The tribunitian power, the name of Augustus, and all imperial honours enjoyed by former princes, were by a decree granted to Otho; while all strove to obliterate the effects of reproaches and invectives, which, as they were uttered at random, were not supposed by any one to have sunk deep into his heart. Whether Otho would have passed over those reflections, or stored them in his memory for future occasions, the shortness of his reign has left undecided. He was conveyed in triumph to the Capitol, and thence to the imperial palace. In his way he saw the forum discoloured with blood, and heaps of slaughtered citizens lying round him. He granted leave to remove the dead bodies, and to perform the rites of sepulture. The remains of Piso were buried by his wife Verania, and Scribonianus his brother. The last duty to Titus Vinius was performed by his daughter Crispina. Their heads, which the murderers had reserved for sale, were found and redeemed.

48. Piso had well nigh completed the thirty-first year of his age; higher in the esteem of the public than in the favour of fortune. Two of his brothers suffered a violent

death; Magnus, by the command of Claudius, and Crassus, of Nero. An outlaw for some years, and four days a prince; by the hurried adoption of Galba, he was raised above his elder brother, only to be murdered first. Titus Vinius had reached the age of fifty-seven; a man of unsettled principle, and various manners. His father was of a prætorian family; his grandfather, by the maternal line, was among the number proscribed by the triumvirate. His first campaign, under Calvisius Sabinus, was marked with disgrace. The wife of Sabinus, prompted by vicious curiosity, went by night, in the dress of a soldier, to view the site and disposition of the camp. In her frolic, she went round to visit the sentinels, and the posts and stations of the army. Arriving at length at the place where the eagles were deposited, she did not scruple to commit the act of adultery on that sacred spot. Vinius was charged as her accomplice, and, by order of Caligula, loaded with irons. By the revolution which soon after happened, he regained his liberty, and from that time rose to honours. He discharged the office of prætor, and afterwards commanded a legion, free from reproach. His name, however, was soon after branded with a crime of the meanest character. Being a guest at the table of Claudius, he was charged with pilfering a golden goblet. On the following day that emperor gave orders that he alone of the whole party should be served with earthenware. Notwithstanding, as proconsul of Narbon Gaul, he acquitted himself in his administration with gravity and integrity. Soon after, the friendship of Galba drew him into dangerous courses. He was at once bold and subtle, of an enterprising genius, and, according as he set his mind upon it, he could work mischief, or apply himself to honest pursuits, with equal ardour and energy. His last will, on account of his immoderate wealth, was declared null and void. That of Piso was confirmed by reason of his poverty.

49. Galba's body lay neglected for a long time, and under license of the night, was molested by numberless indignities. It was at length conveyed by Argius, his former slave and steward, to the private gardens of his master, and there deposited in an humble manner. His mangled head was fixed on a pole by the rabble of the camp, near the tomb of Patrobius, a slave manumitted by Nero, and by Galba put to death. There it was found the following day, and added to the ashes of the body. Such was the end of Servius Galba, in the seventy-third year of his age. He had, during the reign of five princes,

enjoyed a series of prosperity, happier as a private citizen than a prince. He was descended from a long line of ancestors. His wealth was great; his talents not above mediocrity. Free from vice, he cannot be celebrated for his virtues. He knew the value of fame, yet was neither arrogant nor vain-glorious. Without rapacity, he was an economist of his own, and of the public treasure careful to a degree of avarice. To his friends and freedmen, when his choice was happily made, his passive submission was unobnoxious to censure; but when bad men surrounded him, his blindness bordered on criminality. The splendour of his birth, and the dangerous character of the times, formed a pretext for giving the appellation of wisdom to what in fact was sheer indolence. In the vigour of his days, he served with honour in Germany; as proconsul of Africa, he governed with moderation; and Hither Spain, when he was advanced in years, was administered with similar equity. While a private citizen, his merit was thought superior to his rank; and the suffrages of mankind would have pronounced him worthy of empire, had he never made the experiment.

50. While Rome was shuddering at the late dreadful carnage, and, from the well-known vices of Otho's nature, men were in dread of worse evils still to come, despatches from Germany brought an account of new calamities. Intelligence of the revolt of Vitellius arrived before the death of Galba, but was suppressed, that the sedition on the Upper Rhine might be thought the only mischief. Then not only the senators and Roman knights, who had still some shadow of authority, but the populace, mourned to see two men of the most pernicious characters, enervated by luxury, and abandoned to every vice, chosen by some fatality to ruin the commonwealth. The examples of atrocities committed, during the late sanguinary period of peace, were no longer the objects that employed the public mind; but the civil wars were recalled to memory: they talked of Rome, so often captured by her own armies; Italy laid waste; the provinces plundered; of Pharsalia, Philippi, Modena, and Perugia, places memorable for public disasters. "When the struggle," it was observed, "lay between men of illustrious character, by their contentions for empire the state was brought to the brink of ruin. But even then, under Julius Cæsar, the empire still survived. It survived under the victorious Augustus. Under Pompey and Brutus, had their arms prevailed, the republic would have been once more established. Otho and Vitellius are now the competitors:

for which of them shall the people crowd the temples? prayers for either were impious, vows an abomination, since, in a war between two detestable rivals, he who conquers will be armed with power to commit still greater crimes, and prove himself the worst." Some looked forward in a prophetic spirit to Vespasian, and the armies in the East. Vespasian, they agreed, was in every respect superior to the two chiefs, who now convulsed the state, but dreaded another war, and an additional series of calamities. Vespasian's character too was equivocal; and certainly he was the only prince, down to his time, who reformed his life.

51. That the revolt under Vitellius may be seen in its true light, I will set forth its origin, and the causes that produced it. After the defeat and death of Julius Vindex, and the rout of his armies, the legions, enriched with booty and wanton with success, having without fatigue or danger closed a lucrative war, preferred hostilities to inaction, plunder to pay. They had long endured the hardships of a rigorous service, in a bleak climate and a desolate country, where discipline was enforced with strict severity. But that discipline which is cultivated with relentless rigour in peace, they knew would be relaxed by civil discord, where both sides encourage licentiousness, and perfidy goes unpunished. They were abundantly provided with arms and horses, both for parade and service; but before the late war in Gaul, they knew only the companies and troops of horse to which they belonged; and the boundaries of the provinces kept the several armies distinct and separate. The legion being then drawn together to make head against Vindex, they felt their own strength, and that of Gaul; wanted to renew the war, and stir up fresh troubles. They no longer treated the Gauls as their allies and friends, but as enemies, and a vanquished people. In these sentiments they were joined by the Gauls who dwelt on the borders of the Rhine. This people had taken up arms against Vindex, and his allies, whom, since the death of that chief, they in disdain of him called the Galbian Faction; and now by every artifice they instigated a war between the Romans and their countrymen. The Sequanians, the Æduans, and other states, according to their opulence, were the chief objects of resentment. The soldiers anticipated with eager delight towns stormed, the plunder of houses, and the desolation of the country. In addition to their arrogance and avarice, the never-failing vices of the strongest, they were exasperated by the froward insolence with which the Gauls boasted,

that, in contempt of the legions, they had obtained from Galba a remission of one-fourth of their tribute, and an extension of their territory. To these incentives was added a report, artfully thrown out and readily believed, that the legions were to be decimated, and the best and bravest of the centurions to be dismissed. Tidings of an alarming nature arrived from every quarter, and rumours of a disastrous character from the city of Rome. The people of Lyons, still faithful to the memory of Nero, and the avowed enemies of Galba, formed a fertile source of rumours: but the camp was the magazine of news, where invention framed the lie of the day, and credulity stood ready to receive it; where malice and fear prevailed; and where, when they viewed their own numbers, all apprehension of danger vanished.

52. It was near the calends of December in the preceding year, when Aulus Vitellius first appeared in the Lower Germany. He made it his business to review the legions in their winter-quarters; he restored several officers who had been degraded, and relieved others from disgrace and ignominy: in some instances acting with justice, in others, with a view to his own ambition. To the honour of his principles, he condemned the sordid avarice with which Fonteius Capito granted or refused rank in the army. He appeared in this to exceed the powers usually vested in consular generals, and to be an officer of superior weight and authority. As reflecting men saw the baseness of his motives, so the profusion, which, without judgment or economy, lavished away in bounties all his own property, and squandered that of others, was by his sycophants called benevolence and generosity. Even the vices that sprung from lust of dominion were transformed into so many virtues. In both armies there were, no doubt, men well disposed and moderate; but there were also some restless incendiaries. Alienus Cæcina and Fabius Valens, each the commander of a legion, were both remarkable for their avarice, and both of a daring spirit. Valens was exasperated against Galba, because, having exposed the dilatoriness of Verginius, and crushed the machinations of Capito, he had shown no gratitude for those services. He now, therefore, endeavoured to rouse the ambition of Vitellius: "The soldiers," he said "were zealous in his service, and the name of Vitellius stood in high esteem throughout the world. From Hordeonius Flaccus no opposition was to be apprehended. Britain was ready to declare against Galba, and the German auxiliaries would follow their example. The provinces

wavered in their duty, and the authority of the feeble old man stood on a precarious footing, and would be soon transferred to other hands. He had nothing to do but to open his arms, and receive the favours of fortune. Verginius, indeed, had every thing to damp his resolution. He was of an equestrian family; but his father lived and died in obscurity. A man of his cast would have proved unequal to the weight of empire. A private station was to him a post of safety. A father who had been three times consul, once in conjunction with the emperor Claudius, and who, moreover, had discharged the office of censor, imposed on Vitellius the necessity of aspiring to the imperial dignity, and denied him the security of a private station." By this inflammatory speech the phlegmatic temper of Vitellius was moved to covet, rather than to hope for, the object set before him.

53. Meanwhile Cæcina, who served in the army on the Upper Rhine, had drawn to himself the affections of the army. He was young and handsome, tall and robust, with an air of dignity in his deportment, of winning eloquence, and boundless aspirations. While a young man, discharging the office of quæstor in Bætica, he promptly went over to Galba's interest, and the emperor, to reward his zeal, gave him the command of a legion in Germany; but finding, afterwards, that he had been guilty of embezzling the public money, he ordered him to be called to a strict account. Cæcina was not of a temper to submit with patience. He resolved to embroil the state, and in the general confusion throw a veil over his private dishonour. The seeds of rebellion were ready sown in the army. In the war against Vindex they had all taken the field, and, till they heard that Nero was no more, never declared in favour of Galba. Even in that act of submission, they suffered the legions on the Lower Rhine to take the lead. The Treviri, the Lingones, and other states, which had felt the severity of Galba's edicts, or had seen their territory reduced to narrow limits, lay contiguous to the winter-quarters of the legions. Hence frequent seditious conferences, in which the soldiers grew more corrupt, by mixing with the peasants. Hence their zeal for Verginius, which might be turned to account by any other leader.

54. The Lingones, in token of friendship, had sent presents to the legions, and, in conformity to their ancient usage, the symbolical figure of two right hands clasping one another. Their deputies appeared with the mien and garb of affliction. They went round the camp, in the

tents, and in the place for the standards and eagles, setting forth now their own wrongs, and now the favour and the protection of Galba enjoyed by neighbouring states. Finding that they were heard with avidity, they inflamed the minds of the soldiers by sympathizing in the dangers that hung over them, and the hardships under which they laboured. The flame of sedition was ready to break out, when Hordeonius Flaccus ordered the deputies to depart, and in the night, that it might be less observed. A report soon prevailed that they were all treacherously murdered, and that, if the soldiers did not instantly provide for their own safety, the bravest of the army, and those who had complained of the present state of things, would be butchered, under cover of the night, and without the knowledge of their friends. A secret combination was immediately formed. The auxiliaries entered into the league; at first they were suspected of a design to surround the legions with the cohorts and horse, and put them to the sword, but afterwards they eagerly engaged in the project. Such is the nature of abandoned minds; in peace and profound tranquillity, they seldom agree; but for seditious purposes a coalition is easily formed.

55. The legions on the Lower Rhine, on the calends of January, went through the usual form of swearing fidelity to Galba; but little alacrity was displayed. In the foremost ranks but few voices were heard, while the rest remained in silence, each man expecting the bold example of his comrades; such is the inherent weakness of human nature, men are ready to second what they are slow to begin. A leaven of discordant humours pervaded the whole mass of the army. The first and fifth legions were so outrageous, that some pelted the images of Galba with stones. The fifteenth and sixteenth abstained from acts of violence, but were clamorous and menacing; waiting for ringleaders to begin the fray. In the Upper Germany, on the same calends of January, the fourth and eighteenth legions, quartered together in one winter-camp, dashed the images of Galba into fragments. The fourth legion led the way; and the eighteenth, after balancing for some time, followed their example. Unwilling, however, to incur the imputation of a rebellion against their country, they agreed to revive the antiquated names of the SENATE AND ROMAN PEOPLE in the oath of fidelity. Not one commander of a legion, nor tribune, appeared in favour of Galba; on the contrary, many of them, as often happens in cases of public confusion, distinguished themselves in the



tumult. No man, however, took upon him to harangue the multitude from the stage; nor could the incendiaries, as yet, tell in whose service their eloquence was to be employed.

56. Hordeonius Flaccus beheld this scene of confusion, and, though a consular commander, never once interposed to restrain the violent, to secure the wavering, or to animate the well-affected. He looked on tamely and timorously; and if he avoided the imputation of guilt, it was because he had not spirit enough to act at all. Four centuries of the eighteenth legion, namely, Nonius Receptus, Donatius Valens, Romilius Marcellus, and Calpurnius Repentinus, attempted to defend the images of Galba; but the soldiers attacked them with impetuosity, and loaded them with fetters. From that moment all fidelity was at an end. The obligation of the former oath was no longer respected. It happened in this, as in all seditions, the whole herd followed the majority. The night after the calends of January, the eagle-bearer of the fourth legion arrived at the Agrippinian colony, where Vitellius was engaged at a banquet, with intelligence, that the fourth and eighteenth legions, having destroyed the images of Galba, had taken a new form of oath to the senate and Roman people. That oath was deemed a nullity. It was judged proper to seize the opportunity that fortune offered, and, by the nomination of an emperor, fix the wavering temper of the legions. Despatches were accordingly sent to inform the army and its commanders in the Lower Germany, that the soldiers on the Upper Rhine had revolted from Galba, and that, by consequence, it remained for them either to march against the rebels, or, for the sake of peace and mutual concord, to create another emperor. In choosing for themselves they would hazard little; but indecision might be dangerous.

57. The winter-quarters of the first legion were the nearest; it was commanded by Fabius Valens, the most prompt and daring of all the generals. On the following day he put himself at the head of the cavalry belonging to his own legion, and, with a party of the auxiliaries, entering the Agrippinian colony, saluted Vitellius by the title of emperor. The legions of the province, with extraordinary ardour, followed his example; and three days before the nones of January, the legions in Upper Germany declared for Vitellius, abandoning the plausible names of the senate and the Roman people. It now was plain, that they were never in their hearts devoted to a republic. The Agrippinian people, the Treveri, and Lin-

goners were not behind the armies in demonstrations of zeal. They offered a supply of arms and horses, of men and money, in proportion to their respective abilities. Not only the leading chiefs, as well in the colonies as in the camp, who had already enriched themselves by the spoils of war, and looked forward to an accumulation of wealth when the victory was obtained, but the body of the army, the common soldiers, in the place of money, made a tender of their travelling subsistence, their belts, their accoutrements, and the silver ornaments of their armour; all actuated by one impulse, by blind enthusiasm, and a thirst for gain.

58. Vitellius, after praising the alacrity of the soldiers, proceeded to regulate the various departments of public business. He transferred the offices, hitherto granted to the imperial freedmen, to the Roman knights; and the fees claimed by the centurions for exemption from duty, he defrayed out of the revenue of the prince. The fury of the soldiers, demanding vengeance on a number of persons, was not to be repressed. He yielded in many instances, and in others eluded their resentment under colour of reserving the obnoxious parties in chains. Pompeius Propinquus, the procurator of Belgic Gaul, was put to death on the spot; but Julius Burdo, who commanded the German fleet, he saved by stratagem. The resentment of the army had been kindled against that officer as the accuser first, and afterwards as the murderer, of Fonteius Capito, whose memory was still held in respect. To pardon openly was not in the power of Vitellius: he could execute in open day; but to be merciful, he was obliged to deceive. Burdo remained in prison till the victory obtained by Vitellius appeased the wrath of the soldiers: he then was set at liberty. In the mean time Centurio Crispinus, who with his own hand had shed the blood of Capito, was presented to them as an expiation of that deed. His guilt was manifest; the soldiers demanded his blood, and Vitellius thought a man of that description no kind of loss.

59. Julius Civilis was the next whom the army doomed to destruction: but being of high rank and consequence among the Batavians, fear of a rupture with that fierce and warlike people saved his life. There were, at that time, in the territory of the Lingones, eight Batavian cohorts, annexed at first as auxiliaries to the fourteenth legion, but separated in the distraction of the times; a body of men, in that juncture, of the greatest moment. It was

in their power to turn the scale in favour of whatever party they espoused. Nonius, Donatius, Romilius, and Calpurnius, the four centurions already mentioned, were, by order of Vitellius, hurried to execution. They had remained steady in their duty to their prince; a crime which men in open rebellion never pardon. Valerius Asiaticus, the governor of Belgic Gaul, to whom, in a short time after, Vitellius gave his daughter in marriage; and Junius Blæsus, who presided in the province of Lyons, and had under his command the Italic legion, and the body of horse called the Taurinian cavalry, went over to the party of the new emperor. The forces in Rhætia were not long in suspense, and the legions in Britain declared without hesitation in favour of Vitellius.

60. Britain was, at that time, governed by Trebellius Maximus; a man, for his avarice and sordid practices, despised and hated by the army. Between him and Roscius Cælius, who commanded the twentieth legion, there had been a long-subsisting quarrel, renewed of late with keener acrimony, on occasion of a civil war. Cælius was charged by Trebellius with sedition, and the violation of the established discipline: Cælius recriminated that Trebellius plundered the legions, and left the soldiers to languish in distress and poverty. From this dissension between their officers, all discipline was at an end in the army; and the tumult rose at length to such a height, that Trebellius, insulted openly by the auxiliaries, deserted by the cavalry, and betrayed by the cohorts, fled for refuge to Vitellius. The province, however, notwithstanding the flight of a consular governor, remained in tranquillity. The commanders of the legions held the reins of government, by their commissions equal in authority, but the enterprising genius of Cælius had given him a superior influence.

61. The arrival of the forces from Britain was an accession of strength; and thereupon Vitellius, abounding in resources, and strong in numbers, resolved to carry the war into Italy by two different routes, under the conduct of two commanders. Fabius Valens was sent forward, with instructions to draw to his interest the people of Gaul, and, if he found them obstinate, to lay waste their country: then, passing over the Cottian Alps, make an irruption into Italy. Cæcina, the other general, was ordered to take a nearer way, over the Penine mountains, and make his descent on that side. The flower of the army from the Lower Rhine, with the eagle of the fifth legion, and the cohorts and cavalry, amounting to forty

thousand men, were put under the command of Valens. Cæcina advanced from the Upper Germany with no less than thirty thousand, of which the one and twentieth legion was the main strength. Each commander had a reinforcement of German auxiliaries. From these too Vitellius recruited his own forces; and was himself to follow with the whole weight of the war.

62. The new emperor and his army presented a striking contrast: the soldiers burned with impatience, and with one voice demanded to be led against the enemy. "It was time," they said, "to push on the war with vigour, while the two Gauls are in commotion, and Spain is yet undecided. The winter season was no obstacle; nor should idle negotiations to bring on a compromise detain them. Italy must be invaded, and Rome seized at once. In civil dissensions, expedition was the safest policy. They called for vigour; and debate was out of season." Vitellius loitered in indolent repose, drunk at noon-day, and overwhelmed with gluttony. The imperial dignity, he thought, consisted in riot and profusion, and he resolved to anticipate the privileges of a prince. The spirit of the soldiers, however, supplied the defects of their prince: they neither wanted him in the ranks to animate the brave, nor to rouse the tardy and inactive. Already formed, and straining upon the start, they demanded the signal for march. They saluted Vitellius by the name of Germanicus; that of Cæsar he chose to decline, even after his victory. Valens began his march: on that very day an omen of happy import to himself and the army he led presented itself—an eagle, at the head of the lines, measuring his flight by the movement of the soldiers, as if to guide them on their way. Such were the shouts of joy, while the bird proceeded in the same regular course undismayed by the uproar, and still seeming to direct their march, that the phenomenon was considered as a sure prognostic of a signal victory.

63. The army advanced in good order towards the state of the Treveri, as their friends and allies. At Divodurum (a city of the Mediomatrici) they received every mark of kindness, but were seized with a sudden panic, so extraordinary, that the soldiers fell upon the innocent inhabitants sword in hand. In this dreadful outrage the love of plunder had no share; a sudden frenzy possessed every mind; and, as the cause was unknown, no remedy could be applied. No less than four thousand men were massacred; and, if the entreaties of the general had not at length prevailed, the whole city had been laid in blood.

The rest of Gaul was alarmed to such a degree, that, wherever the army approached, whole cities, with the magistrates at their head, went forth in a suppliant manner to sue for mercy. Women and children were prostrated along the ways, and every other means of appeasing hostile rage offered to them, not because they were at war, but for the preservation of peace.

64. At the capital city of the Leucians, Valens received intelligence of the murder of Galba, and the accession of Otho. The news made no impression on the soldiers: unmoved by joy or fear, they thought of nothing but the spoils of war. The Gauls had now no motive for hesitation: Otho and Vitellius were equally objects of their detestation; but they also feared the latter. The Lingones, a people well disposed towards Vitellius, were the next they came to: they met with a friendly reception, and sought to outdo each other in good conduct. But this delightful intercourse was interrupted by the intemperance of the cohort which had been separated, as already mentioned, from the fourteenth legion, and by Valens incorporated with his army. Opprobrious language passed between the legionaries and the Batavians; from words contention arose: the soldiers entered into the dispute, and joined the different parties. The quarrel rose to such a pitch, that, if Valens had not interposed, and, by making a few examples, recalled the Batavians to a sense of their duty, a bloody battle must have been the consequence. A pretext for falling on the *Æduans* was sought in vain by the army; but that people not only complied with the demand of money and arms, but added a voluntary supply of provisions. What was thus done by the *Æduans* through motives of fear, the people of Lyons performed with joy. From that city the Italic legion and the Taurinian cavalry were ordered to join the army. The eighteenth cohort, which had been used to winter there, was left in garrison. Manlius Valens at that time commanded the Italic legion: he had rendered good service to the cause, but he was not held in esteem by Vitellius. The fact was, Fabius Valens, the commander in chief, had given a secret stab to his reputation, and, that he might be the less disposed to suspect his deception, he praised him in public.

65. The late war had kindled afresh the deadly feud, which had long subsisted between the people of Lyons and the inhabitants of Vienne. In the various battles, which they had fought with alternate success, and prodigious slaughter, it was visible that so much animosity was

not the mere effect of party rage in a contest between Nero and Galba. Galba, taking occasion from his displeasure, had wrested their revenues out of the hands of the people of Lyons, and confiscated them to the imperial treasury, while their enemies enjoyed the favours of the emperor. Hence a new source of jealousy and complaint, and the natural boundary of a single river, was insufficient to prevent their mingling in strife. Accordingly the citizens of Lyons excited the legions against their rivals; they talked with the soldiers, man by man, and urged them to the destruction of Vienne. "Lyons," they said, "had been besieged by them; they had taken up arms in the cause of Vindex, and lately raised recruits to complete the legions in the service of Galba." And when they had laid these grounds for hatred, they showed them that there was abundance of booty. They now no longer depended on secret practices, but openly preferred their petition, imploring the army to march forth, the redressers of wrong, and rase to the ground a city that had been the nursery of war, a nucleus of foreigners and foes. "Lyons," they said, "was a confederate colony, a portion of the army, sharers in the good or evil fortune of the empire." They implored the legions not to leave them, in the event of a failure in the expedition, at the mercy of their implacable enemies.

66. These means, and more of the same kind, had their effect; and the flame rose to such a height, that the commanders and other officers despaired of being able to extinguish it. When the inhabitants of Vienne, having notice of their danger, came forth, bearing the suppliant vestments and fillets. They met the Romans on their march, and, clasping their weapons, their knees, and feet, turned the soldiers from their purpose. Fabius Valens added a gift of three hundred sesterces to each man. Then the colony was respected for its worth and ancient dignity. The general pleaded for the safety and preservation of the inhabitants, and was heard with attention. The state, however, was obliged to furnish a supply of arms. Individuals assisted the soldiers from their private and ordinary resources. The uniform report, however, was, that the people purchased the protection of the commander-in-chief with a large sum of money. Thus much is certain, that, after being for a long time depressed with poverty, he grew suddenly rich, but ill-concealed his affluence. His appetites had been whetted by protracted indigence, and now, when fortune smiled, he knew no bounds. A beggar in his youth, he was, in old age, a

voluptuous prodigal. The army proceeded by slow marches through the territory of the Allobrogians, and thence to the Vocontians; the general, during the whole progress, making his market at every place, and selling his favours for a sum of money. For a bribe he fixed the length of each day's march, and shifted his camp for a price, driving disgraceful bargains with the owners of the lands and the magistrates of the several cities; and that with such cruelty, that firebrands were prepared to burn the municipal town of Lucus, in the territory of the Vocontians, but he was softened by the payment of a sum of money. Where the means of giving money were wanting, prostitutions and adulteries were required to appease him. In this manner Valens arrived at the Alps.

67. Cæcina, in his progress, obtained a greater quantity of booty, and shed more blood. The Helvetians provoked his ferocious spirit. Originally a Gallic nation, they were renowned in former times for their valour and exploits in war. Of late years the history of their ancestors was their only glory. Not having heard of the death of Galba, they were unwilling to acknowledge Vitellius. Occasion of quarrel was afforded by the rapacity and eagerness of the twenty-first legion, who seized the money sent to pay the troops in a fort, where the Helvetians had immemorially maintained a garrison. The indignant people intercepted a small party on their way to Pannonia, with letters from the German army to the legions stationed in that country, and detained in custody a centurion with some of his soldiers. Cæcina, who thirsted for war, proceeded to punish each offence as it occurred, without allowing time for repentance. He marched eagerly against the Helvetians, and, having laid waste the country, sacked a place, built, during the leisure of a long peace, in the form of a municipal town, and, from the attraction of its salubrious waters, much frequented. He also sent despatches to the Rhætian auxiliaries, with orders to fall upon the rear of the Helvetians, while their attention was occupied by the legion.

68. The spirit of the Helvetians, fierce while the danger was at a distance, began to droop when it was present. In the beginning of these hostilities they had chosen Claudius Severus to command their forces; but they neither knew the use of their arms, nor the methods of discipline, nor were they able to act in concert with their united force. The contest, they now perceived, must be destruction, with a veteran army; and, their fortifications being everywhere in decay, to stand a siege was hopeless.

On one side, Cæcina advanced at the head of a powerful army; on the other, were the cavalry and auxiliary forces from Rhætia, with the youth of that country, inured to arms, and trained in habits of war. The country was laid waste on all sides, and its inhabitants put to the sword. The Helvetians betook themselves to flight; and, after shifting about between the two forces, many of them wounded and straggling, they threw down their arms, and fled for refuge to the mountain named Vocetius. Forthwith a band of Thracians was sent, which dislodged them; when the Germans and Rhætians, closely pursuing them, slew them as they found them in the woods, and in their very hiding places. Several thousands were put to the sword, and as many sold to slavery. And when, having spread desolation through the country, the army marched to the siege of Aventicum, the capital city of the Helvetians, the inhabitants sent deputies to surrender at discretion. Their submission was accepted. Julius Alpinus, one of the leading chiefs, charged with being the author of the war, was by order of Cæcina publicly executed. The rest were left to the mercy or resentment of Vitellius.

69. The Helvetians sent their ambassadors to the new emperor; but which was most implacable, he or his army, it is difficult to decide. The soldiers clamoured for the utter destruction of the whole race. They brandished their arms in the face of the ambassadors, and threatened violence. Vitellius himself refrained not from abuse and menaces. At length Claudius Corsus, one of the deputies, a remarkably eloquent man, but concealing his oratorical artifices under a well-acted trepidation, which made him the more effective, melted the hearts of the soldiery, liable as they are, like those of the common people generally, to be diverted from their purpose by occurrences of the moment, and as prone to compassion as they were before extravagant in their rage. After torrents of tears, and by importunately soliciting milder treatment, they obtained impunity, and saved their city from destruction.

70. Cæcina, waiting for further instructions from Vitellius, and, at the same time, making arrangements for his passage over the Alps, halted for a few days in the territory of the Helvetians. In that situation, he received intelligence that the squadron of horse called Sylla's squadron, at that time quartered on the banks of the Po, had sworn fidelity to Vitellius. They had formerly served under Vitellius, when he was the proconsular governor of Africa. Nero, when he projected an expedition into



Egypt, ordered them to sail for that country; but, being soon after alarmed by the commotions stirred up by Vindex, he called them back to Italy, where they remained from that time. Their officers, unacquainted with Otho, and closely connected with Vitellius, espoused the interest of the latter. By representing to the men the strength of the legions then on their march to the invasion of Italy, and by extolling the valour of the German armies, they drew the whole squadron into their party. As some proof of their zeal for their new prince, they attracted to his interest the chief municipal towns on the other side of the Po, namely, Mediolanum, Novaria, Eporedia, and Vercellæ. Of this fact Cæcina was apprised by despatches from the officers. But a single squadron, he knew, was not sufficient to defend so large a tract of country. In order to reinforce them, he sent forward the cohorts of Gaul, Lusitania, and Britain, with the succours from Germany, and the squadron of horse called the Ala Petrina. How he himself should pass into Italy, was his next consideration. His first plan was to march over the Rhætian mountains, in order to make a descent into Noricum, where Petronius Urbicus, the governor of the province, supposed to be a partisan in Otho's service, was busy in collecting forces, and destroying the bridges over the rivers. But this enterprise was soon relinquished. The detachment already sent forward might be cut off, and, after all, the secure possession of Italy was the important object. The issue of the war, wherever decided, would draw after it all inferior places, and Noricum would fall, by consequence, into the hands of the conqueror. He therefore ordered the reserves to proceed over the Penine heights, and marched the heavy armed legions over the Alps, through all the rigours of the winter season.

71. Otho, in the mean time, to the surprise of all, ceased to loiter in voluptuousness and inglorious ease; he postponed his pleasures, suppressed his luxury, and framed his whole deportment suitably to the dignity of empire. And yet the change created increased terror: men knew that his virtues were counterfeited, and they dreaded a return of his former vices. He ordered Marius Celsus, the consul elect, whom he had put in irons in order to rescue him from the soldiers, to appear before him in the Capitol. To acquire the fame of clemency, by releasing a man of illustrious character, and well known to be an enemy to Otho and his party, was the object of his ambition. Celsus, with unshaken constancy, confessed the crime of adhering faithfully to Galba, and challenged his

gratitude for the example he had set. Otho, not because he forgave him, but lest his enemy should suspect the sincerity of his reconciliation, at once received Celsus among his intimate friends, and, in a short time afterwards, appointed him one of his generals to conduct the war; and Celsus, as it were by a fatality, continued strictly faithful to Otho, and thus brought ruin upon himself. The clemency of the prince gave great satisfaction to the leading men at Rome; the populace applauded, and even with the soldiers, who admired the virtue which had excited their anger, it was not ill-received.

72. The joy excited on this occasion was followed by an event no less acceptable, but for reasons of a different nature. Sophonius Tigellinus, a man of low parentage, stained in his youth with the worst impurities, and in his advanced years, abandoned to lechery. Having been rapidly elevated, by the help of his vices, to the command, first of the city cohorts, afterwards of the prætorian guards, and other offices due to virtue only, he soon gave way to cruelty, then to avarice and the enormities of maturer years. Having gained an entire ascendant over the affections of Nero, he was, in some instances, the adviser of the horrors committed by that prince, and in others the chief actor, without the knowledge of his master, whom, in the end, he deserted and betrayed. Hence it was that the blood of none was ever demanded with such importunate clamour by the men who detested the memory of Nero, and those who regretted him, though under opposite feelings. During the short reign of Galba he lived secure under the protection of Titus Vinius, who alleged that he had saved the life of his daughter; and so he undoubtedly had: but humanity could not have been his motive, so much innocent blood as he had shed; but to secure a refuge thereafter. Such, at all times, is the policy of the worst of men: placing no trust in the continuance of their present prosperity, they dread a reverse of fortune, and lay up for themselves in private gratitude a refuge against public odium. The consequence is, that they are wholly unconcerned about innocence, and look only to the reciprocation of impunity. But the friendship of Vinius, who was still remembered with detestation, was an additional spur to the populace. They crowded together from all quarters; they surrounded the palace; they filled the forum; and in the circus and the theatre, where licentiousness is most apt to show itself, they clamoured, with a degree of violence little short of sedition, for the punishment of a vile malefactor. Tigellinus was then at the

baths of Sinuessa. Orders were sent to him to put a period to his life. He received the fatal news in a circle of his concubines; he took leave with tenderness; and after mutual embraces, and other unseemly delays, he cut his throat with a razor; by the pusillanimity of his last moments aggravating even the infamy of his former life.

73. About the same time, the execution of Calvia Crispinilla was demanded by the public voice: but by various artifices, in which the duplicity of the prince covered him with dishonour, she was saved from danger. She had been, in the reign of Nero, the professed teacher of lascivious pleasures, and, in the various scenes of that emperor, the caterer for his appetites. She passed afterwards into Africa, and, having instigated Clodius Macer to revolt, was known to have been an accomplice in the plot to cause a famine in the city of Rome. But being married soon after to a man of consular rank, and, by that connection, gaining a powerful interest, during the reigns of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, she lived in perfect security. In the following reign, her riches and her want of children placed her in a flourishing state: two circumstances, which, in good as well as evil times, are sure to have weight.

74. Otho, in the mean time, sent frequent letters to Vitellius, in the alluring style of female persuasion; he offered him money, favour, and whatever retreat he chose for his voluptuous enjoyments. Vitellius offered similar terms; at first in a soothing strain: and both displaying the most absurd and degrading hypocrisy. Then in a tone of angry altercation, they charged each other with criminal pleasures and flagitious deeds. Both with truth. Otho recalled the deputies, who had been sent by Galba, and, in their room, despatched others to the German army, to the Italic legion, and the troops quartered at Lyons, with instructions to negotiate in the name of the senate. The men employed in this embassy tarried with Vitellius, and, by their prompt compliance, left little room to think that they were detained by force. Under pretence of doing honour to the embassy, Otho had sent a detachment of the prætorian guards. Not suffering them to mix with the soldiers, Vitellius ordered them to return without delay. Fabius Valens took the opportunity to write, in the name of the German army, to the prætorian guards. His letters, in a style of magnificence, set forth the strength of the party, and, at the same time, offered terms of accord. He condemned the forward zeal, with which

they presumed to transfer to Otho an empire which had been so long before assigned to Vitellius.

75. He so mingled promises with threats as to treat the prætorians as men unequal in the war, while assuring them that they would lose nothing by peace. These letters, however, were without effect. The prætorians continued firm in their duty, But secret emissaries were sent by Otho into Germany, and others by Vitellius to Rome. Both parties missed their aim. Those of Vitellius escaped unhurt amidst so vast a concourse of people, where all were strangers to each other; while, on the other hand, in a camp where all were known to each other, the men employed by Otho were soon discovered by the novelty of their faces. Vitellius sent letters to Titianus, the brother of Otho, threatening, if any violence was offered to his mother or his children, to make reprisals, and put both him and his son to death. Both families remained unhurt. As long as Otho lived, fear might be the motive: Vitellius, as conqueror, obtained the praise of acting from clemency.

76. The first occurrence that inspired Otho with confidence in his cause, was an account from Illyricum that the legions of Dalmatia, of Pannonia, and Mæsia, had declared in his favour. Advices from Spain brought the like intelligence; and in a public edict, honourable mention was made of Cluvius Rufus, the governor of the province; but immediately after, it was ascertained that Spain had gone over to Vitellius. Not even the people of Aquitaine, though, under the influence of Julius Cordus, they had sworn obedience to Otho, continued long firm. Everywhere affection and truth were banished. Fear, and the necessity of the times, compelled men to shift from side to side. The same principle of fear attached Narbon Gaul to Vitellius. A party in force, and near at hand, found no difficulty in bringing them over. The distant provinces, and all places separated by the sea, adhered to Otho, not from regard for his party, but because there was vast weight in the name of the city, and in the assumption of the authority of the senate. Besides this, Otho, being the first announced in foreign parts, had pre-occupied their minds. The army in Judæa under Vespasian, and that in Syria under Mucianus, swore fidelity to Otho. Egypt, and all the provinces eastward, acknowledged his authority. The same submission prevailed in Africa, the people of Carthage having set the example. Without waiting for the authority of Vipsanius Apronianus, the proconsul, a public treat was given by Crescens, one of

Nero's freedmen (for it is usual in evil times for such characters as Crescens to put themselves forward in public affairs), in testimony of their joy at the recent succession; and many other things were done by the populace in a premature and intemperate manner. The rest of Africa followed the example of Carthage.

77. In this posture of affairs, while the armies and the several provinces embraced opposite interests, it was evident that Vitellius, to secure his title, had nothing left but the decision of the sword. Otho, in the mean time, remained at Rome, discharging all the functions of the sovereign power, as if he was established in profound tranquillity. His conduct, in some instances, was such as became the dignity of the state; but his measures, for the most part, were hastily adopted, the mere expedients of the day. He named himself and his brother Titianus joint consuls, to continue in office till the calends of March. For the two following months, with a view to conciliate the German army, he appointed Verginius, and gave him for his colleague Pompeius Vopiscus. For the nomination of the latter he pretended motives of friendship; but, as men of penetration thought, his real view was to pay court to the people of Vienne. With regard to future consuls, no alteration was made in the arrangement settled by Nero or by Galba. Cælius Sabinus and his brother Flavius were to succeed for the months of May and June. From the first of July to September, Arrius Antoninus and Marius Celsus were to be in office. Nor did even Vitellius, after his victory, disturb this order of succession. Otho thought proper to grant the augural and pontifical dignities, as the summit of civil honours, to senators grown grey in public stations; and as a solace to the young patricians lately recalled from banishment, he recompensed them with the sacerdotal honours which had been enjoyed by their ancestors. Cadius Rufus, Pedius Blæsus, and Sævinius Pomtinus, who under Claudius or Nero had been charged with extortion, and expelled the senate, were restored to their rank. In pardoning them it was thought proper to give the name of treason to what was in fact avarice; for such was the odium that attached to the law of treason at that time, that even good laws were defeated under it.

78. Otho, by similar acts of liberality, essayed to work upon the minds of men in the cities and provinces. To the colonies of Hispalis and Emerita, he added a number of families: the Lingones were honoured with the privi-

leges of Roman citizens, and to the province of Bætica all the Moorish cities were annexed. The new codes of laws given to Cappadocia and Africa, were rather the visions of a moment than lasting possessions. Even while occupied in these measures, for which an apology might be found in the force of present circumstances, and considerations of urgent importance, he was not forgetful of his amours, but procured the restoration of Poppæa's statues by a decree of the senate. There is reason to think, that, with a view to popularity, he intended to celebrate the memory of Nero with public honours. Many were for erecting the statues of that emperor, and even proposed it as a public measure. The populace and the soldiers, as if they meant to decorate their emperor with additional splendour, saluted him by the title of NERO OTHO. He himself held the honour in abeyance; perhaps unwilling to reject it, perhaps ashamed to accept it.

79. The public mind being now intent on a civil war, foreign affairs were neglected. Emboldened by this state of things, the Rhoxolians, a people of Sarmatia, who in the preceding winter had cut off two entire cohorts, and thence conceived high hopes, made an irruption into Mæsia, with nine thousand horse. Naturally presumptuous, and elated with their success, they were more intent on plunder than fighting. They prowled about in quest of prey, without order, or apprehension of an enemy, when, on a sudden, they found themselves hemmed in by the third legion and their auxiliaries. The Romans advanced in order of battle. The Sarmatians, overloaded with booty, were taken by surprise. On a damp and slippery soil, the swiftness of their horses was of no use. Unable to retreat, they were cut to pieces, more like men bound in fetters, than soldiers armed for the field of battle. It may seem strange, but it is not less true, that the courage of the Sarmatians has no inward principle, but depends altogether upon external circumstances. In an engagement with the infantry, nothing can be more dastardly; in an onset of the cavalry, they are almost irresistible. But on this occasion, the day being rainy, and there being a thaw, neither their weapons, long spears, nor sabres of an enormous size, which they wield with both hands, were of any service, from the slipping of their horses and the weight of their coats of mail; for their chiefs wear coats of mail, formed with plates of iron, or the tough hides of animals, impenetrable to the enemy, but to themselves an incumbrance so unwieldy, that he

who falls in battle is never able to rise again. They were also overwhelmed by the depth and softness of the snow. The Romans, unincumbered by their breastplates, and galling their enemy with their missive weapons or their lances, and, when occasion served, coming to close quarters, smote the defenceless Sarmatians with their light swords, for the Sarmatians are not accustomed to protect themselves with shields. The few who escaped from the slaughter fled for refuge to their fens and marshes, and there died of their wounds, or perished under the inclemency of the season. An account of this transaction being received at Rome, a triumphal statue was decreed to Marcus Aponius then governor of Mæsia. Fulvius Aurelius, Julianus Titius, and Numisius Lupus, all three commanders of legions, obtained the consular ornaments: while Otho was delighted with the occurrence, and assumed the merit of the victory, boasting that he too was fortunate in war, and that, by his generals and his armies, he had aggrandised the commonwealth.

80. Meanwhile, from a cause of a trifling nature, and threatening no kind of danger, a violent sedition well nigh involved the city in ruin. The seventeenth cohort, then quartered at Ostia, had orders to remove to Rome. The care of providing them with arms was committed to Varius Crispinus, a tribune of the prætorian bands. That officer, to execute his orders with the less noise, opened the magazine of arms, and ordered the waggons of the cohort to be loaded at the close of day. The lateness of the hour filled the men with suspicion; the intention seemed dark and dangerous, and the affectation of secrecy had the effect of producing tumult. The soldiers were in liquor, and the sight of their arms suggested a desire to use them. They murmured, they complained; they charged the tribunes and centurions with treachery, declaring aloud, that a dark conspiracy was formed, with intention to arm the slaves and domestics of the senators against the life of Otho. Some were stupified with liquor, and comprehended nothing: the profligate availed themselves of the opportunity to commit plunder; and the multitude, as usual, were ready to mix in any sudden commotion. Those who regarded discipline and good order were undistinguished in the dark. The tribune who attempted to restrain their fury, and the strictest of the centurions, were murdered on the spot. The soldiers seized their arms; they mounted their horses, and, entering the city sword in hand, rushed in a body to the imperial palace.

81. Otho was engaged at a grand entertainment, to

which he had invited the most distinguished of both sexes. A sudden terror seized the whole company. Was it an accidental fray among the soldiers, or the perfidy of the emperor? would it be more dangerous to stay and be taken; or fly and disperse? Now they made a show of resolution; now their fears showed themselves: at the same time fixing their eyes on Otho. As usual when suspicion is awakened in the mind, they were afraid of Otho, while he stood trembling for himself; alarmed as much on account of the danger which threatened the senate as his own, he ordered the two prætorian commanders to go forth, in order to appease the tumult, and advised his guests to depart as quickly as possible. Then indeed the magistrates threw aside the ensigns of their office, on all hands, and dispensed with their friends and their attendants. Old men and women of distinction wandered about in the dark, they knew not whither. Few dared to venture towards their own habitations. The greatest part sought precarious shelter at the houses of their friends and the meanest of their dependents.

82. The madness of the soldiers was not to be controlled. They burst the palace gates, and rushed forward to the banqueting-room, demanding a sight of Otho. Julius Martialis, one of the tribunes, and Vitellius Saturninus, the præfect of the legion, in opposing the torrent were both wounded. Nothing was to be seen but arms, and nothing heard but threats, now against the centurions, and, at times, against the whole body of the senate: the soldiers, in a state of frantic alarm, of which they knew not the cause, having no particular victim in view, demanded liberty to slaughter indiscriminately. At length Otho, forgetting the majesty of empire, stood upon his couch, and by tears and supplications succeeded, but with great difficulty, in restraining them. The men retired to the camp with a sullen spirit, and not without guilt. On the following day Rome had the appearance of a city taken by assault. The houses were shut, the streets deserted, the populace in a general panic. The soldiers wandered about with eyes fixed on the earth, discontented rather than repentant. The two præfects, Licinius Proculus and Plotius Firmus, went round to the several companies, and harangued the men, each according to his own peculiar temper, in soothing terms, or in a style of reproach. A distribution of five thousand sesterces to each man concluded the business. The tumult over, Otho ventured to enter the camp. The tribunes and centurions gathered round him, but without the military ornaments of their



rank, praying to be dismissed from the service, that they might live in ease and safety. The soldiers felt the request as a reproach. They expressed their willingness to return to their duty, and, of their own motion, desired to see the authors of the insurrection brought to punishment.

83. In this conjuncture, when the times were big with danger, and a discordant soldiery heightened the distraction; when all the best men called for a reform of the present disorders, but the common herd and the majority, who liked nothing so well as tumult and insurrections, under the conduct of an ambitious leader, might be more easily impelled to a civil war, in a scene of tumult and rapine; Otho, reflecting that power obtained by guilt is not to be maintained by a sudden transition to order, and the rigour of ancient manners, and yet distressed at the danger that hung over the city and the Roman senate, after weighing the matter in all its bearings, delivered himself to the following effect: "I come not now, my fellow-soldiers, to excite your zeal for me, nor to add new ardour to your courage by exhortation: of both, to your honour be it spoken, you have enough, and to spare. But I come to request that you would moderate the impetuosity of your courage, and put limits to your affection for me. In the late tumult, it was not the love of plunder, nor ill-will, that impelled you: motives from which discord and mutiny have broken out in various armies. Nor was it the fear of danger, or so much as a wish to shrink from your duty. It was your excessive regard for me, which gave you up to the impulse of passion, rather than to prudence: for where judgment does not direct, it often happens that the most honourable motives of action produce fatal results. We are going forth to a war. And must all intelligence be communicated to the army? Must every secret be disclosed? And must councils of war be held in a public assembly of the soldiers? Does the reason of things, and the opportunity, which must be seized at once or lost for ever, allow such a mode of proceeding. It is as fitting that the soldier should be ignorant of some things, as that he should know others. The authority of generals, and the strictness of discipline, are such, that even the tribunes and the centurions must often receive their orders without a reason assigned. If every subaltern may discuss the reasons of his orders, discipline is at an end, and the authority of the commander falls to the ground. And shall the soldier, even at such a juncture, seize his arms in the dead of night? Shall one

or two drunken men (in last night's frenzy I do not believe there were more) imbrue their hands in the blood of a centurion and a tribune, and rush into the pavilion of their general?

84. " You, my fellow-soldiers, have transgressed thus in your zeal for me. But amidst that general hurry and confusion, and in the gloom of midnight darkness, an opportunity might have been given for an attack on me. Give Vitellius and his satellites the power of choosing, and what greater curse could they invoke? what calamity could they call down upon us, so much to be dreaded, as a turbulent and factious spirit, and all the evils of discord and sedition?—that the soldier should refuse to obey his centurion; the centurion his tribune; and that hence the cavalry and the foot soldiers, without order or distinction, should rush into destruction? It is implicit obedience, rather than wrangling about orders, that gives to military operations their energy. The army that shows itself, in time of peace, the most quiet and orderly, is sure to be the most formidable in the day of battle. Let it be yours to arm in the cause of your country, and to face the enemy with heroic valour; and leave to me the direction and guidance of your courage. The guilt of last night extends to a few only; two only shall expiate the offence. And you, the rest, bury in oblivion the horrors of that shameful tumult; and may no other army hear those dreadful imprecations uttered against a Roman senate. That venerable body, the head of the empire, and the ornaments of all the provinces, not even those Germans, whom, above all others, Vitellius is exciting against us, would dare to demand for punishment. And could any of the sons of Italy, and the genuine youth of Rome, demand for blood and slaughter, an order, by whose splendour and renown we dazzle the low and obscure party of Vitellius? Some states, it is true, have been induced to join his standard; he has the appearance of an army; but the senate is on our side. The commonwealth is with us; our enemies are the enemies of Rome. And when I mention Rome, do you imagine that it consists in walls, and buildings, and a pile of stones? Those mute and senseless edifices may moulder away, and rise again; but the stability of empire, the peace of nations, your fate and mine, are established on the safety of the senate. Romulus, the father and founder of the city, instituted, with solemn auspices, that sacred order. From that time till the establishment of the Cæsars, it has been preserved inviolate; and as we received it from our ancestors, let us transmit it to our pos-

terity: for as from the people at large the senate is supplied, so from the senate you derive your princes."

85. This speech, adapted as it was to rebuke and soothe the irritated soldiery, as well as the moderation of the prince, who punished only two of the mutineers, gave general satisfaction; and those who were too fierce to be controlled, were quieted for the present. Rome, however, was not in a state of tranquillity. A constant din of arms was heard, and warlike preparations were seen in every quarter. The soldiers did not, as before, riot in tumultuous bodies; but, being dispersed throughout the city, they insinuated themselves into houses in disguise, where they watched, with malignant purpose, the motions of all, who, by their nobility, their wealth, or their talents, were eminent enough to be objects of calumny. A report prevailed at the same time, that Vitellius had a number of emissaries dispersed among the populace, to act as spies, and observe the state of parties. Hence jealousy, mistrust, and fear. No man thought himself safe under his own roof. Abroad and under the eye of the public the alarm was still greater. Whatever was the rumour of the day, all were obliged to set their faces for the occasion: if bad, they were afraid of seeming to despond; and, if propitious, unwilling to be thought backward in demonstrations of joy. The fathers assembled in the senate-house had a hard task to observe the due mean under all circumstances, lest their silence might be thought sullen discontent, and liberty of speech excite jealousy. Otho too, so lately a subject, and a flatterer himself, was acquainted with the arts of adulation. The fathers, therefore, tortured their expression, and diversified them in all manner of ways, while calling Vitellius a public enemy and a parricide. Men, who looked forward to their own security, were content with hackneyed declamation; others poured out well-merited invectives, but in the midst of noise and clamour, and when a number were speaking at once, or they rendered themselves unintelligible by a confused torrent of words.

86. A number of prodigies, announced from different quarters, aggravated the panic. The goddess of victory, in the vestibule of the Capitol, let the reins of two horses, harnessed to her chariot, fall from her hand. A form of more than human size was seen to issue from the chapel of Juno. In an island in the Tiber, the statue of Julius Cæsar, without any apparent cause, on a day perfectly serene and calm, turned round from the west to the east. In Etruria an ox was said to have spoken; animals brought forth monstrous births; and to these were added

a variety of preternatural appearances, such as in rude and barbarous ages were observed even in profound peace, though of late years they are only heard of in a time of public distress. But the great source of alarm, was an inundation of the Tiber, coupling as it did a present calamity with an omen of future ill. The waters swelled above their banks, and overflowed the adjacent country; the Sublician bridge was carried away by the flood; and the ruins that fell in, obstructing the course of the river, the torrent was thrown back, so that not only the level parts of the city, but even the higher grounds, where no such casualty was apprehended, were covered with water. The people in the streets were carried away, and numbers were cut off in their shops, and in their beds. The common people were exposed to famine, want of employment, and scarcity of the materials of subsistence. The stagnant waters sapped the foundation of the plebeian's houses, and when the flood returned into its channel, they fell. The sensation produced by this disaster was no sooner over, than a new occurrence spread a general terror. Otho was preparing to set out on his expedition: his way was over the field of Mars, and the Flaminian road; but both places were impassable. This circumstance, though accidental, or the effect of natural causes, was magnified into a prodigy, by which the gods denounced the slaughter of armies, and a train of public calamities.

87. Having purified the city, and weighed the various plans for the conduct of the war, as the Penine and the Cottian Alps, with all the passes into the Gauls, were in the possession of Vitellius and his armies, Otho resolved to make a descent on Narbon Gaul, with a fleet well manned, and firmly attached to his party; for having formed into a legion all who survived the massacre at the Milvian bridge, and had been, by Galba's orders, thrown into prison, he had inspired all the others with the like hopes of preferment. To his fleet he added the city cohorts, and a considerable detachment from the prætorian guards, the strength and flower of his army; and adapted to assist the counsels, and keep an eye upon the fidelity of the generals themselves. The conduct of the expedition was committed to Antonius Novellus and Suedius Clemens, centurions of principal rank, and Æmilius Pacensis, a tribune degraded by Galba, whom he had restored to his rank. A freedman, Oscus, directed the operations of the fleet, having been solicited to act as a spy on better men than himself. The horse and infantry were put under the command of Suetonius Paulinus, Marius

Celsus, and Annius Gallus. But in Licinius Proculus, præfect of the prætorians, Otho reposed his chief confidence. This officer, in time of peace, discharged his duties with ability, but he had seen no service; and by placing in an invidious light the several talents of the generals, the authority of Paulinus, the ardour of Celsus, and the judgment of Gallus, this depraved and crafty character rose superior to men of unassuming worth; a task very easy to be performed.

88. About that time Cornelius Dolabella was, by his order, conveyed under a guard to the Aquinian colony, to be kept out of the way in undisguised but not close confinement. His only crime was the antiquity of his family, and his affinity to Galba. Several magistrates, and others of consular rank, had it in command to attend Otho on his expedition, not to assist in the war by their counsels or their valour, but to swell the pomp of the emperor's retinue. In the number was Lucius Vitellius, who was suffered to mix with the rest of the train, undistinguished either as the brother of one emperor, or the enemy of another. During these preparations, Rome presented a scene of solicitude and confusion. No order of men was exempt from fear or anger. The principal senators, enfeebled by age, or enervated by a long peace; the nobility, sunk in sloth and unwarlike habits; the Roman knights, without any military experience—the more they assumed an air of confidence, the more clearly their fears were seen. Some, on the contrary, bought with vain and senseless ostentation the most splendid armour, horses for parade, all the conveniences of a luxurious table, and incentives to inordinate appetite, as if such implements were a necessary part of their camp-equipage. The wise and moderate thought of nothing but their own safety and the public welfare; while the vain and heartless, whose views did not extend to remote consequences, filled their minds with chimerical expectations; and all who were bankrupts both in fame and fortune, hoped to find in the distractions of their country that security, which in quiet times, they had never known.

89. The lower orders and the people, though from their vast numbers exempt from public cares, began, however, to feel the ill effects of war. They saw the whole revenue exhausted in the service of the army; they laboured under a scarcity of provisions, whereas in the troubles stirred up by Vindex, those inconveniences had not extended to the people, as the city was tranquil, and that commotion was in the remote parts of Gaul, a foreign affair between the

legions and the provincial insurgents. For from the time when Augustus established the power of the Cæsars, the wars which the Roman people carried on, brought honour and solicitude to one person only. Under Tiberius and Caligula, the evils of peace were the dreaded calamities. The attempt of Scribonianus to shake the authority of Claudius was crushed as soon as discovered. Nero was undone by rumours and vague intelligence, not by force of arms. In the present juncture the pressure was felt at home. The fleets and legions, and, contrary to the usual practice, the prætorian bands and city cohorts, were obliged to take the field. The east and west, and the provinces in rear of the leading chiefs, were up in arms; and, under better generals, there were ample materials for a long and difficult war. When Otho was setting out, a scruple was started to deter him from proceeding, till the ceremony of depositing the sacred shields was performed. He repudiated all idea of delay as having been the ruin of Nero, and would be so to himself. Cæcina by this time had passed the Alps; a motive which stimulated him irresistibly to exertion.

90. On the day preceding the ides of March, Otho commended the care of the commonwealth to the wisdom of the fathers, and ordered the property of such as had been recalled from banishment, since the death of Nero, to be restored to the respective owners; an act in strict conformity with justice, in appearance munificent, but of little use, as the public officers had long since seized the whole. Otho then harangued the people; he talked in a pompous style of the consent of the senate and people in his favour, and of the majesty of the Roman citizens; but mentioned the adverse party in terms of mitigated censure, imputing to the legions error in judgment rather than a turbulent spirit. Of Vitellius he made no mention; perhaps from motives of delicacy, or perhaps the writer of the speech, looking forward to his own safety, abstained from invective against Vitellius. For as in all military operations Suetonius Paulinus and Marius Celsus were Otho's advisers; so in matters of civil administration, he availed himself of the talents of Galerius Trachalus. There were too some who recognised the peculiar style of forensic eloquence, much in vogue at the bar, and calculated to fill the ear from its copious and high-sounding character. In conformity with the prevailing spirit of adulation, the populace received him with acclamations, and expressions of extravagant and hollow applause. They vied with each other in demonstrations of zeal and invocation of bless-

ings, as though Cæsar the dictator, or Augustus the emperor, were the object of their attentions: nor were they influenced by fear or love of him, but by an inordinate passion for slavery; and, after the manner of domestic slaves, each was stimulated by selfish motives, and no longer felt any concern for the honour of the community. Otho, on his departure, left the preservation of the peace of the city, and the administration of the government, to the discretion of his brother, Salvius Titianus.

# THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

## BOOK II.

IN a distant part of the world fortune was now concerting the commencement of that series of events that originated a dynasty, under which the commonwealth experienced the extreme vicissitudes of the highest happiness and the direst affliction; and the princes of which enjoyed supreme felicity, or met with a disastrous fate. While Galba still possessed the sovereign power, Titus Vespasian, by order of his father, set out from Judæa, for the purpose, as he stated, of paying respect to the emperor, and because he was arrived at years to begin the career of public honours: but the common people, who delight in surnises, believed he came to be adopted heir to the empire, and circulated the rumour. The advanced age of Galba, his want of issue, and the busy spirit of the populace in fixing upon a number of persons, as long as no one was selected, added to the probability of the report; which derived additional credibility from the genius of Titus himself, which was adequate to the highest elevation; from the grace and majestic style of his person; the flourishing state of Vespasian; prophetic responses; and even casual circumstances, which are regarded as omens of an event which the mind is previously inclined to believe. In the city of Corinth in Achaia, Titus received intelligence of the death of Galba, and assurances from persons who had come there, that Vitellius was in motion at the head of an army. He carefully revolved the matter in his mind, and summoning a council of his most confidential friends, weighed all the circumstances of his predicament on either supposition. "If he proceeded to Rome, the homage intended for a prince now no more, would have no merit with his successor; and to remain a hostage in the custody of Otho, or Vitellius, would, most probably, be his lot. On the other hand, if he returned, he must inevitably give umbrage to the conqueror; and yet, as it happened while the issue of the war was uncertain, and especially if Vespasian should join the party, his son would be excused. But if Vespasian



should put in a claim for the government, he must cease to think of offences amidst the cares of war."

2. After oscillating for some time between hope and fear, in consequence of these and similar reflections, he yielded to hope. A change so sudden was by some imputed to his love of queen Berenice. It is true he was not indifferent to her; but it interfered not with his duties. Titus in his youth indulged in pleasures, and was more distinguished for self-control in his own than in his father's reign. He set sail from Corinth, and after steering along the coast of Achaia and Asia, which lay to the left, he directed his course towards Rhodes and Cyprus. From those islands he went across the open sea to the coast of Syria. At Cyprus curiosity led him to visit the temple of the Paphian Venus, famous for the worship paid by the inhabitants, and the conflux of strangers to it. It will not perhaps be tedious to trace the origin of its worship, to describe the situation of the temple, and the form of the goddess, differing as it does entirely from what is seen in any other place.

3. The founder of the temple, if we believe ancient tradition, was king *Ærias*; a name ascribed by some writers to the goddess herself. According to a more recent opinion, the temple was built and dedicated by king *Cinyras*, on the spot where the goddess, after emerging from her native waves, was gently wafted to the shore: the science and practice of divination were imported by *Thamyras*, the Cilician, and it was settled by mutual compact, between the priest and *Cinyras*, the king of the island, that the sacerdotal function should be held by the descendants of their respective families. In process of time, the race of *Thamyras*, willing that the sovereign should be distinguished by a superior prerogative, resigned the conduct of the mysteries, of which their ancestors were the founders. A priest of the royal line only is consulted. For victims, animals of every species are allowed, at the option of the votarist provided he chooses from the male kind only. The fibres of kids are deemed to afford the surest prognostics. The altar is never stained with blood, and, though exposed to the open air, never moistened by rain. Supplications and the pure flame of fire are the only offerings. The statue of the goddess bears no resemblance to the human form: it is round throughout, broad at one end, and gradually tapering to a narrow span at the other, like a goal. The reason of this is unascertained.

4. Titus having viewed the wealth of the temple, the presents of kings, and the other rarities, which the genius

of the Greeks, fond of antiquity, affects to refer to remote and obscure times, first consulted the oracle about his future voyage. A calm sea and a safe passage were promised. He then slew a number of victims, and, in circuitous terms, inquired into his own destiny. The priest, whose name was Sostratus, finding the entrails of several animals agreeing in favourable prognostics, and that the goddess was propitious, answered briefly for the present in high aspirations, but afterwards, at a private interview, laid open the secrets of futurity. Titus, swelling with vast anticipations, proceeded on his voyage, and joined his father, while the armies and provinces of the east were undecided, and contributed immensely to turn the scale. Vespasian had almost brought the Jewish war to a conclusion. Nothing remained but the siege of Jerusalem; an arduous enterprise, not so much on account of the resources of the enemy to endure the difficulties of a siege, as by reason of the hill, and their stubborn superstition. Vespasian, as already mentioned, had three legions under his command, all inured to the service. Mucianus, in a province at peace, was at the head of four legions; emulation, and the gallant exertions of the army under Vespasian, had stimulated them into activity: they were not made soldiers in the field; but being unimpaired by fatigue, they were as efficient as those whom dangers and toils had invigorated. Both had an auxiliary force of horse and foot, besides ships and the support of the kings; and both were in high repute, but for different reasons, and for qualities peculiar to each.

5. Vespasian was prompt and zealous in the service, he was often seen at the head of a march; he went in person to mark out the ground of his camp, and, by night as well as day, thwarting the plans of his enemies by his counsels, and if need were by active operations. In his diet, content with whatever came before him: in his apparel, scarce distinguished from the common men; and if he were free from avarice, quite equal to the generals of antiquity. The pride and riches of Mucianus, on the contrary, lifted him in every thing above the rank of a private citizen. He was a more accomplished speaker, and clever in the ordering and forecast of civil affairs: an admirable compound of princely qualities, if, deducting their vices, their virtues only were combined. Situated as they were in contiguous provinces, Vespasian in Judæa, and Mucianus in Syria, they beheld each other, for some time, with the jealousy of rivals. The death of Nero put an end to their dissensions: from that time they began to

act in concert. Their mutual friends made the first advances towards a reconciliation; afterwards Titus formed the great bond of union between them, and made them sink their criminal jealousies in the common interest. Nature and art had qualified Titus to win the attachment of all characters, even of Mucianus. The tribunes, the centurions, and the common men, were brought over by various means. The diligent met with encouragement, the licentious with indulgence, and, according to the bent of each man's disposition, all were secured by their virtues or their vices.

6. Before the arrival of Titus, both armies had sworn fidelity to Otho, with such speed, as is usual, had they received intelligence of what passed at Rome; while the preparations for a civil war are in their nature slow and difficult. The East, which had long reposed in peace, now, for the first time, began to think of mixing in the feuds that shook the empire. Heretofore the most important civil contests arose in Gaul or Italy, and were decided by the forces of the West. It is true, that Pompey, Cassius, Brutus, and Antony, carried the war across the Mediterranean, and had reason to repent. Syria and Judæa heard of the Cæsars, but seldom saw them. The legions were undisturbed by sedition. Embroiled at different times with the Parthians, they had a few slight conflicts, with varying success. In the late civil war, when every part of the empire was agitated, the East was unmoved. Galba obtained the sovereignty, and the oriental legions acquiesced; but it was no sooner known that Otho and Vitellius were engaged in an impious war against their country than they began to murmur, and calculate their resources, lest while others obtained the rewards of conferring the sovereignty, all they would have to do would be to receive the yoke. Forthwith Syria and Judæa reckoned seven legions, with a large body of auxiliaries: contiguous to these was Egypt, with two legions: in another part, Cappadocia and Pontus, and the forces that lined the frontier of Armenia. Asia, and the rest of the provinces, were provided with men and money. All the islands, and the sea itself, propitious and safe for the transport of the materials of the war; and the Mediterranean, which afforded them facilities for making hostile preparations in security.

7. The zeal of the soldiers was no secret to the commanders in chief; but they judged it best to wait the issue of the war in Europe; aware that, between the victor and the vanquished, a sincere coalition never can succeed, and

whether fortune favoured the arms of Otho or Vitellius, the consequence would be the same. The pride of victory is apt to corrupt even the ablest generals. Discord, sloth, and luxury would be the ruin of both: their own vices would destroy them; one in the course of the war, the other in victory. For these reasons they postponed operations till an opportunity arose. Vespasian and Mucianus, lately reconciled to each other, concurred in this opinion, which had been beforehand adopted by their friends. Men of principle acted with a view to the public good; many were impelled by the allurements of plunder, others by the precarious condition of their domestic affairs. Good and evil, from different motives, but with uniform zeal, were all eager for war.

8. About this time, a report that Nero was still alive, and on his way to the East, excited a false alarm through Achaia and Asia. The accounts of his death had been various; which caused the more to assert that he was alive, and to believe it. In the course of this work the reader will hear of the attempts of various pretenders, and the fate that attended them. The impostor, in this case, was a slave from Pontus, or, according to some writers, a freedman from Italy, who played with skill on the harp, and had a musical voice. With those talents, and a countenance that resembled Nero superadded, he was the nearer succeeding in the imposture. By immense promises, he drew to his party a number of deserters, whom their poverty compelled to lead a vagrant life. With this crew he put to sea, but was thrown by adverse winds on the isle of Cythnus. At that place he fell in with a party of soldiers on their return from the East. Some of these he enlisted; and such as refused, he ordered to be put to death. Having plundered the merchants and armed the stoutest of their slaves, he endeavoured to seduce Sisenna, a centurion from Syria, who happened to land on the island of Cythnus, on his way to greet the prætorian bands in the name of the Syrian army, and, in token of friendship, to present two right hands clasping each other. Apprehending danger from so bold an adventurer, Sisenna made his escape from the island. A general panic seized the inhabitants. Numbers were elated to find the name of Nero so rife, hating the existing system, and wishing for a revolution.

9. The fame of this pretended Nero gained strength every day, when by a sudden accident the illusion vanished. It happened that Calpurnius Asprenas, whom Galba had appointed governor of Galatia and Pamphylia, arrived at the isle of Cythnus, with two galleys that escorted him,

from the fleet at Misenum. The commanders of the ships were summoned, in the name of Nero, to attend their lawful prince. The impostor, with an air of dejection, implored their assistance, by the duty which they owed him, and prayed for safe conduct either to Syria or to Ægypt. The masters of the galleys, either wavering or intending to deceive, desired time to speak to their sailors, and promised to return, when they had prepared their minds. But Asprenas was duly informed of all that passed, and, at his instance, the ship was seized, and the pretended emperor, whoever he was, put to death. The person of the man, his eyes, his hair, and the ferocity of his countenance, were remarkable. His body was conveyed to Asia, and afterwards sent to Rome.

10. In a city, distracted by internal discord, and, amid so many revolutions, fluctuating between liberty and anarchy, even trivial transactions excited violent commotions. Vibius Crispus, a man, for his wealth, his power, and his talents, accounted an eminent, rather than a good citizen, cited to the bar of the senate, Annus Faustus, a Roman knight, and, in the reign of Nero, an informer by profession. In the beginning of Galba's reign, it was ordained by a decree, that all causes against the race of public accusers should be fairly heard. This law, however salutary, was enforced or relaxed as the person accused happened to be of weight and consequence, or poor and friendless: it was, notwithstanding, still in force; and Crispus, availing himself of it, exerted all his influence to ruin the man who had been the prosecutor of his brother. In the senate his party was strong and powerful. Without hearing the criminal, the fathers were for condemning him to immediate execution. With others, on the contrary, nothing served the cause of the accused so much as the overwhelming influence of the prosecutor. They insisted that the specific charge should be exhibited, and a day fixed, when the defendant, however guilty, should be allowed the common right of being heard in his defence. They prevailed in the first instance, and the hearing of the cause was adjourned for a few days. The trial, at length, came on, and Faustus was condemned, but not with that universal assent of the people, which a life of iniquity might have warranted. The accuser, it was well known; had been concerned in similar prosecutions, and received the profits of his trade. Men rejoiced to see the punishment of a crime so dangerous and detestable; but the triumph of a notorious offender gave disgust.

11. Meanwhile, the affairs of Otho, at the outset, wore

a favourable aspect. The armies in Dalmatia and Pannonia were on their march to join him. A detachment of two thousand advanced by rapid marches, while the main body followed at moderate distances. The legions that composed this force were the seventh, which had been raised by Galba; the eleventh, the thirteenth, and fourteenth, all veterans in the service, and the last in great renown for the vigour with which they quelled the insurrection in Britain, and still more famous for the choice made by Nero, who had selected that corps as the best in the empire. Whence they remained to the last faithful to that emperor, and, after his death, declared with equal zeal in favour of Otho. Knowing their own strength, they were inspired with confidence; but that confidence made them proceed on their march by slow journeys. The cavalry and auxiliary cohorts outstripped the body of the legions. The troops that marched from Rome were a formidable body. They consisted of five prætorian cohorts, several squadrons of horse, and the first legion. To these were added two thousand gladiators; a degrading resource, but in civil commotions often employed, even by strict generals. Annius Gallus and Vestricius Spurinna were sent at the head of this whole force, with orders to take post on the banks of the Po, as the first project had proved abortive, Cæcina having already passed the Alps; whereas Otho had hoped that he might be prevented from advancing out of Gaul. Otho followed with a select detachment of body-guards, and the rest of the prætorian cohorts, and veterans of that corps, and a prodigious number of marines. On the march he betrayed no symptom of sloth, nor violated discipline by luxurious indulgence: he advanced on foot, at the head of the colours, with an iron breastplate, fiercelooking and rough; a contrast to his former character.

12. Fortune seemed to open a flattering prospect, as he was master of the greatest part of Italy, and by means of his fleets had the command of the sea, even to the foot of the maritime Alps. To pass over those mountains, and make a descent on Narbon Gaul, he committed to the conduct of Suedius Clemens, Antonius Novellus, and Æmilius Paccensis. The last was loaded with irons by his own soldiers. Antonius Novellus lost all influence; and Suedius Clemens, in the exercise of his authority, yielded too much to the humours of his men; at once allowing himself to be worked upon, against the propriety of discipline, and over-eager for action. It seemed as if the parts they came to did not belong to Italy, nor the lands and habitations to

their native country: they burned, destroyed, and plundered, as if the war had been in a foreign realm, against the enemies of their country; and the effects were the more deplorable, because the people, having entertained no fear, had prepared no defence. The fields were covered with grain and cattle; the houses were open; and the owners, who, with their wives and children by their side, went forth to meet the army in the security of peace, were involved in all the calamities of war. Marius Maturus was, at that time, governor of the maritime Alps. He resolved to dispute the passage with Otho's troops, and, for that purpose, armed the youth of the country. In the first encounter, the mountaineers were either cut to pieces or put to the rout, as might be expected; since, having been assembled hastily, and unacquainted with military duties or their general, they had no honour to gain by victory, no disgrace to incur by flight.

13. An opposition so rash and feeble served only to exasperate the Othonian soldiers, and they vented their fury upon Albium Intemelium, a municipal town; for the late victory was a fruitless advantage, affording neither spoil nor plunder. The peasants had no property, and their arms were of no value. Even prisoners of war could not be made; for they knew the course of the country, and were swift of foot. The soldiers, therefore, glutted their avarice with the effects of harmless men. The odium attaching to this conduct was aggravated by the noble example of a Ligurian woman. She had concealed her child; and the soldiers, persuaded that she had deposited her treasure in the same place, pressing her by torture to tell where she had deposited him, she pointed to her womb, and said, "here my child is sheltered." Nor by any subsequent horrors, or death itself, could she be induced to deviate from that magnanimous reply.

14. Messengers came in breathless haste and alarm to inform Fabius Valens that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul, which had already embraced the interest of Vitellius. The adjacent colonies, by their deputies, were come to sue for protection. Valens despatched two Tungrian cohorts, four squadrons of horse, with the whole cavalry of the Treviri, under the command of Julius Classicus; a detachment from those forces being retained to garrison the port of Foro-Julium, that the colony might not, while the troops marched up the country, lie exposed to an immediate descent from the fleet. Classicus marched against the enemy with twelve troops of horse, and a select body from the cohorts. To these

were added the Ligurian cohort, which had been usually quartered at Forojulium, and five hundred men from Pannonia, not yet formed into companies. Neither side declined an engagement. The line of battle was thus arranged: a body of marines, intermixed with the peasantry, extended up the heights near the sea. The level space between the hills and the coast was occupied by the prætorian soldiers; and, to support them, the fleet stood in close to the shore, drawn up in order of battle, and presenting a formidable front. The Vitellians, consisting of cavalry rather than infantry, stationed their Alpine mountaineers on the ridge of the neighbouring hills, and their cohorts in close array behind the cavalry. The Trevirian squadrons began the attack incautiously. The veterans of Otho's army received them in front, while their peasants, from the high grounds, discharged a volley of stones, and, being expert slingers, annoyed the enemy in flank. They mixed in the lines with the regular soldiers, and, in the hour of victory, the coward and the brave pursued their advantage with equal ardour. The Vitellians, thrown into disorder, were further terrified by an attack on the rear from the fleet. Thus hemmed in on every side, they must have been cut off to a man, if the night had not afforded them a pretext for retreat, and restrained the victorious army from pursuing them.

15. The Vitellians, though defeated, did not remain inactive. With a reinforcement, drawn together in haste, they returned to the charge; and, finding the enemy elate with joy, and by success lulled into security, they assaulted the outposts, put the advanced guard to the sword, forced their way into the camp, and, at the fleet, all was tumult and disorder. The surprise, however, gradually subsiding, the Othonians betook themselves to an adjacent hill, whence, after a little time, they rushed down with great fury. A dreadful slaughter followed. The Tungrian cohorts stood the brunt of the action, till their commanding officers fell under a shower of darts. The Othonians conquered, but their victory was dearly bought. Some of them pursued the flying enemy incautiously, when the Trevirian cavalry wheeled round and cut them off. From this time the two armies remained inactive. As if a truce had taken place, and both sides had agreed that the fleet of one party, and the cavalry of the other, should not make any sudden incursions; the Vitellians retired to Antipolis, a municipal town of Narbon Gaul, and the Othonians to Albigaunum, in the inland part of Liguria.

16. Corsica, Sardinia, and the rest of the islands in



those seas, were kept in subjection to Otho by the fame of the victorious fleet. Corsica, indeed, was well nigh ruined by a wild scheme of the governor, Decimus Pecarius, which, in a war carried on by such powerful adversaries, could be of no advantage, and ended in his own destruction. For from antipathy to Otho, he determined to aid Vitellius with the forces of Corsica, which would have rendered little service if he had succeeded. He summoned a council of the leading men, and communicated his design. Claudius Phirricus, who commanded the galleys on that station, and Quinctius Certus, a Roman knight, objected to the measure, and were put to instant death. The rest of the assembly, who were terrified by this act of violence, as well as the populace, blind and ignorant, but catching the fears of the others, swore fidelity to Vitellius. But when Pacarius began to muster, and train to the use of arms, a race of rude peasants, having no relish for the fatigue of military discipline, they began to consider their inability to support a war. "They were islanders, remote from Germany and the aid of the legions. The fleets of Otho had lately ravaged the maritime countries, though defended by the cohorts and cavalry of Vitellius." This reflection produced a sudden change in every mind. They resolved to act, however, not with open force, but by covert stratagem. When Pacarius, his train of visitors having left him, retired to his bath, the conspirators fell upon him, naked and disarmed, and put him and his attendants to death. Their heads, like those of traitors, were conveyed to Otho by the assassins themselves, who were neither rewarded by that prince, nor punished by Vitellius. Such was the mass of abominations that deformed the times, that they were lost sight of amongst atrocities of greater importance.

17. The cavalry, called the SYLLANIAN SQUADRON, had, as already mentioned, forced their way into Italy, and there fixed the seat of war; not from favour which any one felt for Otho, nor from preference for Vitellius: but by a long peace, their minds had been debased, and prepared for slavery in any shape; ready to support the first who solicited them, and careless about the merits of competitors. The fairest portion of Italy, extending from the Po to the Alps, with all its fertile plains and flourishing cities, was in the possession of Vitellius; the forces sent forward by Cæcina having already penetrated into that quarter. At Cremona a Pannonian cohort laid down their arms; and between Placentia and Ticinum a party of a hundred horse, with a thousand marines, were made

prisoners. In this tide of success, the Po opposed its stream and its banks in vain. Nay, to the Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, the river was no more than a motive to inflame their ardour. They passed over it suddenly, under the walls of Placentia, and, intercepting some of the enemy's scouts, spread such a panic among the rest, that in their alarm they reported, falsely, that Cæcina and his whole army were there.

18. Spurrinna, who commanded at Placentia, was well informed that Cæcina was still at a distance; and, if he should approach, he was determined to keep his men within their works, and not oppose three prætorian cohorts and a thousand vexillaries, with a small body of horse, to a veteran army. But his soldiery, unruly and unskilled in military operations, seized the standards and colours, and sallied forth in a body. The general endeavoured in vain to check their violence; they pointed their weapons at his breast, when holding them back, and spurned at the tribunes and centurions; nay, they even clamoured that Otho was assailed by treason, and that Cæcina was invited to come. Spurrinna became a partaker of the rashness which originated with others, at first perforce, but afterwards with a show of approbation, in hopes, if the sedition subsided, that he might have the greater weight.

19. The Po appearing in sight, and night coming on, it was judged necessary to fortify a camp. This labour, new to men who had only served in the city, abated their ferocity; all the oldest soldiers censured their own credulity, communicated their fears, and pointed out their imminent danger, if Cæcina with a regular army had surrounded their few cohorts in a wide champaign country. Throughout the ranks nothing was now heard but respectful language; and the tribunes and centurions mixing with them, all lauded the sagacity of their general, who had chosen a strong and powerful colony for the seat and centre of the war. At length Spurrinna, choosing rather to convince by reason than to irritate by reproof, leaving some scouts there, marched back to Placentia with the troops, now less excited, and disposed to obey his orders. The walls of the place were repaired; new works were added; the towers were increased; the soldiers were provided with arms; and, what was of greater moment, a spirit of discipline and prompt obedience was diffused through the army. This was the only desideratum: want of courage could not be imputed to Otho's party.

20. On the other hand, Cæcina advanced through Italy

with every attention to discipline, as if he had left his cruelty and love of plunder on the other side of the Alps. His own dress gave offence to the municipalities and colonies, who construed it as indicating arrogance. They felt it as an affront, that, arrayed in a particoloured mantle and drawers, used only by savage nations, he should converse with men habited in the toga. Besides this, the splendid appearance of his wife, Salonina, mounted on a superb horse, adorned with purple, though in itself a matter of no importance, and certainly injurious to no person whatever, was held to be a public insult. Such is the nature of the human mind, disposed at all times to behold with jealousy the sudden elevation of other men, and to demand especially, that he who has been seen in a humble station should know how to rise in the world with moderation. Cæcina passed the Po, and by negotiation and artful promises endeavoured to seduce the leaders of Otho's party. The like insidious game was played against himself. Both sides talked of peace and concord, but they amused each other with words of specious sound, importing nothing. At length Cæcina directed his counsels and cares to the object of assaulting Placentia, in such a manner as should fill his enemies with alarm; well knowing that the influence of his reputation, through the remainder of the war, would depend upon the success which attended his first efforts.

21. The first day, however, exhibited the bravery, rather than the skill, of a veteran army. The soldiers, oppressed with gluttony and intoxicated, advanced to the foot of the walls, without shelter or precaution. In this attack, a magnificent amphitheatre, which stood on the outside of the fortifications, was burnt to the ground. Whether this was occasioned by the brands, hot balls, and other combustibles thrown in by the besiegers, or by the same hurled back from the works, cannot now be ascertained. The common people of the town, prone to suspicions, believed that combustibles had been basely introduced by some of the neighbouring colonists, who saw with envy and jealousy a structure more capacious than any in Italy. The sense of this misfortune, howsoever begun, was lost in the fear of greater afflictions; but, security restored, the inhabitants lamented it as the worst calamity that could befall them. Cæcina was repulsed with considerable loss. The night, on both sides, was employed in preparing works. The Vitellians provided themselves with penthouses, sheds, and mantlets, for sapping the foundation of the walls, and protecting them in the attack.

The besieged were busy in preparing stakes and rafts of timber, with huge heaps of stone, and lead, and brass, in order to break through the works and overwhelm the assailants. On both sides were the love of glory, and the fear of shame; and various were the topics of exhortation. On one side, they magnified the vigour of the legions and the German armies; on the other, the honour of serving in the city, and of the prætorian bands. The Vitellians held up their foes to contempt, as a spiritless and supine soldiery, corrupted by the circus and theatres; the Otho-nians spoke of their enemies as foreigners and aliens: at the same time, lauding and vituperating Otho and Vitellius, their mutual incitements found a more exuberant resource in their censures than in their praises.

22. The day had scarce dawned, when the walls and ramparts were covered with soldiers, and the fields gleamed with arms and men. The legions in close array, and the auxiliaries in separate divisions, began the attack with stones and darts, aimed at the higher parts of the fortifications; and where the works were either impaired by time or thinly manned, the Vitellians attempted a scalade. The German auxiliaries, with their savage war-songs, and, according to the custom of their country, waving their shields over their shoulders, while their bodies were exposed, advancing with impetuous fury; the garrison, with more deliberate aim, discharged their darts. The legionary soldiers, under their penthouses and sheds, battered the foundation of the walls, threw up a mound, and attempted to force the gates. Massy mill-stones, prepared for that very purpose by the besieged, were rolled down with a loud crash, and some of them who had come up to the walls, were thus crushed under the weight; others transixed and expiring, or dreadfully mangled: the confusion and alarm increasing the havoc, and the efforts of the besieged in consequence augmented, the Vitellians retreated with a manifest loss of credit to the party; and Cæcina, feeling ashamed of an enterprise rashly undertaken, resolved to raise the siege and leave a camp, where he had nothing to expect but ridicule, and could not hope to do any good. He repassed the Po, and bent his march towards Cremona. He had not proceeded far, when he was joined by Turullius Cerealis, a principal centurion, who had headed the ranks under him in Germany, and also by Julius Briganticus, a Batavian by birth: the former deserted with a strong body of marine soldiers, and the latter with a small party of horse.

23. Spurrinna, as soon as he was informed of the move-

ments of the enemy, sent despatches to Annius Gallus, with the particulars of the siege, the gallant defence of Placentia, and the measures concerting by Cæcina. Gallus was then on his march, at the head of the first legion, to relieve Placentia, little imagining that a few cohorts would be able to hold out against the strength and valour of the German army. When, however, it was known that Cæcina had abandoned his enterprise, and was then proceeding to Cremona, the legion burned to be led against the enemy. Their impatience rose to a pitch little short of sedition. It was with difficulty that Gallus appeased the tumult, and made them halt at Bedriacum, a village situated between Verona and Cremona, and unhappily famous for the slaughter of two Roman armies. About the same time Martius Macer fought with success near Cremona. With the spirit of enterprise that distinguished him, he embarked the gladiators on the Po, and, making a sudden descent on the opposite bank, fell with fury on the auxiliaries of Vitellius. All who attempted to make head against him were put to the sword; the rest fled with precipitation to Cremona. Macer was not willing to lose by rashness the fruit of his victory. He knew that, by the arrival of fresh forces, the fortune of the day might be changed, and, for that reason, checked the impetuosity of the victorious troops. This excited suspicion amongst Otho's soldiers, who were in the habit of putting the worst construction upon every act whatsoever: according as each man was craven in heart and petulant of tongue, they vied with each other in defaming by various charges, Annius Gallus, Suetonius Paulinus, and Marius Celsus, for these were put in command by Otho also. But the murderers of Galba were the worst incendiaries. Frantic with conscious guilt and fear, they made it their business to embroil, to distract, and throw every thing into confusion. They gave vent to their seditious designs with open insolence, and by clandestine letters infused their venom into the mind of Otho, who was in a state of alarm and agitation, disposed to rely on every abject instrument, and dreading men of worth and honour: in prosperity weak and irresolute, but appearing in a better light when in distress. In his present situation he sent to Rome for his brother Titianus, and committed to him the conduct of the war. The interval was filled by Celsus and Paulinus with active enterprise and brilliant success.

24. Cæcina felt deeply the failure of all his undertakings, and saw with anxiety the fame of his army mouldering away. Repulsed at Placentia, his auxiliaries lately cut to

pieces, and worsted even in collisions of scouts, encounters frequent, rather than worth mentioning, lest Valens, who was advancing, should reap all the laurels of the war, he hastened, with more avidity than judgment, to redeem his honour. With this intent at a village called Castorum, twelve miles from Cremona, in a wood that overhangs the road, he stationed the flower of his auxiliaries in ambuscade. His cavalry had orders to advance further than ordinary, and, provoking an engagement, to give ground voluntarily, and entice their pursuers to quicken their speed, till the troops in ambuscade should pounce upon them. The stratagem was betrayed to the generals of Otho's army. Paulinus took the command of the infantry, while Celsus led on the cavalry. In the left wing were placed the vexillaries of the thirteenth legion, four auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. The high road was occupied by three prætorian cohorts, in deep rank. In the right wing, marched the first legion, with two auxiliary cohorts, and five hundred horse. Besides these, a thousand of the cavalry, selected from the prætorian and auxiliary bands, were taken to support the broken ranks, or, if the enemy gave way, to complete the victory.

25. Before the two armies came to action, the Vitellians feigned a flight. Aware of the stratagem, Celsus held back his men. The Vitellians rose from their ambuscade without effect, and, Celsus retiring gradually, they pursued him too far, and fell themselves into a snare. The legions attacked them on both wings; the cohorts in front; and the cavalry, wheeling round rapidly, charged them in the rear. Suetonius Paulinus still kept his infantry out of the engagement. By his natural temper slow and deliberate, and choosing to take his measures with reason and precaution, rather than owe his success to the chance of war, he ordered the hollows to be filled up, the ground to be cleared, and his ranks to be extended; judging that it would be time to begin the work of victory, when he had taken care not to be defeated. By this delay the Vitellians seized the opportunity to shift their ground. They betook themselves to the adjacent vineyards, thick with interwoven branches. A small wood too lay contiguous; wherein having recovered their courage, they sallied out and slew the best and bravest of the prætorian cavalry. Epiphanes, the eastern king, who in Otho's cause urged on the battle with great spirit, was wounded.

26. At length the infantry, under the command of Paulinus, rushed forward. The line of the enemy was

trampled under foot, and the parties that came to support them were put to the rout; for Cæcina had brought up his cohorts singly, not all at once; which increased the confusion in the engagement, for, coming forward in succession, and nowhere strong enough, they were carried along in the panic of the flying troops. A tumult also broke out in Cæcina's camp. The soldiers were enraged that the whole army was not drawn out. Julius Gratus, the præfect of the camp, they loaded with irons, on a suspicion that he held treasonable intercourse with his brother Julius Fronto, at that time a tribune in Otho's army, and, under a similar accusation, then confined in prison by the adverse party. Nothing now could equal the disorder and consternation that involed the whole Vitellian army. In the camp, in the field of battle, in the flight, and amongst the parties that came to support the fugitives, the confusion was such, that, if Paulinus had not sounded a retreat, it was the opinion of both parties that Cæcina, with his whole army, might have been cut to pieces. Paulinus alleged, that, seeing how much toil and labour still remained, he was afraid to expose his men, already spent with the fatigue of the day, to fresh forces kept in reserve, and ready to issue from the adverse camp; and, if once broken, no post, no station, remained behind. With this reasoning the judicious few were satisfied, but in the lower ranks dissatisfaction prevailed.

27. This loss had less effect in alarming the Vitellians, than in reducing their turbulent spirit to a sense of duty. Nor was this the case with the troops of Cæcina only, who threw the whole blame upon the army, at all times more disposed to mutiny than to face the enemy. The same reformation showed itself in the camp of Fabius Valens, who was now advanced as far as Ticinum. His soldiers no longer despised the enemy, but, eager to retrieve the honour of the army, submitted more respectfully and uniformly to their general. Among them too the spirit of mutiny had flamed forth with grievous violence, which I will now return to, tracing its origin from more remote transactions, for it would have been inconvenient to interrupt the narrative of Cæcina's acts. The cohorts of the Batavian nation, which, in the war between Nero and Vindex, separated from the fourteenth legion, then on its way to Britain, and, having heard, in the city of the Lingones, of commotions in favour of Vitellius, went over, as I have related, to Fabius Valens, conducted themselves with great insolence; making it their boast, when they came to the tents of each legion, "that by

them the fourteenth legion had been overawed; by them Italy was wrested out of the hands of Nero; and upon their swords the issue of the war depended." The soldiers heard these speeches with indignation; the general with wounded feelings: disputes and quarrels put an end to discipline; and at length Valens suspected that they would proceed from clamour to actual mutiny.

28. Valens, therefore, having received advice that the Tungrians and Treverians had met with a defeat, and that Otho's fleet was hovering on the coast of Narbon Gaul, ordered a detachment of the Batavians to march to the relief of the province; intending, at the same time, by a stroke of policy, to divide the mutinous troops, who, in a body, were too formidable to be managed. When this measure was heard of, and generally known, the auxiliaries murmured, and the legions complained aloud, "that they were now to lose the bravest troops in the service; that, when the enemy was near at hand, those experienced soldiers, who had so often fought and returned with victory, were withdrawn, as it were, from the line of battle. If a single province is of more moment than the city of Rome and the salvation of the empire, all should follow them thither: but if the soundness, the support, the pillar of their hopes of success, rested on the efforts made in Italy, the most efficient members should not be thus severed, as it were, from the body.

29. While giving vent to this insolence, Valens, sending his lictors among them, was proceeding to repress the mutiny, when they pelted the general himself with stones, forced him to fly, and pursued him, accusing him of having embezzled the spoils of Gaul, the gold of Vienne, and the recompense due to the soldiers for all their toils; they pillaged his camp-equipage, rummaged his pavilion, and searched the ground itself with their spears and javelins. Valens in the mean time, disguised like a slave, lay concealed in the tent of an officer of the cavalry. In this juncture Alphenus Varus, the præfect of the camp, the frenzy gradually subsiding, called in the aid of stratagem: ordering the centurions not to visit the night-watch, and omitting the sound of the trumpet, by which the soldiers are summoned to the offices of war. Thus everything was at a standstill. The mutineers surveyed each other with amazement, terrified beyond measure for this very cause, that there was no one at the helm. By silence and resignation, in the end by supplications and tears, they were seeking to obtain forgiveness, when Valens came forth. As soon as the soldiers saw him



beyond expectation safe, in unseemly apparel, and in tears, joy and sorrow and affection ensued. With the quick transition from one extreme of passion to the other, common with the multitude, they poured forth their congratulations; and with shouts of applause placed their general amidst the eagles and standards, on his tribunal. Valens acted with well-timed moderation. No man was singled out for punishment. Afraid, however, that by passing it over altogether he might make them suspect some deep design, he laid the blame on a few; knowing that in civil wars soldiers may do more than their generals may notice.

30. While Valens employed his army in throwing up intrenchments at Ticinum, an account of Cæcina's defeat reached the camp, when the sedition nearly broke out again: it seemed that by the treachery and delays of Valens they had been detained from the field of battle. They resolved to linger no longer; nor to wait for their commander: they marched before the colours, and, ordering the standard-bearers to push on, after a rapid march, joined Cæcina's army. In that camp Valens was in no kind of credit. The vanquished soldiers complained, that with so inferior a force they were exposed to the entire strength of the enemy; and, at the same time that they urged this as their apology, they flattered the troops who came to them by magnifying their valour, lest they should be looked down upon as beaten and cowards. Though Valens was at the head of an army which exceeded that of Cæcina, having almost double the number, yet the latter was the favourite of the men. Besides his superior liberality of spirit, he was recommended by the vigour of youth, a graceful figure, and those qualities, which, though of no solid value, conciliate favour. Hence a spirit of emulation between the two commanders. Cæcina represented Valens as horribly vicious and impure; and, in return, Valens ridiculed Cæcina as empty and vainglorious. And yet, suppressing their animosities, they zealously promoted the common cause, giving vent to reproaches against Otho in their many letters, in a manner that showed they were reckless of reconciliation. Whereas the officers in the opposite army spoke of Vitellius with reserve, though his manners afforded ample materials for invective.

31. It must be admitted, that, before the deaths of these two persons, though Otho fell with glory, and Vitellius with disgrace and infamy, yet men dreaded greater mischief from the furious passions of Otho, than from the sluggish debauchery of Vitellius. Besides, the murder of Galba made the former an object of detestation and alarm;

while the latter was never charged with being the author of the war. Vitellius, by his voracity and gluttony, was his own enemy; Otho, by his profusion, his cruelty, and his daring spirit, was the enemy of his country. As soon as the forces under Cæcina and Valens had formed a junction, the Vitellian party no longer declined a decisive action. Otho took counsel whether a speedy engagement or a lingering war seemed best, when Suetonius Paulinus, an officer surpassed by no man of that age, judging it consistent with his high military character to give his opinion on the entire complexion of the war, contended, that to bring the dispute to an immediate issue was advantageous to Vitellius; to protract the war was the game for Otho to play.

32. "The whole collected force of Vitellius," he said, "is now in Italy: the resources which he has left behind him are inconsiderable; since Gaul is teeming with disaffection, and with hostile nations ready to invade the Roman provinces, the banks of the Rhine cannot be left defenceless. The legions in Britain have an enemy on their hands, and are divided by the sea. Spain is not so overflowing with troops. The province of Narbon Gaul has been thrown into dismay by the incursion of Otho's fleet and a defeat. Italy, beyond the Po, is shut in by the Alps, deprived of all relief by sea, and the armies that passed that way have exhausted the country. There is no place from which Vitellius can hope to be supplied with grain; and without provisions, he cannot maintain his army. Moreover the Germans, the most warlike portion of the Vitellian party, if the war be protracted till summer, will be unable to bear the change of soil and climate with their infirm constitutions. Many wars, formidable in the first impetuous effort, have come to nothing through the effects of delay and suspense. On the other hand, Otho's party are rich in supplies, and their friends are firm. They have Pannonia, Mæsia, Dalmatia, and the east, with their entire armies; Italy; and Rome, the capital of the empire: the senate and the Roman people, always of considerable importance, though their glory in some conjunctures has been eclipsed: a store of wealth, both public and private, and boundless riches; in public dissensions more powerful than the sword. Their soldiers inured to Italy, or seasoned to the heat in warmer climates. In their front the river Po is a barrier, and cities fortified and garrisoned; of which the defence of Placentia is a proof that none will surrender. For these reasons, he should protract the war. In a few days, the fourteenth

legion, famous for its bravery, will arrive with reinforcements from Mæsia. A council of war may then be called; and should it be thought advisable to hazard a battle, Otho, may then take the field with augmented force."

33. Marius Celsus concurred in this opinion. Annius Gallus, who had been thrown by the falling of his horse a few days before, being consulted by persons sent for the purpose, also concurred. Otho was eager for the issue of a battle. His brother Titianus, and Proculus, the præfect of the prætorian guards, both disposed to hasty measures from inexperience, averred that the gods, and the tutelar genius of Otho, were present in council, and would stand by them in their enterprises; and that no one might venture to oppose their sentence, they had adopted the tone of flattery. To offer battle was the result of the debate; but whether the emperor should command in person, or withdraw to a place of safety, was a question still to be discussed. Celsus and Paulinus now made no opposition. To expose the prince to the dangers of the field, was more than they chose to take upon themselves; and the authors of the pernicious counsel already given, carried it, that Otho should retire to Brixellum, there, removed from the hazards of battle, to reserve himself for the chief administration of affairs and of empire. From this day the ruin of Otho's party may be dated. He took with him a considerable detachment of the prætorian cohorts, the body-guard, and cavalry. After their departure, the spirit of the army began to droop; for they suspected their officers; and the prince, on whom alone the soldiers relied, for he confided in none but them, had left them under the command of generals of dubious authority.

34. Nothing of all that passed was a secret in the camp of Vitellius. From the deserters, who in civil wars are always numerous, and also from the spies, whose genius it is, while they pry into the secrets of others, to betray their own, every thing transpired. Cæcina and Valens lay quiet on the watch for the opportunity when the enemy should rush on unwarily, and waiting to avail themselves of the folly of others, a good substitute for wisdom, commenced a bridge, as though they meditated crossing the Po, to attack the gladiators on the opposite bank; and that their own soldiers might not pass their time in listless inactivity. They ranged at equal distances a number of boats, united at each end by strong timbers, with their prows turned against the current, and resting upon their anchors; to hold the bridge firmly together, the cables

however were not tense, but played in the water, in order, when the stream increased, that the row of vessels might be lifted up without disturbance. Standing upon the bridge, and raised up on the last ship, was a turret, which closed the passage, and gave the men a station, whence they might, with their battering engines, prevent the approach of the enemy.

35. The Othonians also raised a tower on the opposite bank, whence they threw stones and brands. A small island stood in the middle of the water. The gladiators attempted to pass over in boats; but the Germans, expert in swimming, outstripped them. Several, as it happened, crossed over; and in order to dislodge them, Macer put off with a strong party of gladiators on board his galleys: but the gladiators were not able to cope with regular soldiers; and the motion of the vessels not allowing them a firm footing, they could not discharge their weapons with the same certainty as men standing steadily on land; and since from the jarring movements of men in a state of alarm, the rowers and combatants intermixed, obstructed each other, the Germans became the assailants, and plunging into the river from the bank, held back the boats, boarded them, or sunk them by manual force. The whole passed under the eye of both armies. The Vitellians looked on with joy proportioned to the abhorrence in which the Othonians held Macer, the cause and author of their disgrace.

36. The gladiators, in such vessels as they could save, retreated from the island, and thus an end was put to the engagement. The soldiers clamoured for the blood of Macer. One of them darted his lance, and wounded him; when the rest rushed on sword in hand, and would have killed him on the spot, if the tribunes and centurions had not interposed to save him. Shortly after, Vestricius Spurinna, having, by order of Otho, left a moderate garrison at Placentia, came up to the main body with his cohorts. Flavius Sabinus, consul elect, was immediately afterwards sent by Otho to command the troops Macer had headed; to the great joy of the common men, who saw with pleasure every change of their officers; while the commanders were disgusted with a service rendered so perilous from the frequency of sedition.

37. I find it asserted by some authors, that the two armies, dreading a war, or detesting both princes, whose flagitious deeds grew every day more notorious, had doubted whether in laying down their arms, they should either themselves deliberate upon the matter with a view

to the common good, or commit to the senate the choice of an emperor; and that from this consideration Otho's generals proposed to protract and delay the war; the prospects of Paulinus being the most promising, as he was the oldest of consular rank, of high military reputation, and his conduct in Britain had given superior lustre to his name. But as I would admit, that a few, in their hearts wished for repose instead of discord, and to see the most base and abandoned of mankind, postponed to a virtuous and inoffensive prince; so I cannot suppose that Paulinus, a man of understanding, could, in an age so corrupt, hope for such an effort of moderation in the masses, as that those who had unsettled a state of peace from a passion for war, would lay down war from an attachment to peace; nor that the armies, dissonant in language and manners, could be brought to coalesce in this opinion; or that the leading chiefs, immersed in luxury, overwhelmed with debt, and conscious of enormous crimes, would submit to any master who was not stained with guilt, and bound to them by the services they had rendered him.

38. The love of domination, an inveterate and deep-seated propensity of the human heart, waxed strong as the empire grew in greatness, and at length threw off all restraints; for while the republic was limited in its extent, the equality of conditions was easily preserved. But when the world was subjugated, and rival kings and rival cities being overthrown, men were at leisure to covet wealth which they might enjoy in repose, contentions arose, first, between the senate and the people. Factious tribunes prevailed at one time, and ambitious consuls at another; and in the city, and the forum, were exhibited the first essays of civil war. Soon after, Caius Marius, a man sprung from the dregs of the populace, and Lucius Sylla, the fiercest of the nobles, vanquished liberty by force of arms, and erected absolutism on its ruins. Pompey came after, with passions more disguised, but no way better. From that time, the struggle has been for supreme dominion alone. The legions that filled the plains of Pharsalia, and afterwards met at Philippi, though composed of Roman citizens, never once thought of disbanding; much less would the armies of Otho and Vitellius sheath the sword of their own mere motion; the same wrath of the gods, the same popular frenzy, the same motives, derived from enormities committed, urged them on to mutual slaughter. Their wars, it is true, were ended by, as it were, single blows; but that was owing to the abject spirit of the princes. But these reflections on the spirit of an-

cient and modern times, have betrayed me into too long a digression. I now come to the series of transactions as they occurred.

39. From the time when Otho withdrew to Brixellum, his brother Titianus assumed the pomp of command, but the power and real authority were with Proculus. Celsus and Paulinus were no more than nominal generals. No man sought their advice; they did but bear the blame of blunders not their own. The tribunes and centurions were in doubt and perplexity, seeing the worst characters preferred, and real talents neglected. The common men were in good spirits, but more disposed to scan than to execute their generals' orders. It was resolved to advance the camp to within four miles of Bedriacum; which they did with such want of skill, that, though it was then the spring of the year, and the country round abounded with rivers, the army was distressed for want of water. The expediency of hazarding a battle became again the subject of debate. Otho, in frequent despatches, insisted on the most vigorous measures: the soldiers demanded that the emperor should be present on the day of battle. Many were of opinion, that the forces beyond the Po should be called in; nor is it so easy to decide what would have been the most prudent measure, as that they chose the most pernicious.

40. They set out for the conflux of the Po and the Addua, at the distance of sixteen miles, as if going to open a campaign, not to decide it. Celsus and Paulinus represented the danger of exposing the soldiers, fatigued by their march, and bending under the weight of their baggage, to the attack of an enemy unincumbered, and fresh from a march of four miles only; who would not commit such a blunder as not to assault them before they could form the line of battle, or while dispersed and employed at the intrenchments. Titianus and Proculus, when overcome by argument, resorted to their orders, and the will of the prince. And it is true that a Numidian horseman, at full speed, arrived with letters from Otho, in a style of sharp reproof condemning the dilatoriness of the generals, and commanding that a decisive action should be hazarded; for he was heartsick with suspense, and impatient to realise his anticipations.

41. On the same day, while Cæcina was employed in throwing a bridge over the Po, two prætorian tribunes arrived to demand an interview. He was on the point of hearing their terms and replying, when the scouts announced with headlong haste that the enemy was at hand.

The business broke off abruptly, and therefore what their design was, whether to betray their own party, to lay a snare for the Vitellians, or to make some honourable proposal, cannot now be known. Cæcina dismissed the tribunes, and rode back to the camp, where he found that Valens had given the signal for battle, and the men under arms. While the legions were settling by lot their respective stations, the cavalry advanced to charge the enemy, and, strange to say, an inferior number of the Othonians would have driven them into their intrenchments, had not the Italic legion opposed the runaways, and sword in hand compelled them to return to the charge. Meanwhile, the rest of the army, without hurry or confusion, drew up in order of battle, unmolested by the enemy, and, in fact, without being seen: as a thick coppice, that stood between both parties, intercepted their view. In Otho's army the chiefs were in dismay; the men mistrusted the officers; the baggage waggons and the followers of the camp mixed with the ranks, and the road rendered so narrow by a deep ditch on each side as to be difficult of passage, even though no enemy were at hand; some were crowding about their colours; others looking for their proper post; nothing was heard but a confused clamour of men calling to their comrades, and answering to their names; while some advanced to the front line; others fell into the rear; as fear or courage prompted them.

42. The Othonians thus amazed with sudden alarm, were lulled into a state of languor by the joy inspired by certain persons who falsely stated that the army had abandoned Vitellius. From what source it took its origin, whether design or chance, from the emissaries of the Vitellians, or the adverse party, has never been explained. The Othonians no longer burning for battle, went so far as to salute the opposite army, but being received with hostile murmurs, most of their own party, not knowing the cause of the salutation, were induced to apprehend treason. In that moment the Vitellians began the attack: their army was in regular order, their strength and numbers superior. The Othonians, still in disorder, and fatigued by their march, nevertheless fell to with vigour. The place of the action being entangled with trees and vineyards, the aspect of the combat was varied. They fought man to man, and at a distance, in separate battalions, and in the form of a wedge. On the high road they fought hand to hand, foot to foot, and buckler against buckler: they ceased to throw their jav-

lins, and with their swords and axes cut through helmets and breastplates. They knew one another; each individual was conspicuous to his friends and enemies; and every man fought as if the issue of the war depended upon his single arm.

43. Upon an open plain, between the Po and the high road, two legions happened to encounter each other; on the part of Vitellius, the one and twentieth, famed for its valour, and named Rapax; on the side of Otho, the first legion, entitled Adjutrix, which had never been in action, but of desperate courage, and eager for the acquisition of honour. They broke through the foremost rank of the one and twentieth, and carried off their eagle. Roused by this disgrace, the Vitellians in their turn drove back the first, killing Orphidius Benignus, who commanded Otho's legion, and carrying off several standards and flags. In another part of the field, the thirteenth legion was routed by the fifth, and the fourteenth was hemmed in by superior numbers. Otho's generals had long since fled the field, while Cæcina and Valens supported their ranks in every quarter. Fresh forces came to their assistance. The Batavians, under Varus Alphenus, having cut to pieces the gladiators attempting in boats to cross the Po, came into the field flushed with success, and charged the enemy in flank.

44. The centre of Otho's army gave way, and fled with precipitation towards Bedriacum. A long space lay before them; the road was obstructed with heaps of slain: the slaughter, therefore was the more dreadful. In civil wars, indeed, no prisoners are reserved for sale. Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus fled different ways, both avoiding the camp. Vedius Aquila, who commanded the thirteenth legion, by his own indiscreet fears exposed himself to the fury of the soldiers. He entered the camp, while it was yet broad daylight; and those who are ever ready to rebel against their officers, and run away from their enemies, crowded round him with loud clamourings, abusing him, and even offering violence to him. They charged him with treachery and desertion, not because he was guilty of any crime, but, in the true spirit of vulgar minds, transferring to others their own guilt and infamy. Titianus and Celsus owed their safety to the night. The watch being now stationed, and the soldiers appeased by the entreaties, the advice, and authority of Annus Gallus, who had the address to make the men sensible of "the folly of adding to the havoc of the field by turning their swords upon themselves." Whether the war was at an end, or to be



once more renewed with vigour, he represented that the one great remedy for the vanquished was in their union. The spirits of the rest were completely broken; but the prætorians complained that they were defeated by treachery, not by the valour of the enemy. "The Vitellians," they said, "could not boast of a bloodless victory. Their cavalry were routed, and one of their legions lost their eagle. Otho and the troops beyond the Po were still left; the legions from Mæsia were on their march; and a considerable part of the army, detained at Bedriacum, had no share in the action. These certainly were not yet conquered; and if that was to be their lot, they would fall with more glory in the field of battle." From these reflections, the prætorians, inflamed with anger or depressed with fear, were rather stimulated by resentment, than disheartened by their desperate predicament.

45. The army of Vitellius halted at the distance of five miles from Bedriacum, the generals not thinking it advisable on the same day to attempt the enemy's camp. A voluntary surrender was at the same time anticipated. But the soldiers, having gone forth prepared only as for battle, and unincumbered, their arms and their victory were their only defence. On the following day the inclination of the Othonians, showing itself unequivocally; and even those who had been the fiercest, being now disposed to relent, they sent a deputation to the enemy. The Vitellian leaders were willing to hearken to terms of accommodation. The deputies not returning immediately, the doubt whether they had succeeded somewhat checked their resolution. But the embassy soon returning, the intrenchments were thrown open. The conquerors and the conquered burst into tears, and, with mingled joy and sorrow, deprecated the horrors of civil war. In the same tents, relations, friends, and brothers, dressed each other's wounds. They now perceived that their hopes and rewards were dubious; while deaths and mournings were their certain lot. Nor was there a person so fortunate as not to have some death to lament. The body of Orphidius, the commander of a legion, after diligent search, was found, and burned with the usual solemnities. A few of the common men were buried by their friends: the rest were left above ground.

46. Otho, in the mean time, having taken his resolution, waited, without trepidation, for an account of the event. First, rumours of a melancholy character reached his ears; soon after, fugitives, who escaped from the field, brought sure intelligence that all was lost. The fervour of the

soldiers stayed not for the voice of the emperor; they bid him summon up his best resolution. There were forces still in reserve, and, in their prince's cause they were ready to suffer and dare the utmost. Nor was this the language of flattery: impelled by a kind of frenzy, and like men possessed, they were all on fire to go to the field and restore the state of their party: The men who stood at a distance stretched forth their hands in token of their assent, while such as gathered round the prince clasped his knees; Plotius Firmus being the most zealous. This officer commanded the prætorian guards. He implored his master not to abandon an army devoted to his interest; a soldiery who had undergone so much in his cause. "It was more magnanimous," they said, "to bear up against adversity, than to shrink from it: the brave and strenuous sustained themselves upon hope, even against the current of fortune; the timorous and abject only allowed their fears to plunge them into despair." While uttering these words, accordingly as Otho relaxed or stiffened the muscles of his face, they shouted or groaned. Nor was this spirit confined to the prætorians, the peculiar soldiers of Otho: the detachment sent forward by the Mæsan legions brought word that the same zeal pervaded the coming army, and that the legions had entered Aquileia. Whence it is evident that a fierce and bloody war, the issue of which could not have been foreseen by the victors or the vanquished, might have been still carried on.

47. Otho himself was averse to any plans of prosecuting the war, and said: "To expose to further perils such spirit and such virtue as you now display, would, I deem, be paying too costly a price for my life. The more brilliant the prospects which you hold out to me, were I disposed to live, the more glorious will be my death. I and Fortune have made trial of each other; for what length of time is not material: but the felicity which does not promise to last, it is more difficult to enjoy with moderation. Vitellius began the civil war; and he originated our contest for the principedom. It shall be mine to establish a precedent, by preventing a second battle for it. By this let posterity judge of Otho. Vitellius shall be blest with his brother, his wife, and children. I want no revenge, nor consolations. Others have held the sovereign power longer; none has resigned it with equal fortitude. Shall I again suffer so many of the Roman youth, so many gallant armies, to be laid low, and cut off from the commonwealth? Let this resolution of yours to die for me, should it be necessary, attend me in my departure,

but live on yourselves. Neither let me long obstruct your safety, nor do you retard the proof of my constancy. To descant largely upon our last moments is the act of a dastard spirit. Hold it as an eminent proof of the fixedness of my purpose, that I complain of no man: for to arraign our Gods or men is the part of one who fain would live.

48. Having thus declared his sentiments he talked with his friends, addressing each in courteous terms; according to his rank, his age, or dignity, and endeavoured to induce all, the young in an authoritative tone, the old by entreaties, to depart without loss of time, and not aggravate the resentment of the conqueror by remaining with him. His countenance serene, his voice firm, and endeavouring to repress the tears of his friends as uncalled for. He ordered boats or carriages for those who were willing to depart. Papers and letters, containing strong expressions of duty towards himself, or ill-will towards Vitellius, he committed to the flames. He distributed money in presents, but not with the profusion of a man quitting the world. Then, observing his brother's son, Salvius Cocceianus, in the bloom of youth, and distressed and weeping, he even comforted him, commending his duty, but rebuking his fears: "Could it be supposed that Vitellius, finding his own family safe, would refuse, inhumanly, to return the generosity shown to himself? By hastening my death," he said, "I shall establish a claim upon his clemency; since, not in the extremity of despair, but at a time when the army was clamouring for another battle, he had made his death an offering to his country. For himself, he had gained ample renown, and left to his family enough of lustre. After the Julian race, the Claudian, and the Servian, he was the first who carried the sovereignty into a new family. Wherefore he should cling to life with lofty aspirations, and neither forget at any time that Otho was his uncle, nor remember it over-much."

49. After this, his friends having all withdrawn, he reposed awhile. When lo! while his mind was occupied with the last act of his life, he was diverted from his purpose by a sudden uproar. The soldiers, he was told, were in a state of frenzy and riot, threatening destruction to all who offered to depart, and directing their fury particularly against Verginius, whom they kept besieged in his house, which he had barricaded. Having reproved the authors of the disturbance, he returned, and devoted himself to bidding adieu to those who were going away, until they had all departed in security. Towards the close of

day he quenched his thirst with a draught of cold water, and then ordered two poniards to be brought to him. He tried the points of both, and laid one under his head. Having ascertained that his friends were safe on their way, he passed the night in quiet, and, as we are assured, even slept. At the dawn of day, he applied the weapon to his breast, and fell upon it. On hearing his dying groans, his freedmen and slaves, and with them Plotius Firmus, the prætorian præfect, found that with one wound he had despatched himself. His funeral obsequies were performed without delay. This had been his earnest request, lest his head should be cut off and be made a public spectacle. He was borne on the shoulders of the prætorian soldiers, who kissed his hands and his wound, amidst tears and praises. Some of the soldiers slew themselves at the funeral pile: not from any consciousness of guilt, nor from fear; but in emulation of the bright example of their prince, and to show their affection. At Bedriacum, Placentia, and other camps, numbers of every rank adopted that mode of death. A sepulchre was raised to the memory of Otho, of ordinary structure, but likely to endure.

50. Such was the end of Otho, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. He was born in the municipal city of Ferentum. His father was of consular rank; his grandfather of prætorian. By the maternal line his descent was respectable, though not equally illustrious. The features of his character, as well in his earliest days as in the progress of his youth, have been already delineated. By two actions, one atrocious and detestable, the other great and magnanimous, he earned an equal degree of honour and infamy among posterity. As I should regard it as unbecoming the gravity of my undertaking to hunt up fabulous accounts, and amuse my readers with fictions, so I would not presume to impugn the credibility of those statements which have been generally received, and regularly handed down. The inhabitants relate, that, on the day when the battle was fought at Bedriacum, a bird of unusual appearance perched in a frequented place near Regium Lepidum, and, notwithstanding the great concourse of people, and a numerous flight of other birds, never moved from its place till Otho put an end to his life, and then vanished out of sight; and that, on comparing the times, the appearance and disappearance of this phenomenon tallied with the circumstances of the prince's death.

51. The grief and anguish of the soldiers at the funeral

drove them to another mutiny. Nor was there any one to restrain it. They turned their thoughts to Verginius; one moment calling upon him to accept the sovereignty, and the next, with menaces, pressing him to undertake an embassy to Valens and Cæcina. Verginius, while they were forcing his house, disappointed them by stealing off the back way. The cohorts that lay encamped at Brixellum deputed Rubrius Gallus with terms of submission; and pardon was immediately obtained, the troops under Flavius Sabinus going over to the conqueror, through the negotiation of their commander.

52. Though the war in every quarter was now at an end, a great part of the senate, who accompanied Otho from Rome, and by him were left at Mutina, were involved in the utmost danger. They received an account of the defeat at Bedriacum; but the soldiers, treating it as a false alarm, as they suspected that the senate were hostile to Otho, they observed their language, and put a malignant construction upon their looks and demeanour. They proceeded, lastly, to reproaches and insults, hoping to find a pretence and occasion for bloodshed, when the senators saw another cloud gathering over their heads: the Vitellian party was now superior; and they feared lest they should be thought to entertain the intelligence of the victory coldly. Thus alarmed, and painfully perplexed, they met; no one suggesting any plan of his own, as he felt more secure as one of many who participated in the same fault. The magistracy of Mutina increased the anxiety of the terror-stricken senators, by offering them arms and money, and, with ill-timed courtesy, giving them the appellation of conscript fathers.

53. After this a notable dispute arose between Licinius Cæcina and Eprius Marcellus; the former vehemently charging Marcellus with speaking in ambiguous terms. Nor did any of the others express their sentiments frankly; but the name of Marcellus, detested from the recollection of his informations, had stimulated Cæcina, a new man, and lately admitted into the senate, to seek popularity by encountering powerful enmities. The dispute was ended by the interposition of worthier men, and the senate returned to Bononia, there to deliberate again, and, in the mean time, they hoped to have more intelligence. There they stationed persons on the several roads to interrogate all who could give the latest intelligence. One of Otho's freedmen, being asked why he had left his master, he made answer, "I bear his last directions; he is still alive, but he renounces all the joys of life: his thoughts are

fixed upon posterity alone." This account excited their admiration; they felt a delicacy in making further inquiries: and the consequence was, that all transferred their attachment to Vitellius.

54. Lucius Vitellius, brother of the new emperor, attended the meeting of the senate, and was now presenting himself to receive the court of the senators, when Cænus, a freedman of Nero's, by a bold and impudent falsehood, threw the assembly into consternation. He affirmed it as a fact, that, by the coming up of the fourteenth legion, and the junction of the forces from Brixellium, the victors had been cut to pieces, and the fortune of the party retrieved. The motive of this fiction was, that Otho's passions, now slighted, might revive, under more favourable news. By this stratagem he gained a quick conveyance to Rome, and in a few days was put to death by order of Vitellius. But the danger of the senators was increased, as the Othonian soldiers gave credit to the fiction; and it gave intensity to their fears, that they seemed to have quitted Mutina on public grounds, and to have abandoned their party. From this time the senate was convened no more. Every man acted on his own private views, till letters from Fabius Valens put an end to their fears. Besides, the death of Otho was known the sooner, in proportion as it was meritorious.

55. At Rome a general calm prevailed. The games sacred to Ceres were exhibited as usual. When intelligence arrived that Otho was no more, and that all the military then in the city had, at the requisition of Flavius Sabinus, sworn fidelity to Vitellius, the spectators signified their applause. The people, with laurel and flowers, carried the images of Galba to the several temples, and piled their chaplets in the form of a tomb, on the spot near the lake of Curtius, which he had died with his life-blood. All the honours invented during the long reigns of other princes were forthwith decreed in the senate. They moreover passed a vote of thanks and applause to the German armies, and despatched a deputation to perform the office of congratulation. A letter from Fabius Valens to the consuls was read: it was not arrogant in its style, but the modesty of Cæcina, in not writing at all, gave greater satisfaction.

56. The sufferings of Italy, however, were more severe and terrible than under the war. The Vitellian soldiers, quartered in the colonies and municipal cities, were bent on spoil and rapine. They committed the most horrible outrages, deflowering the women, and trampling on all laws,

human and divine; either from lust or with a view to be bought off, they spared nothing sacred or profane. Some were murdered by their private enemies under pretence of their being soldiers of Otho. The soldiers who knew the country, plundered without control the opulent farmers and lands well stocked; while all who resisted were doomed to the sword, the officers not daring to check them, and obliged to truckle to them. Cæcina exhibited less avarice, but more servility. Valens had made himself infamous by his avarice and rapacity, and was therefore obliged to connive at the crimes of others. Italy was long since exhausted, and could ill endure to maintain so many foot and horse, together with outrage, losses, and oppression.

57. Vitellius, in the mean time, advanced towards Italy with the remainder of the German armies, ignorant of his victory, and supposing that not a blow had been struck. A few of the veteran soldiers were left behind in winter-quarters; and to recruit the remaining legions, which were mere skeletons, hasty levies were made in Gaul. On the frontiers bordering on the Rhine the command was given to Hordeonius-Flaccus. To his own army Vitellius added eight thousand men from Britain. Having marched a few days, he received intelligence of the victory at Bedriacum, and the conclusion of the war by the death of Otho. He called an assembly, and highly extolled the valour of the troops. The army wished to see his freedman Asiaticus, raised to the dignity of a Roman knight, but Vitellius restrained the disgraceful adulation: but such was his natural levity, that what he refused in public, he granted in private over his bottle. And thus a despicable slave, who was goaded on by ambition, and had nothing to recommend him but his vices, was honoured with the equestrian ring.

58. About the same time Vitellius received advices that the two Mauritanias had acceded to his party, Luceius Albinus, the governor of that country having been murdered. The province which was called Cæsariensis had been by Nero committed to Albinus; and the other, called Tingitana, being afterwards added by Galba, the governor was master of a considerable force; not less than nineteen cohorts, five squadrons of horse, and a numerous body of Moors, accustomed to live by depredation and rapine, and therefore available for war. Albinus, on the death of Galba, declared at once for Otho, and, not content with Africa, began to form plans against Spain, which was separated by a narrow channel. Cluvius Rufus, who pre-

sided in Spain, alarmed at this, ordered the tenth legion to march to the sea-coast, with a design, as he gave out, to cross the sea; and chosen centurions were sent forward to draw the Moors over to Vitellius. This was not a difficult task; the fame of the German armies resounded through all the provinces. A report prevailed, at the same time, that Albinus, disdaining the title of procurator, had usurped the regal diadem, and the name of Juba.

59. Thus a change taking place in the minds of the people, Asinius Pollio, who commanded a squadron of horse, and one of the most firm friends of Albinus, was surprised and put to death, with Festus and Scipio, præfects of cohorts. Albinus himself, after sailing from the province of Tingitana to that of Cæsariensis, was put to death as soon as he landed. His wife, who presented herself to the assassins, perished with her husband. These transactions passed without the notice of Vitellius: even to matters of high importance the attention of a moment was all that he gave, unequal as he was to concerns of magnitude. He ordered his army to proceed by land into Italy, while he himself sailed down the Arar; not with any of the pomp of a prince, but exhibiting in a striking manner the poverty of his former condition. At length Junius Blæsus, at that time governor of the Lyonese Gaul, a man of illustrious descent, of liberal mind, and corresponding wealth, supplied Vitellius with a train, and attended him in person, sparing no expense. But this very conduct excited the displeasure of Vitellius, who, however, concealed his aversion with servile caresses. At Lyons the generals of both parties, as well the vanquished as the victorious, attended. Vitellius in a public speech lauded Valens and Cæcina, whom he placed on each side of his curule chair. He then ordered out the whole army to receive his son, then an infant of tender years. The child was brought forward; the father took him in his arms, adorned as he was with a purple robe; saluted him by the title of Germanicus; and arrayed him with all the insignia of princely state. This extravagant honour shown in prosperity, formed a source of consolation in the reverse of fortune which followed.

60. The centurions who had signalized themselves in Otho's service, were then put to death. By this, more than anything, he lost the affections of the forces from Illyricum. The rest of the legions caught the infection, and, being already on bad terms with the German soldiery, began to meditate a revolt. Suctonius Paulinus and Licinius



Proculus were kept for some time in a wretched state of suspense. Being at length admitted to an audience, they made a defence, which nothing but the necessity of the times could excuse. They made a merit with Vitellius of their treachery to Otho, and to their own sinister designs ascribed the march of the army on the day of battle, the fatigue of the troops, and the confusion in the ranks, occasioned by not removing the baggage, with many other accidental circumstances. Vitellius gave them credit for their perfidy, and pardoned their attachment to his enemy. Salvius Titianus, the brother of Otho, was screened from danger on the score of natural affection, and his imbecile character. Marius Celsus, consul elect, was suffered to succeed to his honours, though Cæcilius Simplex, as was generally believed, and the charge was afterwards brought against him in the senate, endeavoured by bribery to supplant him; meditating also the destruction of Celsus. The emperor, however, withstood him, but in time raised him to that office, without the guilt of bribery or murder. Trachalus was shielded from his accusers by Galeria, the wife of Vitellius.

61. Amidst the dangers that involved the first men of the age, shameful to relate, one Mariccus, a plebeian of the Boii, had the presumption to mix up his name with the great events of the time, and provoke the Roman arms by a pretence to supernatural lights; and already as deliverer of Gaul, and as a god, for such was the title he assumed, having mustered eight thousand men, he made an attempt on the adjacent villages of the Æduans, when that powerful state, with a chosen band of their youth, and with a reinforcement of cohorts from Vitellius, put the fanatic multitude to the rout. Mariccus was taken prisoner, and soon after given to wild beasts. The populace, astonished to see that he was not immediately torn to pieces, believed him to be sacred and inviolable, till he was put to death under the eye of Vitellius.

62. From this time the partisans of Otho were no longer persecuted: the effects of all remained inviolable. The last wills of such as fell fighting for Otho, were allowed to be valid, and, where no will was made, the law of intestacy took its course. In fact, if Vitellius had moderated his luxuries, one needed not fear his avarice. His appetite for feasting was shocking, and knew no bounds. From Rome and Italy incentives to gluttony were conveyed; the roads from both the seas ringing with the din of carriages. To entertain him on his march the principal men of every city were obliged to lavish all their wealth, and the cities

themselves were exhausted. The soldiers lost all energy and virtue, from being habituated to pleasure and contempt of their general. Vitellius, by an edict sent forward to Rome, signified his pleasure to postpone for the present the title of Augustus, and decline that of Cæsar; but did not forego any portion of the princely power. He ordered the mathematicians to be banished out of Italy, and, under heavy penalties, restrained the Roman knights from disgracing themselves by public games and the prize ring. Former princes had not scrupled to allure men to that practice by money, and still oftener by force. Many of the municipal towns and colonies emulated the city in alluring all the most profligate to engage in these practices by means of rewards.

63. Vitellius, on the arrival of his brother, and other adepts in tyrannic arts gaining an ascendancy over him, became more haughty and sanguinary. He gave orders for the execution of Dolabella, who, as already stated, was removed by Otho to the colony of Aquinum. Being there informed of that emperor's death, he ventured to return to Rome. That step was objected to him as a crime by his intimate friend, Plancius Varus, who had been prætor, before Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city. He pretended that Dolabella broke from his place of confinement to offer himself as a leader to the vanquished party, and added, that he had endeavoured to seduce to his interest the cohort stationed at Ostia. He could bring no proof of these serious charges; and visited with remorse, which proved too late to be of any service, he implored forgiveness for the accused, after incurring the horrible guilt. Flavius Sabinus hesitated in a matter of such magnitude, till Triaria, the wife of Lucius Vitellius, a woman furious beyond her sex, warned him not to seek the fame of clemency at the peril of the prince. Sabinus naturally humane, but when danger threatened himself infirm of purpose, and feeling his own life hazarded in another's peril, precipitated the fall of a man, whom he dared not appear to help.

64. Vitellius, from motives of fear and hatred, for Petronia, his former wife, was no sooner divorced than Dolabella married her, by letters despatched to Rome invited him to his presence, advising him, at the same time, to shun the publicity of the Flaminian road, and come by the way of Interamnium. At that place, he ordered him to be put to death. The assassin thought he should lose too much time, and attacked Dolabella at an inn on the road, while stretched on the ground, and cut his throat;

a transaction which brought into great odium the new reign, the future character of which was understood from this incipient specimen. The daring spirit of Triaria was the more detested, as it stood in immediate contrast to the mild character of Galeria, the emperor's wife, and also to that of Sextilia, his mother; a woman of equal excellence, and formed on the model of ancient manners. On receipt of the first letters from her son, she is said to have declared that his name was not Germanicus but Vitellius; and never afterwards, either elated by the splendour of her family, or deceived by the voice of flattery, was she won to cheerfulness, but was alive only to the calamities of her family.

65. Vitellius having set out from Lyons, was met by Marcus Cluvius Rufus, who had left his government in Spain for the purpose. He appeared with joy and gratulation in his countenance, and anxiety in his heart. He knew that an accusation had been prepared against him by Hilarius, one of the emperor's freedmen, importing that, during the war between Otho and Vitellius, Rufus intended to set up for himself, and seize the provinces of Spain; and that, with this view, he had issued various edicts, without inserting the name of any prince whatever. He also put a construction upon some of his public harangues, tending to blacken the character of Vitellius, and recommend himself to popular favour. The interest of Rufus was too powerful, and his freedman was even condemned to punishment by Vitellius. Rufus was enrolled among the emperor's intimate friends, and, at the same time, retained his government of Spain during his absence, after the example of Lucius Arruntius, whom Tiberius, from suspicion, never suffered to depart from Rome. But Vitellius entertained no fear of Cluvius. Trebellius Maximus did not meet with equal favour. He had fled from Britain on account of the angry feeling of the soldiers. Vettius Bolanus, then a follower of the court, was sent to succeed him.

66. Vitellius heard, with deep anxiety, that the spirit of the vanquished legions was far from being subdued. Dispersed through Italy, and intermixed with the victorious troops, they talked of vengeance. Foremost in insolence was the fourteenth legion, who denied that they were conquered; and that, because at Bedriacum the vexillaries only were defeated, but the strength of the legion was not engaged. It was judged proper to send them back into Britain, whence they had been recalled by Nero; and the Batavian cohorts were ordered in the

mean time to camp with them, as an old animosity subsisted between them and the soldiers of the fourteenth. Between armed men so inflamed with hatred, a quarrel soon broke out. At Augusta, the capital of the Turinians, a Batavian soldier had words with an artisan, whom he charged with fraud. A man of the legion took the part of his host; their comrades joining each of them, from abusive language they proceeded to blows; and, if two prætorian cohorts, taking part with the fourteenth, had not awed the Batavians, and inspired confidence in the legionaries, a bloody conflict had ensued. Vitellius, satisfied with the fidelity of the Batavians, incorporated them with his army. The legion had orders to proceed over the Graian Alps, that by this circuitous route they might avoid Vienne, whose inhabitants were suspected. The night the legion marched, they left fires burning in all quarters, by which a part of the Turinian city was destroyed. This loss, like many other calamities of war, was thrown into the shade by the greater disasters of other cities. After the soldiers had descended from the Alps, all the most disaffected of them marched to Vienne. They were, however, reduced to order by the unanimity of the better disposed, and the legion was transported into Britain.

67. The prætorian cohorts formed the next source of inquietude to Vitellius. They were separated first, and afterwards, this step being followed by an honourable discharge to soften their resentment, they delivered up their arms to their tribunes; but at length, when the war commenced by Vespasian assumed consistency, they assembled again, and proved the best support of the Flavian cause. The first legion of marines was ordered into Spain, that in repose and indolence their spirit might evaporate. The seventh and eleventh were sent back to their old winter-quarters. The thirteenth was ordered to build amphitheatres; for Cæcina at Cremona, and Valens at Bononia, were preparing to exhibit a spectacle of gladiators, Vitellius being at no time so intent upon business as to forget his amusements.

68. And certainly he had in a quiet way broken up the party; but a mutiny arose among the victors, in its commencement ridiculous, had not the numbers slain brought the war into increased odium. Vitellius had sat down at a banquet at Ticinum, and Verginius was of the party. According to the manners of the chiefs, the tribunes and centurions emulate their strictness or delight in noon-day feasts, and the soldiers equally are either orderly

or riotous. In the army of Vitellius, all was confusion and drunkenness, resembling wakes and bacchanalian routs, rather than a camp, or a disciplined army. Accordingly two soldiers, one of the fifth legion, the other an auxiliary Gaul, under the excitement of revelry, proceeded to a trial of skill in wrestling. The Roman was thrown; his antagonist exulted over him; and the spectators, who had gathered round them, were soon divided into parties. The consequence was, that the legions fell upon the auxiliaries sword in hand, and two cohorts were cut to pieces. Another alarm put an end to this fray. A cloud of dust was seen at a distance, and the glittering of arms. A shout was suddenly raised, that the fourteenth legion was returning to offer battle; but it was the men who brought up the rear of the army, and when recognised, all anxiety subsided. Meanwhile a slave of Verginius was observed by the soldiers, who charged him with a design to assassinate Vitellius, and rushed directly to the banqueting-room, demanding the execution of Verginius. The emperor himself, though tremblingly alive to every suspicion, doubted not the innocence of Verginius, but with difficulty restrained the men, who thirsted for the blood of a consular man, at one time their own general. It had ever been the fate of Verginius, more than of any other officer, to encounter the seditious spirit of the army. Their admiration of the man, and their estimation of his character, remained unaltered, but they hated him as having been treated with contempt by him.

69. The next day, the deputies from the senate having been admitted to an audience, Vitellius visited the camp, and actually lauded the zeal of the soldiers, while the auxiliaries murmured at the extent of impunity now enjoyed by the legionaries, and the insolence they manifested. The Batavian cohorts had been ordered back to Germany, lest they should make any desperate attempts: the Fates even then preparing the seeds of a foreign and a civil war. The allies from Gaul were restored to their respective states: a vast unwieldy multitude, employed in the beginning of the revolt merely to make up an appearance. For the rest, that the imperial revenues, now well nigh exhausted by largesses, might hold out, Vitellius ordered the complement of the legions and auxiliaries to be reduced, and no new levies to be made. Dismissions from the service were offered indiscriminately. The policy was of the worst consequence to the commonwealth, and unacceptable to the soldiers, who had the same duties to

perform with reduced numbers, and more frequent returns of danger and toil. Their energies, too, were wasted by luxury : so different from the ancient system of discipline, and the institutions of their ancestors, with whom virtue proved a better support of Roman power than money.

70. Vitellius, quitting this place, turned out of his way to go to Cremona. Having there attended the spectacle exhibited by Cæcina, he earnestly desired to tread the field of Bedriacum, and survey the vestiges of his recent victory. Shocking and terrible was the spectacle. Forty days had not elapsed since the battle: there lay bodies, hideously mangled; limbs dismembered; the decaying forms of men and horses; the ground tainted with gore: one scene of dire devastation, where trees and the fruits of the earth were trampled under foot. No less shocking to humanity was that portion of the road which the people of Cremona had strown with roses and laurels, with altars raised and victims slain, after the custom observed towards despots. But these acts of momentary exultation in a short time after brought destruction on their authors. Valens and Cæcina attended, and pointed to the local circumstances of the battle: "From this spot the legions rushed on to the attack; thence the cavalry charged in a body; from that quarter the auxiliaries wheeled about, and surrounded the enemy." And now, the tribunes and præfects, each extolling his own achievements, gave a medley of facts and falsehoods, or facts magnified by exaggeration. The common soldiers, with shouts and exultations, quitted the road, retraced the scene of their struggles, and surveyed the heaps of arms and piles of dead bodies with delight and wonder. Some, too, reflecting on the sudden transitions of fortune, shed tears, and were touched with commiseration. But Vitellius looked on with unaverted eyes, nor shuddered to behold so many thousand bodies of Roman citizens unburied; nay, with feelings of preposterous joy, and little thinking that his catastrophe was so near, he offered solemn sacrifice to the genii of the place.

71. Next, at Bonnonia Fabius Valens exhibited a show of gladiators, with decorations brought from Rome. In proportion as the emperor advanced towards the capital, the greater the licentiousness that marked his progress: players and bands of eunuchs mixing with the soldiers, and all the other characteristic abominations of Nero's court. For Vitellius was in the habit of showing his admiration of Nero, and used to attend him when he went about singing, not by compulsion, as was the case with all

men of integrity, but enslaved by luxury and gluttony, and finding his reward in them. In order to open for Valens and Cæcina unoccupied months of office, the consulates of others were abridged. Martius Macer, as having been a general of Otho's party, was passed over; and Valerius Marinus, who had been put in nomination by Galba, was also set aside, not for any offence, but as being a man of mild temper, and likely to bear the wrong tamely. Pedanius Costa was omitted, being odious to the prince for having taken an active part against Nero, and excited the ambition of Verginius. But he pretended other reasons. To crown all, thanks were given to Vitellius, in conformity with the inveterate habit of servility.

72. A fraud, which made vigorous progress at its commencement, passed current for not more than a few days. There started up a man who pretended to be Scribonianus Camerinus, and that, through fear of the Neronian times, he had lain concealed in Istria, as the followers and the lands of the ancient Crassi, and partiality to that illustrious house, still continued there. The impostor, having engaged all the most profligate to support the fiction, the credulous vulgar, and certain of the soldiers, either led into error or from love of innovation, eagerly joined in the plot. Being brought before Vitellius, and asked who in the world he was, when it was found that no reliance was to be placed on what he stated, and he was recognised by his master as being in condition a runaway slave, named Gela, he was put to death after the manner of slaves.

73. When intelligence was brought by his chosen men from Syria and Judea that the East had sworn allegiance to him, it would hardly be believed if I were to relate how much the insolence and heartlessness of Vitellius increased; for though as yet he had been only the subject of vague and unauthenticated rumours, still Vespasian was in the mouths of men, and his fame had gone forth, so that Vitellius was frequently startled at the name of Vespasian. Now that a rival was no longer dreaded, the emperor and his army plunged into every excess of foreign manners, giving loose to cruelty, lust, and rapine.

74. Meanwhile Vespasian was considering the war, and revolving the means of conducting it. He surveyed his resources at a distance, as well as those at hand. His troops were so devoted to his interest, that, when he set them the example of swearing fidelity to Vitellius, and prayed for the entire prosperity of his reign, the soldiers heard him in profound silence. Mucianus was zealously attached to

Titus, and not averse to Vespasian. Alexander, the præfect of Egypt, shared his counsels. The third legion, which had been removed from Syria to Mæsia, he considered as his own, and had hopes that all the other legions in Illyricum would follow its example. In fact, all the armies were in a flame at the insolence of the soldiers that came among them from Vitellius; terrific in person, and uncouth in their language, they treated all others with contempt. But, in an enterprise of such importance, it was natural to hesitate; and Vespasian, one while elate with hope, at other times reflected upon the counteracting motives. "What a day would that be, when he should commit himself, at the age of sixty, with his two youthful sons, to a civil war! In undertakings of a private nature, men may retreat, and draw more or less upon fortune as they please; but when sovereign power is the object sought, there is no middle ground between the highest elevation and the abyss of destruction.

75. The valour of the German armies, well known to him as an experienced soldier, continually recurred to his imagination. "The legions under his command had not been tried in a civil war, while those of the Vitellians had conquered in one. The vanquished would exhibit more of discontent than vigour. In civil discord the fidelity of the soldiery is an unstable reliance; and danger is to be apprehended from each individual. For of what avail would be cohorts of foot, and squadrons of horse, if one or two should seek, by a deed of daring villany, the reward ever held out by an adverse party. Such was the fate of Scribonianus in the reign of Claudius: he was murdered by Vologinius, a common soldier, and the highest posts in the service were the wages of an assassin. It was an easier task to incite whole armies to action, than to escape the attacks of individuals.

76. While wavering under the effect of these timorous anticipations, his resolution was confirmed by other delegates and friends, and among the rest by Mucianus, who, after many conversations in private, now in public also thus addressed him: "All who meditate the accomplishment of great enterprises, ought to weigh carefully whether that which is being undertaken is beneficial to the commonwealth, honourable to themselves, and either easy to be achieved, or certainly not attended with arduous difficulties. At the same time, the character of the man who advises the measure should be considered, whether he hazard himself in the enterprise. And, if fortune favour the undertaking, who is to reap the chief glory?"



I am the person, Vespasian, who invite you to empire, as much for the good of the commonwealth, as for your own glory: next after the gods, the issue depends on your own exertions. Nor should you be deterred by apprehensions that I am imposing upon you by flattery. To be elected emperor after Vitellius is rather a disgrace, than an honour. It is not against the vigorous mind of Augustus, nor the consummate craft of the aged Tiberius; nor against the house of Caligula, or Claudius, or Nero, firmly established by the long possession of imperial power that we rise up. Even Galba's illustrious line of ancestors commanded your submission. But longer to remain inactive, and leave the commonwealth a prey to vice and infamy, would seem sheer lethargy and cowardice; even if to serve were as free from danger to you as it is replete with dishonour. The time is departed, and gone by, when you might appear to have desired the empire: you must flee to the sovereignty as your only refuge. Have we forgotten the butchered Corbulo? the splendour of his birth was superior, it must be confessed, to ours: but Nero too surpassed Vitellius in the lustre of his ancestry. In the eyes of the person who lives in fear, the man who makes himself dreaded is illustrious enough, be he who he may. And that the armies can create an emperor, Vitellius furnishes the proof: a man of no experience as a soldier, no military renown, but owing his elevation to Galba's disrepute. Otho, whom he has caused to be regretted and regarded as a great prince, was conquered, not by his skill as a general, or the valour of his army, but by his own precipitate despair of success. While Vitellius, in the interval, is disbanding his legions, disarming the cohorts, and every day furnishing the seeds for war, whatever of spirit and fire his soldiery possessed is wasting away in taverns and drunken revelry, and in aping the habits of the prince. On the other hand, you have from Syria, Judæa, and Egypt, nine legions, unimpaired by battles, and undebauched by dissensions. An army inured to the operations of war, and crowned with victory over the enemies of their country. The prime of fleets, of cavalry, and cohorts; kings, devoted to your cause; and your own experience, superior to all of them.

77. " For myself, I claim nothing, but not to be thought inferior to Valens or Cæcina. If in Mucianus you do not find a rival, do not therefore despise him, as I count myself superior to Vitellius, but inferior to you. Your house has been distinguished by triumphal honours; you have two sons, one of them already equal to the weight of em-

pire, and who acquired fame even with the German armies in the early period of his service. Had I myself the sovereign power, I should adopt your son; it were absurd therefore not to yield to you the claim of empire. However, the distribution of the rewards of success, and the consequences of failure, between us, will not be one and the same; for if we conquer, I shall have such honour as you may please to bestow, but the hazard and danger we shall share equally; nay rather, as is the better course, do you rule these armies, and consign to me the war, and the casualties of hostile encounters. In the vanquished party there is stricter discipline than in the victorious; anger, indignation, and a desire for revenge, fan the flame of valour. The former have lost all sense of virtue, through disdain and frowardness. The war itself will discover and reopen the concealed and angry wounds of the victorious party. Nor is my confidence excited more by your vigilance, economy, and wisdom, than by the torpor, ignorance, and cruelty of Vitellius. But our case is better if we take up arms, than if we continue in peace; for those who deliberate about revolting have revolted already."

78. After this speech of Mucianus, all the rest, with increased confidence, pressed round Vespasian, recounting the responses of seers and the motions of the stars. Nor was Vespasian untinged with that superstition, for afterwards, when possessed of the supreme authority, he openly retained a mathematician, named Seleucus, to guide and warn him by his predictions. Former prognostics again presented themselves to his mind: a cypress-tree of conspicuous height, on his own estate, had fallen suddenly to the ground, and, on the following day, rose again, on the same spot, and resumed its verdure, increased in height and breadth. This, in the unanimous opinion of the soothsayers, was an omen of grandeur and prosperity, and the prospect of the highest renown was held out to Vespasian in his early youth. But at first, triumphal honours, the consulship, and the glory of conquering Judæa seemed to have fulfilled the prediction; when he had acquired these, he began to cherish the conviction that the imperial dignity was foreshown to him. Between Syria and Judæa stands mount Carmel, such is the name given to the mountain and the deity; nor is there any representation of the deity or temple; according to ancient usage, there is only an altar and worship. While Vespasian was offering sacrifice there, and was meditating on his secret aspirations, Basilides, the priest,

having examined the entrails of the victims diligently, said to Vespasian, "Whatever are your designs, whether to build a house, to enlarge the boundaries of your lands, or increase your slaves, a mighty seat, immense borders, a multitude of men are given to you." This mysterious prediction was forthwith spread abroad, and now received an interpretation. Nor was there any more frequent topic of discourse among the populace; still more frequent were the conversations upon it in the presence of Vespasian himself, in proportion as more things are said to those who entertain hopes.

79. Mucianus and Vespasian, with minds thoroughly made up, parted, and went, the former to Antioch, the capital of Syria, the latter to Cæsarea, the capital of Judæa. The first public step towards creating Vespasian emperor of Rome, was taken at Alexandria in Egypt: Tiberius Alexander, the præfect of the province, eager to show his zeal, administered the oath to the legions under his command, on the calends of July; and that day was ever after celebrated as the first of Vespasian's reign, though the army in Judæa swore fidelity on the fifth before the naves of the same month to Vespasian himself, with such zeal that they would not wait for the return of his son Titus from Syria, who bore despatches relative to the plans between his father and Mucianus. The whole transaction was hurried on by the impetuosity of the soldiery, without any public harangue, and without a union of the legions.

80. While they were looking out for a proper time and place, and, that which forms the chief difficulty in such affairs, who should first declare—while hope and fear, the calculations of reason and the uncertainties of fortune, presented themselves to the mind, a small number of soldiers, who were stationed near him in the usual form to salute him as lieutenant-general when he came forth from his chamber, saluted him by the title of emperor. The whole body then pressed forward, and loaded him with the name of Cæsar, Augustus, and every other title of imperial grandeur. In a moment his fears subsided, and he resolved to pursue the road of ambition. In his own conduct there was no manifestation of vanity, or insolence, or affectation of manners suited to his altered position. The instant he dissipated the film, which so great a change had spread over his vision, he addressed them in the spirit of a soldier, and received with courtesy the congratulations of all, and the troops that came flocking to him. And now Mucianus, who waited for this opportunity, ad-

ministered the oath of allegiance to Vespasian to the soldiers, who took it with alacrity. Mucianus then went into the theatre at Antioch, where the inhabitants were used to hold their public debates, and harangued the multitude that crowded round him, and poured forth their compliments in profusion, as he could speak with considerable grace and eloquence, even in the Greek language, and possessed a peculiar talent of producing effect in whatever he said or did. Nothing inflamed the passions of the army and the province so much as his assurance, "that it was a fixed point with Vitellius, to transfer the German troops to Syria, to serve in a rich and peaceful province; while, in exchange, the barracks in Germany, where the climate was severe and the service arduous, should be occupied by the legions of Syria: for both the natives of the province, by the force of habit, took a pleasure in the society of the soldiers, and many were united with them by close relationships and connections; and their camp, so familiar and natural to them, from the long time they had served in it, was regarded by the soldiers with the affection felt for the domestic hearth.

81. Before the ides of July, the whole province of Syria had taken the same oath. His party was further strengthened by Sohemus, with his kingdom, no contemptible accession; and also by Antiochus, who inherited immense treasures from his ancestors, and was the richest of all the kings who submitted to the authority of Rome. Soon after, Agrippa receiving private expresses from the East, summoning him from Rome, departed before Vitellius had any intelligence, and by a quick navigation passed over into Asia. Queen Berenice, at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty, with no less zeal espoused the interest of Vespasian, to whom, notwithstanding his advanced age, she had made herself agreeable by magnificent presents. The several maritime provinces, including Asia and Achaia, and the whole inland country between Pontus and the two Armenias, entered into the confederacy; but the governors of those provinces had no forces, as no legions were as yet stationed in Cappadocia. A council was held at Berytus, on the general state of affairs. Mucianus attended, with the generals and tribunes, and all the most distinguished of the centurions and soldiers, and a chosen band of the most eminent of the army in Judæa. An assembly, consisting of such a numerous train of horse and foot, and of eastern kings, who vied with each other in splendour and

magnificence, presented a spectacle worthy of the imperial dignity.

82. The first object in the prosecution of the war was to raise recruits, and recall the veterans to the service. The strong cities were fixed upon to ply the manufacture of arms, and a mint for gold and silver coin was established at Antioch. The whole was carried on with diligence, each in its appointed place, by persons qualified for the service. Vespasian in person visited every quarter; encouraged the industrious by commendations; roused the inactive by his example, more frequently than by rebuke: shutting his eyes to the failings of his friends rather than their merits. He advanced many to the administration of provinces, and others to the rank of senators; all men of distinguished character, who rose afterwards to the highest honours in the state. There were some whose good fortune supplied the place of virtues. Neither did Mucianus in his first harangue hold out hopes of a donative, except upon a moderate scale; nor did even Vespasian, though engaged in a civil war, offer more than others in times of peace; setting a bright example of firmness against corrupting the soldiery by largess; and to that firmness he owed the superiority of his army. Ambassadors were sent to Parthia and Armenia, and arrangements proposed that, when the legions marched to the civil war, the country in their rear should not be left defenceless. Titus was to follow up the war in Judæa, while Vespasian held the passes into Egypt. To make head against Vitellius, part of the army was deemed sufficient, under the conduct of Mucianus, with Vespasian's name, and the resistless power of destiny. Letters were despatched to the several armies, and the officers in command, with instructions to conciliate the prætorian soldiers, who were exasperated against Vitellius, by the allurements of reinstating them in the service.

83. Mucianus, with the appearance rather of an associate in the sovereign power, than an officer, advanced at the head of a light-armed detachment, never lingering in the course of his progress, that he might not be thought irresolute, and yet, not proceeding rapidly; by the very time he consumed he afforded an opportunity for rumour to gather strength; well aware that his forces were none of the greatest, and that exaggerated notions are formed of things at a distance. But he was followed by the sixth legion, and thirteen thousand vexillaries, forming together a vast body. The fleet at Pontus had orders to assemble at Byzantium, as he had not determined whether he

should not avoid Mæsia, and beset Dyrrhachium with his foot and horse, while his men of war commanded the sea towards Italy; thus protecting Achaia and Asia in his rear, which would be exposed to the mercy of Vitellius, unless they were strengthened by forces; and on the other hand, Vitellius himself would not know what part of Italy to guard, if Brundisium and Tarentum, and the coasts of Lucania and Calabria, were menaced by his fleets.

84. The provinces therefore resounded with the bustle of warlike preparations, soldiers, ships, and arms. How to raise money was the chief difficulty. Mucianus, whose constant plea was, that funds were the sinews of war, in all questions regarded neither truth nor justice, but merely the extent of means possessed. Informations followed without number, and all the richest men were plundered without mercy. Oppressive and intolerable as these proceedings were, the pressing exigencies of the war furnished an excuse; but the practice continued even in peace. Vespasian himself, in the beginning of his reign, was not so urgent in enforcing oppressions; but at length corrupted by the smiles of fortune and evil instructors, he learned the arts of rapacity, and dared to practise them. Mucianus, even from his own funds, contributed to the war; expending his private means that he might plunder the public the more, under pretext of indemnifying himself. The rest followed his example in contributing money, but precious few enjoyed the same uncontrolled power of reimbursement.

85. In the mean time, the project of Vespasian was accelerated by the army in Illyricum coming over to his interest. In Mæsia the third legion revolted, and drew after them the eighth, and also the seventh, called the Claudian; both favourably disposed to Otho, though not engaged in the action at Bedriacum. They had advanced as far as Aquileia, when being informed of Otho's overthrow, they spurned and assaulted the messengers; tore the colours that displayed the name of Vitellius; and lastly, having plundered the military chests, and divided the spoil, conducted themselves as open enemies. Whence their fears, which prompted them to take counsel: they considered that what required pardon from Vitellius, might be made a merit of with Vespasian. Accordingly they sent despatches to the army in Pannonia, inviting them to join the league; and made ready, if they did not comply, to compel them. In this commotion, Aponius Saturninus, governor of Mæsia, conceived a most iniqui-

tous design. Under colour of public zeal, but to gratify private malice, he despatched a centurion to murder Tertius Julianus, who commanded the seventh legion. That officer had timely notice, and providing himself with guides who knew the country, escaped through devious tracts to the region beyond Mount Hæmus. From that time he took no part in the civil war; affected often to be on the point of setting out to join Vespasian; but delayed his journey on various pretences, and according to the intelligence he received, either studiously dallying, or quickening his motions.

86. On the other hand, in Pannonia, the thirteenth legion, and the seventh, called the Galbian, still feeling with indignation their defeat at Bedriacum, unhesitatingly joined the party of Vespasian, principally at the persuasion of Antonius Primus, convicted of forgery in the reign of Nero, and obnoxious to the laws: among the other evils of civil dissension, he recovered the senatorian rank. Advanced by Galba to the command of the seventh legion, according to report, he wrote several letters to Otho, offering himself as general of the party. Otho paid no attention to the proposal, and he was not employed in the Othonian war. When the cause of Vitellius began to decline, he veered round to Vespasian, and became a grand support to the party; for he was a man of great personal courage; a fluent speaker; had the art of drawing down odium upon others; a great man in civil broils and mutinies; rapacious; profuse; a pest in peace, but no contemptible character in war. The armies of Mæsia and Pannonia thus formed a junction, and drew the forces of Dalmatia after them, though the consular governors remained neutral. Titus Ampius Flavianus ruled in Pannonia, and Poppæus Silvanus in Dalmatia; both rich, and advanced in years, but Cornelius Fuscus, descended from illustrious ancestors, and then in the vigour of life, was there as imperial procurator. In his youth he had resigned his senatorian rank, from love of retirement. In behalf of Galba he commanded his own colony, and for the service obtained the post of procurator; and now taking part with Vespasian, he carried, as it were, a flaming firebrand in the van of the movement; glorying not so much in the reward of dangers, as in dangers themselves. He preferred a life of enterprise, uncertainty, and peril, to security and the enjoyment of his previous acquisitions. Wherever they believed that there existed a discontented spirit, they set about exciting and stirring it into action. They sent despatches to the fourteenth legion in

Britain, and to the first in Spain, knowing that both had favoured the cause of Otho against Vitellius. Their letters were spread all over Gaul, and in a moment a war of vast extent blazed forth; the forces in Illyricum declaring openly for Vespasian, and all the others ready to follow where the prospect of success invited.

87. While Vespasian and the leaders of his party were thus employed throughout the provinces, Vitellius, growing daily more insignificant and supine, advanced by slow marches towards the city of Rome, stopping for every gratification that presented itself in the villas and municipal towns. He was followed by sixty thousand men in arms, all corrupted by excessive indulgence. The number of drudges was still greater; while sutlers, the most froward characters in existence, were mingled with the slaves. There was also a train of officers and courtiers, whom it would have been difficult to keep in subjection, even though their ruler had exhibited the most exemplary self-command. The crowd was rendered still more cumbersome by senators and Roman knights, who came from Rome to meet the prince; some impelled by fear, many to pay their court, others, and gradually all came under this denomination, that they might not stay behind while others went. A multitude of the populace, known to Vitellius as the servile ministers of his vices, joined the throng; such as players, buffoons, and charioteers, characters that are a disgrace to the name of friends, but in which Vitellius wonderfully delighted. In furnishing such a mass of provisions; not the colonies and municipal cities alone were exhausted, but the fruits of the earth being then ripe, the husbandmen and the land, as if it were an enemy's country, were stripped.

88. The animosity between the legions and the auxiliaries, which followed the mutiny at Ticinum, still continuing, frequent and dreadful butcheries occurred among the soldiery; but when they had to contend with the peasants they were unanimous. The most extensive carnage happened seven miles from Rome. At that place Vitellius ordered victuals, ready dressed, to be distributed among the soldiers, as if it were a feast to pamper a band of gladiators, and the common people, who had come in crowds from Rome, were dispersed through the camp. In sport, as they considered, such as is usual among slaves, some of them made free with the soldiers who were sauntering about, slyly cutting off their belts, and then teased them by asking if they were girt with their arms. Their spirit, intolerant of any indignity, would not



brook the jest: they fell sword in hand on the defenceless multitude. Among the slain was the father of one of the soldiers, as he accompanied his son. He was soon after recognised, and his death being made known, it put a stop to the slaughter of unoffending persons. Rome, however, was thrown into consternation, a number of soldiers hurrying forward into the city. They made chiefly for the forum, impatient to see the spot where Galba had fallen. Covered with the skins of savage beasts, and wielding large and massive spears, the spectacle which they exhibited to the Roman citizens was no less hideous, when, from stupidity, they ran against the crowded people, or when falling down from the slipperiness of the street, or from encountering some one, they resorted to abuse, from which, anon, they proceeded to blows and the sword. Nay, even the tribunes and centurions, at the head of their troops of cavalry, scoured through the streets, spreading terror as they went.

89. Vitellius himself, in his military robe, girt with his sword, and mounted on a superb horse, advanced from the Milvian bridge, driving the senate and the people before him. His friends, however, by their advice deterred him from entering the city as though it were taken by storm: he therefore put on his senatorian robe, and made his entry in a pacific manner. The eagles of four legions led the way, with an equal number of standards from other legions on each side. Then the colours of twelve squadrons of horse. The files of infantry followed, and after them the cavalry. Next in order were four and thirty cohorts, distinguished according to their several nations, or the description of their arms. The præfects of the camp, the tribunes, and principal centurions, arrayed in white, preceded their several eagles. The rest of the officers marched at the head of their companies, all gleaming with their arms and honours. The collars of the common men, and the trappings of the horses, had a glittering appearance, an imposing spectacle, and an army worthy of a better prince than Vitellius. Thus he proceeded to the Capitol, and there, embracing his mother, saluted her by the name of Augusta.

90. Next day Vitellius delivered an harangue, and spoke of himself in laudatory terms, as if he addressed the senate and people of another city; magnifying his industry and temperance, though in the presence of men privy to his vices, as well as all Italy, in passing through which he had made the most shameful exhibition of sloth and luxury. The populace, however careless, and tho-

roughly versed in flattery, without discrimination between truth or falsehood, gave many tokens of approbation by shouts and exclamations; and on his declining to accept the title of Augustus, they obliged him to receive it; but his compliance was as nugatory as his refusal.

91. In a city which gave a meaning to every thing, it was considered as an unfavourable omen that Vitellius, who had obtained the office of chief pontiff, had issued an edict concerning the rites and ceremonies of religion, dated the fifteenth before the calends of August, a day rendered inauspicious by the disasters of Cremera and Allia. Profoundly ignorant of law, human and divine, and his freedmen and courtiers as doltish as himself, he seemed like one of a party where all were fuddled. But Vitellius attending the assembly for the election of consuls with the other candidates, as a mere citizen, sought to catch every breath of applause from the lowest of the people, both as a spectator in the theatre, and as a partisan in the circus; arts, it must be admitted, calculated to please, and popular if they were based upon good qualities; but from the recollection of his past life, they were regarded as the efforts of a low and abject spirit. He went frequently to the senate, even when the subject of debate was of a small moment; and on one occasion Helvidius Priscus, prætor elect, happening to give an opinion opposed to the emperor's inclination, Vitellius, incensed at the moment, went no further than to call upon the tribunes of the people to support his slighted authority. Upon this his friends, apprehending his more settled displeasure, endeavoured to soften him. His answer was, "Nothing new has happened in two senators of a free state differing in opinion; he himself too used to oppose Thræsea." Many ridiculed the insolence of the comparison; others derived satisfaction from the very circumstance of his having selected, as a model of true glory, not one of the men of over-grown power, but Thræsea.

92. Publius Sabinus, from being præfect of a cohort, and Julius Priscus, a centurion, were advanced to the command of the prætorian guards. The former owed his elevation to the friendship of Valens, and the latter to that of Cæcina. By those two ministers, though at variance, the authority of the emperor was rendered a nullity. Valens and Cæcina administered all the functions of empire; their mutual animosity, which had been ill suppressed during the war and in the camp, the malignity of their friends, and the various factions that for ever distract the city of Rome, had inflamed; while they vied with each

other in influence, in their train of followers and their crowded levees, and were brought into comparison by others; Vitellius showing a preference now for one of them and now for the other. Nor indeed does it ever happen that dependence is to be placed upon power where it is immoderate. At the same time they alternately despised and feared Vitellius himself, who was liable to shift his affections upon any unpremeditated offence, or blandishments addressed to him when not in the humour to receive them. They were not, however, the less prompt in seizing houses, gardens, and the wealth of the empire; while a piteous and indigent throng of illustrious men, whom Galba had recalled from banishment, received no help from the compassion of the prince. That he restored to those who were recalled from exile their rights over their freedmen, was acceptable to the grandees of the city, and even gained the applause of the populace; though this boon was marred in every conceivable way by the low cunning that marks the genius of slaves, who deposited their money with others, either with the mere object of concealing it, or with ambitious views; and some of them were translated into the imperial family, and there acquired more influence than their masters.

93. But the soldiers, as the camp was crowded, and their numbers overflowed, being left to go where they pleased, in the public porticoes, the temples, and every part of the city, took no notice of their head quarters, neglected the watches, omitted all invigorating exercises. Abandoning themselves to the temptations of the city, and vices shocking to relate, they impaired the vigour of their bodies by sloth, and of their minds by lewdness. At length, negligent even of health, many of them pitched their tents in the abhorred regions of the Vatican: whence frequent deaths among the soldiers in general; and, as the Tiber was near, their eagerness for water, and their impatience of heat, broke up the sickly constitutions of the Germans and Gauls. Moreover, the established system of the service was violated through erroneous judgment or intrigue: sixteen cohorts for the prætorian camp, and four for the city, were raised, each to consist of a thousand men. Valens arrogated to himself the chief direction in this levy, on the ground that he had rescued Cæcina himself from danger. And it must be admitted that the arrival of Valens had given life and vigour to the cause; and he had turned the current of adverse

fame, in consequence of the slowness of his march, by a successful battle. The soldiers from the Lower Germany were to a man devoted to his interest. On which account the fidelity of Cæcina is believed to have begun to waver.

94. The indulgence shown by Vitellius to his principal officers, still fell short of the license given to the common soldiers. Each man chose his own station, though unfit for it; if it was his choice, he was appointed to the city service. Then, again, others, well adapted, were suffered to remain in the legions or the cavalry, as they pleased, and there were many who wished it, worn out as they were with diseases, and dissatisfied with the temperature of the climate. The flower of the legions and auxiliary cavalry was however withdrawn from them. The beauty of the camp was totally destroyed: twenty thousand men being taken promiscuously, rather than selected out of the whole army. While Vitellius was holding an harangue, Ascalicus Flavius and Rufinus, who had commanded in Gaul, were required to be given up to punishment, as they had served in the cause of Vindex. Nor did Vitellius restrain such demands. Besides the natural supineness of his disposition, he knew that the time for discharging the promised donative was drawing near; and having no funds to answer the expectation of the soldiers, he granted whatever else they required. In order to raise supplies, a tax was imposed on all the freedmen of former emperors, to be collected in proportion to the number of their slaves. Vitellius himself, whose sole anxiety was how to spend money, built a set of stables for the charioteers, kept in the circus a constant spectacle of gladiators and wild beasts, and fooled away his money as if his treasury overflowed with wealth.

95. Nay, Cæcina and Valens even, celebrated the birthday of Vitellius by exhibiting shows of gladiators in every quarter of the city, with prodigious pomp, and theretofore rarely paralleled. It was a source of delight to the vile and profligate, but of disgust to all men of principle and of virtue, that he erected altars in the Campus Martius, and paid funeral honours to Nero. Victims were slain and burnt, in the name of the state, and the torch was applied by the Augustan priests; a priesthood dedicated by Tiberius to the Julian family, in imitation of that consecrated by Romulus to Tatius, the Sabine king. From the victory at Bedriacum four months had not elapsed, and yet, in that short time, Asiaticus, the manu-

mitted slave of the emperor, rivalled the Polycleti, the Patrobii, and other names, long consigned to execration. No man endeavoured to rise by his virtue or his talents in that court. The only road to preferment was by sumptuous banquets, profusion, and debauchery, to pander to the ever-craving appetites of Vitellius. As for Vitellius himself, satisfied with consuming all within his reach, and without a thought for anything beyond the moment, he is believed to have squandered nine hundred thousand great sesterces, (about £7,500,000,) in a very few months indeed. This great, but hapless city, afflicted with an Otho and a Vitellius in the same year, between the Vinii, Fabii, Iceli, and Asiatici, experienced every variety of distress and degradation, only to fall into the hands of Mucianus and Marcellus, different men, but with the same vices.

96. The first intelligence of a revolt, that reached the ear of Vitellius, was that of the third legion, in Illyricum, and conveyed in a letter sent by Aponius Saturninus, before he too joined the party of Vespasian. But his despatches, as he wrote in the first tumult of surprise, did not state the whole of the mischief; and his friend, in the spirit of adulation, endeavoured to put the most favourable construction upon it. They called it a mutiny of one legion only, while every other army preserved its allegiance unshaken. Vitellius addressed the soldiers to the same effect, inveighing against the prætorians, lately disbanded, by whom, he maintained, false reports had been disseminated, and that there was no reason to fear a civil war; not mentioning the name of Vespasian: and, to suppress all talk among the populace, soldiers were dispersed throughout the city: a proceeding which contributed more than anything to spread the news.

97. Notwithstanding, he summoned auxiliaries from Germany, both Spains, and Britain, not in an urgent manner, but studiously concealing the pressing nature of the occasion; and, accordingly, the governors of the provinces were in no haste to obey: Hordeonius Flaccus, at that time suspecting the designs of the Batavians, was occupied with the thoughts of a war upon his own hands. In Britain, Vettius Bolanus was kept in a constant alarm by the restless genius of the natives; and both were on the balance between Vitellius and Vespasian. Spain showed no alacrity in sending troops, as she was then without a governor of consular rank; the commanders of the three legions, equal in authority, and, as long as Vitellius prospered, disposed to contend which should be the most

submissive, equally declined all connection with him in adversity. In Africa, the legion and cohorts levied there by Clodius Macer, and disbanded by Galba, were again embodied by order of Vitellius; at the same time, the rest of the youth promptly enlisted. The fact was, Vitellius had governed Africa as proconsul with uprightness and condescension; but Vespasian with disrepute and odium: the allies formed their ideas of what they had to expect under the reign of each accordingly; but the proof showed otherwise.

98. At first, Valerius Festus, the governor of the province, co-operated with the zeal of the people, but in a short time began to waver; in his letters and public edicts warmly supporting Vitellius, but in his secret correspondence Vespasian: determining to maintain the cause which proved the strongest. In Rhætia and the Gauls, certain soldiers and centurions, seized with letters and proclamations of Vespasian, were sent to Vitellius, and put to death. More, by their own address, or the protection of their friends, escaped detection. The consequence was, that the measures of Vitellius transpired, while most of those of Vespasian remained a secret, owing first to the stupidity of Vitellius, but afterwards, the Pannonian Alps, secured by a chain of posts, obstructed the transmission of intelligence; and the sea, which, from the blowing of the Etesian winds, favoured the navigation to the east, was adverse to the homeward voyage.

99. At length, the enemy having made an irruption into Italy, and news big with danger arriving from every quarter, Vitellius, in the greatest alarm, gave orders to his generals to take the field. Cæcina was sent in advance, while Valens, who was just recovering from a severe illness, was detained by weakness. Far different was the appearance of the German forces, marching out of the city. Their strength wasted; their vigour of mind depressed; their motions slow, and ranks thin; their arms inefficient; their horses spiritless; the men overpowered by the heat, the dust, and the weather, and prompt to mutiny in proportion as they wanted the energy to encounter toil. In addition, there was the habitual ambition of Cæcina, and his indolence, newly contracted, dissolved in luxury as he was, from the excessive indulgence of fortune; or perhaps meditating perfidy, even then, it was part of his plan to impair the vigour of the army. Most men believed that the constancy of Cæcina was undermined by the arts of Flavius Sabinus, Rubrius Gallus being the bearer of

his messages; who assured him, that the terms on which it was stipulated that he should come over to the party, would be fulfilled by Vespasian. At the same time, when he recollected the hatred and jealousy subsisting between himself and Valens, it occurred to him, that, as he had less weight with Vespasian than his rival, he ought to lay the foundation of interest and influence with his successor.

100. Cæcina on quitting the embrace of Vitellius, who treated him with much respect, sent forward a detachment of the cavalry to take possession of Cremona. The vexillaries of the fourteenth and sixteenth legions followed, and after them the fifth and twenty-second. The rear was closed by the twenty-first, named RAPAX, and the first legion, called the ITALIC, with the vexillaries of three British legions, and the flower of the auxiliary forces. Cæcina having set out, Valens wrote to the army, which he had conducted into Italy, to wait for him on their march, such, he said, was his understanding with Cæcina. But the latter, being on the spot, and, by consequence, having greater weight, pretended that that plan had been altered, to the end that they might meet the formidable approach of the enemy with their united forces. Thus he ordered the legions to proceed by rapid marches to Cremona, and a detachment to make for Hostilia. He himself turned off towards Ravenna, under a pretence of conferring with the officers of the fleet; soon after, he went to Patavium, that in that retired spot he might settle the plan of betraying the cause. For Lucilius Bassus, a man, who, from a squadron of horse, had been raised by Vitellius to the command of two fleets, one at Ravenna, and the other at Misenum, because he did not immediately obtain the command of the prætorian guards, sought to gratify his unjust resentment by the most flagitious perfidy: nor can it be ascertained whether he corrupted Cæcina, or, as is often the case with bad men, namely, that they also resemble each other in their conduct, the same depraved motives actuated both.

101. The historians of the times, who, while the Flavian house possessed the sovereign power, recorded the transactions of this war, have corrupted the truth, from motives of flattery, in stating that this transaction is attributable to an anxiety to preserve peace and true patriotism. For myself, I think, that, in addition to his inherent inconstancy and contempt for principle, after his treachery to Galba, he was induced to ruin the cause

of Vitellius from rivalry and jealousy; lest others should surpass him in influence with that prince. Cæcina, having overtaken the legions, endeavoured by all kinds of artifices to work upon the minds of the centurions and soldiery who were devoted to the cause of Vitellius. Bassus, in playing the same game, experienced less difficulty, as the mariners were predisposed to throw off their allegiance, from the impressions existing in their minds, in consequence of having served in the cause of Otho.



# THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

## BOOK III.

1. THE leaders of the Flavian party conducted their deliberations on the prosecution of the war with greater success, and in better faith. They met at Pætovio, the winter-quarters of the thirteenth legion. There they discussed the question, whether it was most advisable to secure the passes over the Pannonian Alps, till the forces in their rear should all be prepared to co-operate with them, or whether it would be the more valorous course to push on and battle for Italy. Those who proposed to wait for aids, and protract the war, referred to "The high fame and valour of the German legions, and to the fact, that Vitellius had been reinforced by the flower of the army in Britain, while their own legions were inferior in number, and had been lately conquered. They talked indeed with ferocity; but the spirit of vanquished men invariably drooped. If the Alps were occupied by them for awhile, Mucianus would come up with the strength of the East, and Vespasian would still have the command of the sea, fleets, and provinces in his favour, through which he might collect a mass of forces, for, as it were, another war. From delay, thus salutary, new succours would be derived, while their present force would continue undiminished."

2. Antonius Primus, the grand promoter of the war, replied that, "Speed would be advantageous to themselves, and ruinous to Vitellius. The conquerors had grown in slothfulness, more than they had gained in confidence; for they were not kept under arms, and in the camp, but, dispersed through all the municipal towns of Italy, had lost their martial spirit: objects of terror to their landlords only. The more savage and uncouth their former mode of living, the greater the avidity with which they plunged into unwonted pleasures. They were enervated by the circus, the theatres, and the delights of Rome, or disabled by disease; but allow them time, and even they would recover their energy, having their thoughts fixed on war. Germany was near at hand,

whence they might obtain succours; Britain was separated by a narrow channel; Spain and Gaul were contiguous, and from both they may draw supplies of men, and horses, and money. All Italy was at their command, and the wealth of Rome. If they chose to act on the offensive, they had two fleets, and the Illyrian sea open to them. Then what would be the use of shutting up the mountain passes, and of protracting the war till another summer? whence, in the mean time, are we to find money and provisions? Nay, rather should they take advantage of the very fact, that the legions of Pannonia, beguiled rather than conquered, were eager to rise up and vindicate their honour, while the Mæsiar armies came with forces entire and undefeated. If the number of men, and not of legions, be reckoned, on the side of Vespasian, there was superior force, and no licentiousness; while a sense of shame had promoted discipline. In the last action the cavalry suffered no disgrace; on the contrary, though the event of the day was adverse, they threw the enemy into disorder. Two squadrons of horse, one from Pannonia, the other from Mæsia, broke through the line of their opponents: now, the joint forces of sixteen squadrons, by the impetuosity of their onset, their shouts, the clangour of their arms, and the very dust raised by them, will confound and overwhelm the horses and their riders, both having lost what they knew of battles. What I advise, I will execute, if allowed. You, who have not taken a decided part, keep the legions with you: the light-armed cohorts will be sufficient for me. Presently you will hear that I have forced a passage into Italy; that the affairs of Vitellius have sustained a shock: you will then be delighted to follow, and tread in the steps of the conqueror."

3. He poured forth these and similar remarks, in such a manner, his eyes flashing fire, and with tones of thunder, to make himself heard the farther, for the centurions and soldiers had pressed into the council, that even the wary and prudent were carried away by the torrent of his eloquence. The crowd extolled him, despising the common soldiers and the other officers for their want of spirit, as the only man of enterprise and worthy of command. In a former council of war, where Vespasian's letters were read to the meeting, Antonius had at once made a favourable impression on his hearers, when he appeared fairly and openly to grapple with the matter; not as many do, using equivocal terms, which might afterwards receive the construction that suited the views of the

speaker; and thus the soldiers the more admired a general, whom they saw ready to be their partner in the censure or glory of the enterprise.

4. Cornelius Fuscus, the procurator of the province, was the next in credit. He too, as he was used to inveigh against Vitellius unsparingly, had left himself nothing to hope for, if the cause failed. Titus Ampius Flavianus, his natural slowness increased by years, provoked the suspicion of the soldiers, who thought him influenced by his connection with Vitellius; and also, as, in the first commotion of the legions, he fled from his post, and shortly afterwards returned to the province, he was believed to have sought an occasion of treachery. For he had quitted Pannonia, entered Italy, and was clear of danger; but was induced to return, to resume his authority, and mix himself up in the troubles of a civil war, by his thirst for innovation. To this he was incited by the advice of Cornelius Fuscus, not with a view of deriving advantage from his talents, but that the name of a consular officer might give an air of credit and respectability to the party which was just then springing up.

5. But, to march the troops into Italy safely, and with advantage to the cause, letters were sent to Aponius Saturninus, ordering him to advance, by rapid marches, with his army from Mæsia. At the same time, that the provinces thus evacuated might not lie open to the incursions of barbarians, the chiefs of the Jazyges, a people of Sarmatia, who hold the chief rule among those states, were engaged to co-operate. They offered to bring into the field a body of the natives, and also their cavalry, in which consists the sole strength of the country. Their service, however, was not accepted, lest they should learn to interfere with the affairs of other countries in the distractions that convulsed the empire, or for better pay from the opposite party break faith and desert. The Suevian nation had, at all times, given proofs of attachment to the Romans; and, as they were remarkably tenacious of engagements entered into, their two kings, Sido and Italicus, were admitted into the league. As Rhætia, where Portius Septimius, the procurator, remained firm to Vitellius, was hostile, auxiliaries were stationed in flank. With this view Sextilius Felix was sent with a squadron of horse called Auriana, eight cohorts, and the militia of Noricum, with orders to line the banks of the river Ænus, which divides Rhætia from Noricum. But neither the latter nor the former sought to bring on a battle. The fate of the parties was elsewhere decided.

6. Antonius Primus pressed on to invade Italy at the head of a body of vexillaries drafted from the cohorts, and a detachment of the cavalry. He was accompanied by Arius Varus, an officer of distinguished valour, who had served under Corbulo, from whose character and successes in Armenia he derived all his reputation. He was also said to have disparaged the virtues of Corbulo by secret insinuations poured into the ear of Nero, whence, by favour thus infamously acquired, he rose to the rank of principal centurion; but his ill-gotten advancement, though highly gratifying at the time, proved his ruin in the end. To proceed, Antonius and Varus took possession of all the parts adjacent to Aquileia. At Opitergium and Altinum they were received with feelings of joy. At Altinum a garrison was left to check the fleet at Ravenna, not then known to have revolted. They then united Patavium and Ateste to their party. The generals there learnt that three Vitellian cohorts, with the squadron of horse called Scriboniana, had taken post at Forum Allienum, after throwing up a bridge. The opportunity seemed fair to attack them, for they were also reported to be remiss and negligent. At the dawn of day they surprised and overpowered the greater part, while unarmed. It had been previously ordered, that they should kill a few, and terrify the rest into an abandonment of their party, and several surrendered at discretion: but the greater part broke down the bridge and thus obstructed their enemy who pressed close upon them.

7. The news of this victory spreading, when the first events of the war were found to be favourable to Vespasian, two legions, the seventh, called Galbiana, and the thirteenth, named Gemina, with Vedius Aquila, who commanded them, came promptly to Padua. A few days were spent at that place to refresh the men; and Minucius Justus, præfect of the camp to the seventh legion, who enforced his orders with more severity than was consistent with civil war, was withdrawn from the fury of the soldiers, and sent to Vespasian. After that, Antonius ordered the statues of Galba, which the rage of civil discord had thrown down, to be again set up in all the municipal towns. This act, the want of which had been long and painfully felt, was interpreted as redounding to the honour of the party more than one might have anticipated. His conclusion was, that it would be honourable to the cause, if the government of Galba was believed to meet with his approbation, and that his party were beginning to revive.

8. Where to fix the seat of war was now the question. Verona seemed the better place; the surrounding plains being adapted to the operations of cavalry, which was their strength; and to wrest from Vitellius an important colony, seemed useful and glorious. The army, in their very march, became masters of Vicetia; a municipality of no great consideration, but regarded as the birth-place of Cæcina, and reflecting that the general of the enemy was thus stripped of his fatherland, it assumed a very important character. The reduction of Verona brought an accession of wealth, and gave an example to other cities. Moreover, as it lies between Rhætia and the Julian Alps, it was a post of importance, where an army in force might command the pass into Italy, and render it impervious to the German armies. Of these operations Vespasian had either no knowledge, or they were such as he had forbidden, for his orders were, that the troops should halt at Aquileia till Mucianus arrived. Vespasian also explained the motives of his councils. While he was master of Egypt, had the power of stopping the supplies of provisions, and commanded the revenues of the most opulent provinces, the Vitellian army, for want of pay and provisions, might be forced to capitulate. Mucianus, in all his letters, recommended the same measure; disguising his designs under a desire for a victory without blood and mourning, and other similar pretences: but, insatiably ambitious, he wished to engross the whole honour of the war. However, before their advices could arrive from a distant part of the world, the blow was struck.

9. Antonius, therefore, by a sudden movement, attacked the picquets of the enemy; but after trying each other's mettle in a slight encounter, they parted without advantage on either side. In a short time Cæcina fortified a camp near Verona, between the village Hostilia and the marshes of the river Tartarus: a well-protected position, with the river covering his rear, and the fens securing his flanks. Had he not wanted fidelity, he certainly might, with the whole strength of his army, have crushed the two legions, not yet joined by the Mæasian army, or, at least, forced to retreat and abandon Italy, they would have incurred the disgrace and humiliation of flight. But, by all kinds of delays, he suffered the first precious opportunities to elapse, content with writing vituperative letters to those whom he might have conquered; till, by his messengers, he settled the terms of perfidy. Aponius Saturninus, meanwhile, arrived at Verona with the seventh legion, called the Claudian, under the command of Vipstanus Messalla, the tribune;

a man of illustrious birth, and the highest character: of all who entered into that war, the only person who carried with him fair and honourable motives. With this reinforcement the army amounted to no more than three legions; and yet to that inferior force Cæcina despatched a letter, condemning the rashness of men, who, after their late defeat, took up arms again. At the same time he magnified the bravery of the German soldiers, making slight and ordinary mention of Vitellius, and abstaining from all abuse of Vespasian: nothing whatever that could seduce or intimidate the enemy. Vespasian's generals in their answer, entering into no defence of their former conduct, bestowed the highest praise on Vespasian, confidently anticipated the success of their cause, showed no fear about their army, and spoke in a hostile tone of Vitellius. To the tribunes and centurions they promised the same favours as they had received from Vitellius, and in explicit terms invited Cæcina to join them. The letters, which were read publicly to the army, increased the confidence of the troops: for Cæcina had written in a subdued spirit, as fearing to exasperate Vespasian, while the manner of their own generals was contemptuous, and that of men who scorned Vitellius.

10. After this, being reinforced by the arrival of two legions, the third, commanded by Dillius Aponianus, and the eighth, by Numisius Lupus, it was resolved to display their strength, and inclose Verona with lines of circumvallation. It happened that the Galbian legion was employed in an advanced part of the trenches, fronting the enemy. Some of the cavalry of their allies, descried at a distance and mistaken for enemies, excited a false alarm; and thinking themselves betrayed, they seized their arms, and the resentment of the soldiers fell upon Ampius Flavianus as the author of the plot. They had no kind of proof; but they had long hated the man, and in the tempest of their rage demanded his blood; vociferating that he was the kinsman of Vitellius, the betrayer of Otho, and had embezzled their donative. Nor would they allow him to clear himself, though he stretched forth his hands in supplication, prostrated himself continually before them, rent his garments, his breast heaving, and his countenance convulsed with sobbing; nay, these very things stimulated their angry prejudices, as they looked upon his excessive alarm as proof of conscious guilt. Aponius Saturninus attempted to speak, but was overpowered by the soldiers' clamour. The rest were contemptuously treated with murmurs and shouts. Antonius was the only person whom they would hear. To au-

thority and eloquence he united the art of managing the temper of the soldiers; when the disturbance began to assume a sanguinary character, and from foul abuse they proceeded to violence and arms, the general ordered Flavianus to be thrown into irons. This deception was seen through by the soldiers, who dispersed the soldiers that guarded the tribunal, and threatened immediate execution. Antonius opposed his bosom to their fury, and, drawing his sword, solemnly declared that he would fall by their hands or his own. He looked around, invoking the assistance of all, whom he either knew, or saw distinguished by any kind of military decoration; anon he directed his eyes to the eagles and standards, those gods of the camp, and implored them rather to infuse that frenzy and dissentious spirit into the breasts of the enemy. At length the sedition began to abate, and day closing apace, the men slunk off to their respective tents. The same night Flavianus left the camp, and, receiving letters from Vespasian on his way, was relieved from all apprehension.

11. The legions, as if infected by a contagion, fell with still more violence on Aponius Saturninus, the commander of the Mæsiæ forces, because their fury broke out in the middle of the day, and not, as before, when overpowered with toil and working. The disturbance arose from the publication of letters which Saturninus was believed to have written to Vitellius. As under the old republic there was an emulation in sobriety and valour, so now there was a contest for preeminence in frowardness and insolence, resolved as they were to demand the blood of Aponius as fiercely as they had clamoured for that of Saturninus. The fact was, the Mæsiæ legions making it a merit with the Pannonian army, that, in the late insurrection, they had lent their assistance; and the Pannonians, being under the notion that they would be absolved by the mutiny of others, they were glad to repeat their crime. They rushed to the gardens, where Saturninus was walking for recreation, and though Antonius, Messala, and Aponianus exerted their best endeavours, they were not so effectual in saving Saturninus as the obscurity of the retreat in which he was secreted, having concealed himself in the furnace of a bath that happened to be out of use. Soon after he dismissed his lictors, and went to Patavium. There being now no officer of consular rank left, the whole command devolved upon Antonius. The soldiers were willing to submit to his authority; the other officers declined all competition; nor were there wanting those who believed that Antonius, by secret practices, excited

the two seditions, that he alone might reap the honour of the war without a rival.

12. During these transactions, the camp of Vitellius was not free from disturbance. The discord there did not originate in the suspicions of the soldiers, but the perfidy of the generals. Lucilius Bassus, who commanded the fleet at Ravenna, had drawn over to the party of Vespasian the wavering inclinations of the marines, natives principally of Dalmatia and Pannonia, provinces which had declared for Vespasian. Night was chosen as the time for carrying the treason into effect, when all the rest being in ignorance of the proceeding, the conspirators alone might meet in the head-quarters. Bassus remained in his own house, either from shame or alarm, waiting the issue. The masters of the galleys attacked the images of Vitellius in the most tumultuous manner, and put to the sword the few who attempted to resist. The common herd, with their usual love of innovation, went over to Vespasian. Bassus then came forth, avowing himself the author of the treason. The fleet immediately chose another commander, Cornelius Fuscus, who eagerly joined them. Bassus, under guard, but honourably treated, was conveyed by some light barks to Atria, where he was thrown into fetters by Mennius Rufinus, who commanded the garrison; but he was soon released at the desire of Hormus, one of Vespasian's freedmen, who was also looked upon as one of the general officers.

13. When the defection of the fleet was known, Cæcina, having dispersed the best part of his army under pretexts of military duty, from a desire to have the camp more to themselves, called a meeting of the principal centurions, and a select party of soldiers, in the place assigned for the eagles. He there magnified the valour of Vespasian, and the strength of his party. The fleet, he said, had revolted; Italy would be distressed for provisions; the Spains and Gauls were against them; at Rome the minds of men were wavering; and spoke of every thing relating to Vitellius in terms of disparagement. The men whom Antonius had engaged in the plot setting the example, the rest, confounded at the suddenness of the affair, were induced to take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian. The images of Vitellius were torn from the ensigns, and despatches were sent off to Antonius. When this betrayal was known throughout the camp, the soldiers rushing back to the head-quarters, saw the name of Vespasian written up, and the images of Vitellius thrown upon the ground. A deep and sullen silence followed. Soon with



one voice the men exclaimed, "Have the German armies come to this, that without a battle, without a wound, they must lay down their arms, and deliver themselves to the enemy in chains? And what was the character of the legions brought against them? forsooth, defeated legions; nay, the peculiar strength of Otho's forces, the first and fourteenth, are not with the army, whom, nevertheless, they had routed and made havoc of. Is it come to this, that so many thousand gallant soldiers should now, like a drove of slaves, be delivered to the exile Antonius? The fleet, we are told, has revolted: and shall eight legions be transferred as an appendage to their treachery? Bassus, it seems, will have it so; and such is the pleasure of Cæcina. They have despoiled the prince of his houses, his gardens, and his treasure, and they want now to rob him of his soldiers; who, with vigour unimpaired, are to yield without an engagement, objects of scorn even to Vespasian's party. But to soldiers who may hereafter desire an account of battles fought, and dangers encountered, what answer shall we make?"

14. Such were the remonstrances, not of individuals, but of the whole body, each man giving clamorous vent to his feelings; and the fifth legion taking the lead, they restored the images of Vitellius, and loaded Cæcina with fetters. Fabius Fabullus, commander of the fifth legion, and Cassius Longus, the præfect of the camp, were declared commanders in chief. The marines belonging to three light galleys fell into the hands of the enraged soldiery, and though ignorant of all that passed, and guiltless, were put to the sword. Having broken up their camp, and demolished the bridge, they marched back to Hostilia, and thence to Cremona, to join the first legion, called Italica; and the one and twentieth, known by the name of Rapax, which had been sent by Cæcina, with a party of horse, to occupy Cremona.

15. Apprised of these transactions, Antonius resolved to attack the enemy while he was still distracted and dispersed, and not to wait till the Vitellians returned to submission, the generals recovered their authority, and the united legions their confidence. He concluded that Valens had set out from Rome, and that Cæcina's treachery would make him push forward. The fidelity of Valens, and his military skill, were undoubted. Besides, a vast body of Germans was expected to force their way through Rhætia into Italy, and Vitellius had sent for succours into Britain, Gaul, and Spain; a countless armament, which would have spread destruction as a pestilence, had not Antonius,

apprehending this very circumstance, hastened to bring on a battle, and snatched a victory beforehand. He moved with his whole army from Verona, and in two days arrived at Bedriacum. On the following morning he kept back the legions to work at the intrenchments, and, under colour of foraging, to give the men a relish for civil plunder, sent the auxiliary cohorts into the lands near Cremona. To support them in this expedition, he himself, at the head of four thousand horse, advanced within eight miles of Bedriacum; while his scouts took a wider range, to discover the motions of the enemy.

16. About the fifth hour of the day, a trooper at full speed brought intelligence that the enemy was approaching. Their advance parties were in sight, and the tramp and bustle of the whole army were distinctly heard. Antonius began to prepare for action. While he was deliberating, Arrius Varus, eager to distinguish himself, advanced at the head of a party of horse, and drove in the Vitellians with trifling slaughter; for a party of the enemy advancing to support the broken ranks, changed the fortune of the day, and they, who had pursued with the greatest eagerness, were now in the rear of the retreat. In this rash action Antonius had no share; indeed he foresaw the consequence of it. Having exhorted his men to go to work fearlessly, he ordered the cavalry to draw off in two divisions towards the flanks, leaving a way for Varus and his horsemen. The legions were called out, and, in the country round, the signal was given to the foraging cohorts to abandon their booty, and repair, each the shortest way he could, to meet the battle. Varus, in the mean time, himself dismayed, and a source of alarm to others, together with his disordered band, formed one confused mass: overpowered by the enemy, the able and the wounded together were borne down through their own mere fears, and the difficulties of the ways.

17. In this state of alarm Antonius omitted nothing that was to be expected from the calm and collected general, or the most gallant soldier. He threw himself in the way of those who were overpowered by fear, held back those who were giving ground; wherever the battle was hottest, wherever a gleam of hope appeared, there was he, planning, doing, speaking, a signal object to the enemy, and conspicuous to his friends. At length he rose to such a height of enthusiasm, that he transfixed with his spear a standard-bearer in the act of flying, and instantly seizing the colours, advanced against the enemy. Not more than a hundred of the cavalry felt the disgrace, and stood their

ground. The nature of the ground favoured Antonius; the causeway was narrowest in that part, and the bridge over the river that flowed in the rear being broken down, the men could not pursue their flight, as the banks were steep, and the depth dangerous. Whether it were a fatality or an accident, the now fallen fortune of the party was thus restored. The soldiers, forming a dense and compact array, received the Vitellians, who rushed on without order, and in a short time were put to the rout. Antonius pressed on the rear of such as fled, and trampled upon all who resisted. The rest of Vespasian's army acted as the impulse of individuals prompted; despoiled, made prisoners, and seized both arms and horses. Those who erewhile had fled, and were straggling about the fields, summoned by the triumphant shouts of their comrades, came up and took part in the work of victory.

18. At the distance of four miles from Cremona, appeared the glittering banners of the two legions, Rapax and Italica. The advantage gained by the Vitellian cavalry, in the beginning of the day, was their motive for advancing so far: but, seeing a reverse of fortune, they neither opened their ranks nor received their routed friends, nor dared to advance and fall upon an enemy exhausted with so long a chase, and with fighting. It happened that having sustained a defeat, they felt in their adversity the absence of a general whom they did not regret so much in their prosperity. The victorious cavalry charged the vacillating line, and Vipsianus Messalla supported them with the Mælian auxiliaries, whom, though hurried into the engagement, the soldiers considered to have rendered as much service as legionary troops. Thus the foot and cavalry united bore down the mass of legions, and the Vitellians, the more they hoped to find within the walls of Cremona a safe shelter, were the less inclined to maintain the conflict.

19. Antonius did not think it prudent to pursue his advantage, in consideration of the fatigues and wounds which men and horses had encountered in a battle so obstinate and fluctuating, though ultimately successful. As the shades of evening came on, the whole force of Vespasian's army joined him. Having marched over the heaps of slain, and the prints of feet still reeking with blood, they concluded that the war was over, and demanded to be led on to Cremona, either to receive the submission of the vanquished, or to storm the place. Such were their public professions; plausible to the ear; but in their hearts the men had selfish and personal views. "Cre-

mona," they said, "was situated in an open plain, and might be taken by assault. The darkness of the night would not abate their courage, and afforded greater latitude for rapine. If they waited for the return of day, terms of peace would be proposed, entreaties would be resorted to, and, in that case, for all their toil and wounds, the praise of humanity and glory, those profitless acquisitions, would be their only recompense, while the wealth of the citizens would go into the laps of the præfects and generals. When a town is carried by storm, the booty belongs to the soldiers; but if surrendered, it goes to the generals." They set at nought the tribunes and centurions, and with the clangour of their arms drowned the voice of reason, determined, if not led on to the attack, to shake off all authority.

20. Upon this Antonius made his way through the ranks, and by his look and authority having obtained silence, protested that "he was not the man to deprive them of the glory or the recompense due to their valour: but the general, and the men under his command, had distinct provinces. Ardour for the conflict became the soldier; but generals more frequently succeeded by forecast, deliberation, and caution, than inconsiderate action. As he had manfully contributed his share to the victory by his sword and bodily exertion, so would he advance the cause by deliberation and counsel, the appropriate functions of a general. The question at present does not admit of a doubt. We have the night before us; a town, the peculiarities of whose situation are unknown to us; an enemy within its walls, with every facility for stratagem. Not if the gates were thrown open, without reconnoitring, without day-light, ought they to march in. Would they hazard an assault without the power of ascertaining a single particular, where the ground was even, what the height of the walls, whether they ought to employ engines and darts, or works and mantelets?" Then addressing himself to them severally, he asked them, "whether they had brought with them hatchets, pick-axes, and the various tools a siege requires?" And on their replying in the negative, he asked, "where were the hands that with swords and javelins could break through and undermine walls? If it should be necessary to throw up ramparts, and with sheds and penthouses to cover our approach, shall we stand baffled and impotent like the thoughtless vulgar, wondering at the lofty towers and fortifications of the enemy? why not rather wait one night, and advancing our engines and instruments of war, carry with us strength

and victory?" At the close of this harangue he sent the sutlers and followers of the camp, with a party of the freshest of the cavalry, to Bedriacum, to bring a supply of provisions, and all necessaries for the use of the army.

21. The soldiers were still dissatisfied, and a mutiny was ready to break out, when a party of horse that advanced as far as the walls of Cremona, learnt, from stragglers who had fallen into their hands, that six Vitellian legions, and the whole army encamped at Hostilia, having heard of that day's defeat, having marched thirty miles, were prepared for battle, and would soon be upon them. In this alarm the soldiers were willing to listen to their general. Antonius ordered the thirteenth legion to take post on the Posthumian causey; contiguous to them, on the open plain, towards the left, stood the seventh, called the Galbian; and next to them the seventh, named the Claudian, defended by a country ditch, just as they found it. On the right he placed the eighth legion, along the road-side; and the third behind a thick copse, at a short distance. Such was the arrangement of the eagles and standards: the soldiers took their post as chance directed them, in the dark. The prætorian banner stood next the third legion; the auxiliary cohorts were in the wings: the cavalry covered the flanks and the rear. The two Suevian kings, Sido and Italicus, with the best troops of their nation, took post in the front of the lines.

22. The Vitellian army, on the other hand, whose plan should have been to halt that night at Cremona, and the next day, refreshed by food and sleep, to rout and drive before them an enemy exhausted with cold and hunger; yet having no commander, nor settled plan of action, about the third hour of the night dashed forward upon the Flavian army, now drawn up in regular order of battle. Of the disposition of the Vitellians, disordered as they were from the effects of their own impetuosity and the night, I would not venture to speak positively: we are told, however, that the fourth legion, called Macedonica, was stationed in the right wing; the fifth and fifteenth, supported by the vexillaries of three British legions, the ninth, the second, and the twentieth, in the centre: the left wing was formed by the first, the sixteenth, and two-and-twentieth. The soldiers of the two legions called Rapax and Italica were scattered throughout all the companies. The cavalry and auxiliaries chose their own station. The battle, which lasted through the night, was various, obstinate, and bloody; threatening annihilation now to one side and then again to the other; courage or strength gave no su-

periority; even sight itself was powerless to discern the approach of danger. The weapons on both sides were the same. The watch-word, frequently asked and repeated, was known to both armies. The colours, according as they were taken by different parties, and borne to one side or the other, were mixed in wild confusion. The seventh legion, lately raised by Galba, suffered the most. Six of their principal centurions were killed on the spot, and some of their colours taken: the eagle itself was only preserved by Atilius Verus, the principal centurion, after a great carnage of the enemy, and at last with the sacrifice of his life.

23. Vespasian's army was giving way, when Antonius brought the prætorian cohorts to its support. Taking upon themselves the brunt of the action, they routed the enemy, and in their turn were forced to retreat. For the Vitellians had conveyed their engines to the high road, that their missiles might be discharged without obstruction or impediment, whereas at first they were scattered at random, and struck the shrubs without harming the enemy. The fifteenth legion had a balista of enormous size, which by discharging massy stones, was demolishing the opposing line, and would have dealt destruction far and wide, if two soldiers had not signalized themselves by a brave exploit. Covering themselves with the shields of the enemy which they found among the slain, they advanced undiscovered, and cut off the ropes and weights. They both instantly fell, covered with wounds, and therefore their names are lost: of the fact there is no question. The battle was hitherto fought with doubtful success, when, night being far advanced, the rising moon discovered the contending armies, and deceived them. But she was more favourable to the Flavians, as they had their backs to the light. Hence the shadows of men and horses were elongated, and the weapons of the Vitellians, aimed at them as if they were substances, were thrown away, and fell short of their enemies. While the Vitellians, exposed to view by the light in front of them, formed, without knowing it, a distinct mark for their enemies, who discharged their javelins as it were from a hiding place.

24. Antonius, when he could distinguish his troops, and be distinguished by them, did everything to rouse the courage of his men; upbraiding some, applauding others, made ample promises, and gave hopes to all. He asked the Pannonian legions, what was their motive for taking up arms? "Here," he said, "here is the spot where you may efface the memory of your former defeat:

in this field you may redeem your honour." Then turning to the Mæsiens, he called upon them as the chief, the first movers of the war; in vain were the Vitellians challenged with menaces and boasts, if they shrunk from their swords and looks. This was his language as he came up to each. To the third legion he spoke more at large: he called to their minds their former and recent exploits. "How, under Mark Antony, they had defeated the Parthians; and the Armenians, under Corbulo. In a late campaign the Sarmatians fled before them." Then he addressed the prætorians in sharper terms: "If you do not conquer now, you band of peasants, what other general, or what camp, will receive you? Your ensigns and your colours are in the hands of the enemy, and death is all that is left you, if you are vanquished; for you have drained infamy to the dregs." A general shout arose; and the third legion, according to the custom observed in Syria, paid their adoration to the rising sun.

25. This circumstance, either by chance, or by the contrivance of Antonius, gave rise to a report that Mucianus was arrived, and that the armies exchanged salutations. Vespasian's soldiers, as if strengthened by fresh reinforcements, bore down upon the enemy; the Vitellian ranks being now less compact, for, without a chief to conduct them, they extended or condensed their lines as fear or courage prompted. Antonius, seeing them give way, threw them into disorder by charging them in close array; their ranks were thus dissolved and broken through, and the carriages and engines made it impossible to restore the order of the battle. The victors, in their eagerness to pursue their advantage, spread themselves along the road-side. The slaughter on this occasion was rendered the more remarkable from the fact, that a father was killed by his own son. The fact and the names I will state, on the authority of Vipstanus Messalla. Julius Mansuetus, a native of Spain, enlisting in the legion Rapax, left behind him a son, then of tender years. The youth, grown up to manhood, entered the seventh legion raised by Galba. It happened that he met his father in the battle, and with a mortal wound stretched him on the ground; and while rifling his expiring victim, he recognised and was recognised by his father, when he clasped him in his arms, and in piteous tones implored forgiveness of his father's manes, and prayed that they would not persecute him as a parricide. The guilt of this deed was common to all; and how small a portion, he said, was one soldier of those engaged in civil war. He then lifted up the

body, opened a grave, and discharged the last melancholy duty to his father. He attracted the observation first of those nearest him, then more came up. Hence horror, grief, and execration of this inhuman kind of war, ran through the whole army. And yet, with no less avidity, they plundered their friends, relations, and brothers, whom they had slaughtered. Their tongues declare that a deed of horror has been done, and yet they do the same.

26. When they came to Cremona, they found a new and enormous difficulty. In the war with Otho, the German legions had formed a camp round the walls of the town, and fortified it with lines of circumvallation. New works were added afterwards. The victors stood astonished at the sight, and even the generals were at a stand, undecided what orders to give. With troops harassed by exertions through the night and day, to carry the place by storm was difficult, and, without succours at hand, might be dangerous; but if they marched to Bedriacum, the fatigue would be insupportable, and the victory would end in nothing. To throw up intrenchments was dangerous, in the face of an enemy, who might suddenly sally forth and put them to the rout, while employed on the work in detached parties. A difficulty, still greater than all, arose from the temper of the men, more patient of danger than delay: inasmuch as a state of security afforded no excitement, while hope grew out of enterprise, however perilous; and carnage, wounds, and blood, to whatever extent, were counterbalanced by the insatiable desire of plunder.

27. Antonius determined upon the latter course, and ordered the rampart to be invested. The attack began at a distance, with a volley of stones and darts, with the greater loss to the Flavians, on whom the enemy's weapons were thrown with advantage from above. Antonius presently assigned portions of the rampart and the gates to the legions, that by this mode of attack in different quarters, valour and cowardice might be distinguished, and a spirit of emulation in honour animate the army. The third and seventh legions took their station nearest the road to Bedriacum; the seventh and eighth Claudian, a portion more to the right-hand of the rampart; the thirteenth were carried by their own impetuosity to the gate that looked towards Brixia. Some delay then took place while they supplied themselves from the neighbouring villages with pick-axes, spades, and hooks, and scaling-ladders. They then formed a close military shell, with their shields



raised above their heads, and under that cover advanced to the ramparts. The Roman art of war was seen on both sides. The Vitellians rolled down massy stones, with which having disjoined and shaken the shell, they inserted their long poles and spears; till at last, the whole frame and texture of the shields being dissolved, they strewed the ground with numbers of the crushed and mangled assailants.

28. The assault now flagged, and must have failed, had not the generals, who saw that their exhortations were without effect upon the exhausted soldiery, pointed to Cremona as the reward of victory. Whether this expedient was, as Messala informs us, suggested by Hormus, or, on the authority of Caius Plinius, must be laid to the account of Antonius, I have little means of determining. All I can say, is, that neither of those officers can be said to have degenerated from his former principles by an act of such atrocity. Now, braving wounds and danger, and death itself, they began to sap the foundation of the walls; they battered the gates; standing on the shoulders of their comrades, and forming a second shell, they scaled the walls and grasped the weapons and arms of the besieged. The unhurt, the wounded, the half dead, and the dying, were tumbled down; while every diversity of appearance was exhibited by the sufferers, and an image of death in all its varied horrors.

29. Severe in the extreme was the conflict maintained by the third and the seventh legions. Antonius in person led on a select body of auxiliaries to the same quarter. The Vitellians were no longer able to sustain the shock of men all bent on victory, and seeing their darts fall on the military shell, and glide off without effect, at last they rolled down their battering-engine on the heads of the besiegers. For the moment, it dispersed and overwhelmed the party among which it fell; but it also drew after it, in its fall, the battlements and upper parts of the rampart. An adjoining tower, at the same time, yielded to the effect of the stones which struck it, and left a breach, at which the seventh legion, in the form of a wedge endeavoured to force their way, while the third hewed down the gate with axes and swords. The first man that entered, according to all historians, was Caius Volusius, a common soldier of the third legion. He gained the summit of the rampart, and, bearing down all resistance, in the view of all beckoned with his hand, and cried aloud that the camp was captured. The rest of the legion followed him with resistless fury, the Vitellians being panic-struck, and

throwing themselves headlong from the works. The whole space between the camp and the walls of Cremona was filled with slain.

30. And now a new form of difficulty was presented by the high walls of the city, and towers of stone, the gates secured by iron bars, and troops brandishing their arms; the inhabitants, a large and numerous body, all devoted to Vitellius; and a conflux of people from all parts of Italy at the stated fair which was then held. The latter was regarded by the garrison as an aid, from the increase of numbers; but they inflamed the ardour of the besiegers on the score of booty. Antonius ordered his men to take combustibles, and set fire to the most elegant edifices without the city; if peradventure, the inhabitants, seeing their mansions destroyed, would be induced to abandon the adverse cause. In the houses that stood near the walls, of a height to overlook the works, he placed the bravest of his troops; and from those stations beams, tiles, and fire-brands were thrown down to drive the defenders of the walls from their posts.

31. The legions under Antonius now formed a military shell, while the rest poured in a volley of stones and darts; when the spirit of the besieged gradually gave way. The men highest in rank were willing to make terms for themselves, lest, if Cremona was taken by storm, they should receive no quarter, and the conquerors, disdaining vulgar lives, should fall on the tribunes and centurions, from whom the largest booty was to be expected. The common men, as usual, careless about future events, and safe in their obscurity, still held out. Roaming about the streets, or lurking in private houses, they did not sue for peace even when they had given up the contest. The principal officers took down the name and images of Vitellius. Cæcina, for he was still in confinement, they released from his fetters, and desired his aid in pleading their cause with the conqueror. He heard their petition with disdain, swelling with pride and insolence they importune him with tears; the last stage of human misery! when so many brave and gallant men were obliged to sue to a traitor for protection. They then hung out from the walls the fillets and badges of supplicants. When Antonius ordered a cessation of hostilities, the garrison brought out their eagles and standards. A mournful train of soldiers without their arms, their eyes rivetted to the ground, followed them. The conquerors gathered round them, and first heaped reproaches upon them, and threatened violence to their persons. But afterwards, when they saw the

passiveness with which they received the insults, and that the vanquished, abandoning all their former pride, submitted to every indignity, the thought occurred that these very men lately conquered at Bedriacum, and used their victory with moderation. But when Cæcina came forth, decorated with his robes, and preceded by his lictors, who opened a way for him through the crowd, the indignation of the victors burst into a flame. They reproached him for his pride, his cruelty, and even for his treachery: so detested is villany. Antonius opposed the fury of his men, and sent him under escort to Vespasian.

32. Meanwhile, the common people of Cremona, in the midst of so many soldiers, were subjected to grievous oppressions, and were in danger of being all put to the sword, if the rage of the soldiery had not been assuaged by the entreaties of their leaders. Antonius called them to an assembly, when he spoke of the conquerors in lofty terms, and of the vanquished with humanity; of Cremona he said nothing either way. But the army, adding to their love of plunder an inveterate aversion to the people, were bent on the extirpation of the inhabitants. In the war against Otho they were deemed the abettors of Vitellius; and afterwards, when the thirteenth legion was left among them to build an amphitheatre, with the usual insolence of the lower orders in towns, they had assailed them with offensive ribaldry. The spectacle of gladiators exhibited there by Cæcina inflamed the animosity against the people. Their city, too, was now for the second time the seat of war; and, in the heat of the last engagement, the Vitellians were thence supplied with refreshments; and some of their women, led into the field of battle by their zeal for the cause, were slain. The period too, of the fair, had given to a colony otherwise affluent, an imposing appearance of accumulated wealth. Antonius by his fame and brilliant success eclipsed all the other commanders. The attention of all was fixed on him alone. He hastened to the baths to wash off the blood; and on observing that the water was not hot enough, he said that they would soon grow hotter. The expression was caught up: a casual word among slaves had the effect of throwing upon him the whole odium of having given a signal for setting fire to Cremona, which was already in flames.

33. Forty thousand men had poured into it. The number of drudges and camp-followers was still greater, and more abandoned to lust and cruelty. Neither age

nor dignity served as a protection; deeds of lust were perpetrated amidst scenes of carnage, and murder was added to rape. Aged men and women that had passed their prime, and who were useless as booty, were made the objects of brutal sport. If a mature maiden, or any one of comely appearance, fell in their way, after being torn piecemeal by the rude hands of contending ruffians, they at last were the occasion of their turning their swords against each other. While eagerly carrying off money or massy gold from the temples, they were butchered by others stronger than themselves. Not content with the treasures that lay open to their view, some forced the owners to discover their hidden wealth, and dig up their buried riches. Numbers carried flaming torches, and, as soon as they had brought forth their booty, in their wanton sport, set the gutted houses and plundered temples on fire. In an army differing in language and manners, composed of Roman citizens, allies, and foreign auxiliaries, all the diversities of passions were exhibited. Each had his separate notions of right and wrong; nor was any thing unlawful. Four days did Cremona minister to their rapacity. When every thing else, sacred and profane, was levelled in the conflagration, the temple of Mephitis alone remained standing, outside of the walls; saved either by its situation, or the influence of the deity.

34. Such was the fate of Cremona, two hundred and eighty-six years from its foundation. It was built during the consulship of Tiberius Sempronius and Publius Cornelius, at the time when Hannibal threatened an irruption into Italy, as a bulwark against the Gauls inhabiting beyond the Po, or any other power that might break in over the Alps. The colony, as might be expected, grew and flourished in the number of its settlers, from the contiguity of rivers, the fertility of its soil, from alliances and inter-marriages with the neighbouring people; never having suffered from foreign wars, but a sad sufferer from civil dissensions. Antonius, shrinking from the infamy of this horrible transaction, for the detestation it excited was increasing, issued an edict, forbidding all manner of persons to detain the citizens of Cremona as prisoners of war. At the same time the booty was rendered valueless by a resolution adopted throughout Italy, not to purchase the captives taken on that occasion. The soldiers then began to murder them. However, when this was known, the prisoners were eagerly ransomed by their friends and relations. The survivors in a short time returned to Cre-

mona. The temples and public places were rebuilt, at the recommendation of Vespasian, by the munificence of the burgesses.

35. But the unwholesome state of the soil, from the decomposed bodies, soon obliged the army to quit its position near the remains of the entombed city. They encamped at the distance of three miles. The Vitellian soldiers, who in their panic had fled in all directions, were brought back, and severally enrolled in their proper companies; and, lest the vanquished legions should meditate hostile designs, the civil war being not yet extinguished, they were sent into different parts of Illyricum. To spread the fame of Vespasian's arms, messengers were despatched into Britain and both the Spains. Julius Calenus, one of the tribunes, was sent into Gaul, and Alpinus Montanus, the præfect of a cohort, into Germany. The former was by birth an Æduan, and the latter a native of Treves, both partisans of Vitellius, and for that reason chosen, as palpable evidences of his defeat. Care was also taken to secure by a chain of posts the passes over the Alps, as Germany was supposed to be arming in aid of Vitellius.

36. Vitellius, in a few days after Cæcina set out from Rome, having prevailed on Fabius Valens to proceed with the war, buried all sense and appearance of alarm in excess and revelry. He made no preparation for the field, neglected to cheer and invigorate the soldiers by addressing them and by military exercise, nor kept himself before the eyes of the public; but, hid in the recess of his gardens, dismissed from his thoughts equally the past, the present, and the future; like those cold-blooded animals which, while they are supplied with food, lie torpid and insensible. While thus sunk in sloth and wasting his energies in the grove of Aricinum, the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the revolt of the fleet at Ravenna smote upon his ear. In a short time after arrived other despatches, by which he learned, with mixed emotions of grief and joy, the perfidy of Cæcina, and his imprisonment by the soldiers. In a mind incapable of reflection, the joy absorbed all ideas of danger. He returned to Rome in the highest exultation; and having extolled, before an assembly of the people, the zeal and ardour of the army, he ordered Publius Sabinus, the præfect of the prætorian guards and the intimate friend of Cæcina, to be taken into custody. Alphenus Varus succeeded to the command.

37. Vitellius next addressed the senate in a speech of studied pomp; and the fathers extolled him in a strain of

refined adulation. Lucius Vitellius took the initiative in pronouncing a vehement censure upon Cæcina. After him the rest of the senate, with well-acted indignation that a consul should have abandoned the commonwealth, a general betrayed his prince, and a friend, loaded with honours and emoluments, should have turned upon his benefactor, affecting to lament the lot of Vitellius, in fact, gave utterance to the anguish they felt on their own accounts. Not a word was said by any one against the leaders of Vespasian's party; the conduct of the armies was blamed as a mistake and indiscretion; while the name of Vespasian was evaded with cautious and studied circumlocution. To complete the consulship of Cæcina, one day remained, and a man was found who, with abject servility, sought and obtained the office, while the public looked with infinite contempt and derision both upon the giver and receiver. On the day before the calends of November, Rosius Regulus entered upon the office and resigned it. It was observed by men versed in the history of their country, that no instance had ever occurred of a new consul created before the office was declared vacant in due course of law. Caninius Rebilus, it is true, had been consul for one day when Julius Cæsar was dictator, and when everything was done to expedite the reward of services rendered in the civil war.

38. The death of Junius Blæsus became at this time publicly known, and engrossed the conversation of all ranks of men. It happened that Vitellius, confined by serious illness in the gardens of Servilius, saw, in the night-time, a tower in the neighbourhood gaily illuminated. He inquired the reason, and was told that Cæcina Tuscus gave an entertainment to a party of his friends, amongst whom Junius Blæsus was the most distinguished. The sumptuous preparations, and the mirth of the company were described with every circumstance of exaggeration. The creatures of the court did not fail to impute it as a crime to Tuscus and his guests, but to Blæsus with peculiar virulence, that they chose their time for revelling when the prince was indisposed. When the men who make it their business to pry into the humours of princes perceived that Vitellius was offended, and that the ruin of Blæsus might be easily accomplished, the task of managing the information was assigned to Lucius Vitellius. Being himself stained with every vice, in the spirit of unprincipled rivalry he hated Blæsus because of the superiority which his unblemished character gave him, and clasping the emperor's son in his arms, he entered the prince's

chamber, and fell down at his knees. Vitellius asked him the cause of his perturbation. "It is not from any fears for myself," he replied, "nor from anxiety on my own account, but in behalf of a brother, and the children of a brother, that I come with prayers and tears. From Vespasian we have nothing to fear: the numerous German legions and provinces, by their valour and fidelity, and vast tracts of sea and land, prevent his approach. The enemy to be dreaded is in the city of Rome; in your bosom. Proud of his descent from Mark Antony and the Junian family, he affects to be connected with the imperial line, and, by caresses and a style of magnificence, endeavours to conciliate to himself the affections of the soldiers. Upon this man all eyes are fixed. Vitellius, in the mean time, neglecting at once his enemies and his friends, cherishes in his bosom a treacherous rival, who from the banqueting-table beheld with joy the sufferings of his sovereign. But for his ill-timed mirth he must be repaid with a night of mourning and sorrow; that he may know that Vitellius lives and reigns, and, if any thing should happen to him, that he has a son."

39. Vitellius balanced, for some time, with nervous agitation, between the horrible deed and his apprehensions for himself. By deferring the death of Blæsus he might accelerate his own ruin, and to give public orders for it would bring upon him a storm of indignation. He resolved, therefore, to despatch him by poison. He added to the evidence that he was the author of that execrable villany, by the satisfaction he so conspicuously displayed in going to see Blæsus; nay, Vitellius was heard to utter an expression of the most ferocious character, in which, for I will relate the very words, he gloried in having feasted his eyes with the sight of an expiring enemy. Blæsus, to dignity of birth, and elegance of manners, united unshaken fidelity; and even before a blow had been struck, when Cæcina, and other chiefs of the party, beginning to despise Vitellius, endeavoured to seduce him, he was proof against all temptation; incorruptible, unambitious, seeking no sudden elevation whatever, much less aiming at the sovereignty, he hardly escaped being deemed worthy of the succession.

40. Meanwhile Fabius Valens, proceeding with a numerous and effeminate train of concubines and eunuchs, with little of the spirit of a general going to a war, received intelligence of the treachery of Lucilius Bassus, and the defection of the fleet at Ravenna. Had he then pushed on with vigour, he might have joined Cæcina,

while still undecided ; or have put himself at the head of the legions before they came to a decisive action ; and there were some who advised him that, with a few faithful attendants, avoiding the road to Ravenna, he should, through private ways, go direct to Hostilia or Cremona. Others pressed him to bring into the field the prætorian bands from Rome, and force his way to the Vitellian army. But the time was lost in fruitless deliberation. The posture of affairs called for vigour, but Valens remained irresolute and inactive. In the end, rejecting both plans, he chose a middle course, in pressing emergencies always the most pernicious ; neither acting with the degree of courage or caution which the occasion required.

41. He sent despatches to Vitellius for aid, and was soon after joined by three cohorts and a squadron of horse from Britain ; a number too great to steal a march, and too weak to open a passage through an enemy's country. Not even in this perilous juncture was the character of Valens unstained with the infamy of rushing perforce into forbidden pleasures and polluting the houses of his hosts with adulteries and rapes. He was backed by power, had money at command, and was impelled by that recklessness of irregular appetite which marks the last stage of falling fortune. He was no sooner joined by the foot and cavalry sent by Vitellius, than he saw, too late, the folly of his measures ; for with so small a force, supposing the men devoted to Vitellius, he could not hope to penetrate through the adverse army ; nor had they brought with them a fidelity unimpeached. Shame, however, and respect for the general under whose eye they were, deterred them for awhile ; but those restraints could not long act upon men fired with the love of daring enterprise and reckless of character. Valens, alarmed at this state of things, ordered the cohorts to advance to Ariminum, and the allied cavalry to bring up the rear ; himself, with a few adherents whom adversity had not seduced, directing his course to Umbria, and thence to Etruria ; where hearing for the first time of the defeat at Cremona, he conceived a design of a bold character, and which, had it been carried out, must have produced the most serious results ; it was to seize the ships on the coast, and bear away to some part or other of Narbon Gaul, rouse the provinces of Gaul, the armies stationed there, and the various German nations, and thus kindle a new war.

42. The departure of Valens throwing the garrison of Ariminum into consternation, Cornelius Fuscus advanced



his army to the place, and stationing his light galleys at the nearest point of the shores, invested it by sea and land. His forces spread themselves over the plains of Umbria, and the territory of Picenum, where it is washed by the Adriatic; and all Italy was now divided between Vespasian and Vitellius by the Apennine mountains. Valens embarked at the port of Pisa, but being becalmed; or meeting with contrary winds, was compelled to put in at the port of Hercules Monæcus. Marius Maturus, the governor of the maritime Alps, was then in the neighbourhood; a man attached to Vitellius, and who, though the country round espoused the opposite interest, had not yet renounced his oath of allegiance to him. He received Valens courteously; and by his advice deterred him from rashly making an attempt on the coast of Narbon Gaul; he also considered that the fidelity of his followers was weakened by their fears; for Valerius Paulinus, the procurator, an active and experienced officer, and before his elevation devoted to Vespasian, had brought the surrounding states to swear allegiance to him.

43. Paulinus having gathered round him all those who having been disbanded by Vitellius zealously entered upon the war, secured with a garrison the colony of Forojulium, which commanded the sea, having the greater weight and influence as he was a native of the colony, and honoured by the prætorian bands, of which he had formerly been a tribune. The inhabitants themselves, too, from a natural partiality for their townsman, and the hope of future advancement, enrolled themselves in favour of the cause. When these proceedings, now placed upon a secure footing, and magnified by the voice of fame, were currently reported among the Vitellians, whose minds were already unsettled, Fabius Valens returned to his ships, taking with him four select prætorians, three friends, and as many centurions, leaving Maturus and the rest free to stay where they were, and join the party of Vitellius. But though the open sea was safer than the shore or the adjacent cities, yet perplexed as to his future course, and rather seeing what was to be avoided than where he could repose confidence, he was thrown by adverse winds on the islands called the Stæchades, near Marseilles, where some light-armed galleys, sent by Paulinus, surprised and took him.

44. Valens being captured, the whole force of the empire was transferred to increase the resources of the victor. In Spain, the first legion, called Adjutrix, which from respect for the memory of Otho, was incensed

against Vitellius, led the way, and was followed by the tenth and sixth legions. The Gauls hesitated not. The well-known partiality to Vespasian, who had commanded the second legion by the appointment of Claudius, and had acquired fame in the war in that quarter, had the effect of attaching Britain to his interest, though not without an effort on the part of some of the legions, in which a considerable number of centurions and soldiers, who had been promoted by Vitellius, felt reluctant to desert a prince to whom they were bound by ties of gratitude.

45. In consequence of this dissension, and the frequent rumours of civil war, the Britons conceived ideas of independence at the instance of Venutius, who, in addition to his own natural ferocity, and an antipathy to the Roman name, was stimulated by motives of personal hostility to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who possessed great influence from her high descent, and which grew still greater when, after Caractacus had been treacherously seized, she was thought to have embellished the triumph of Claudius Cæsar. This led to wealth and the dissipation that waits upon prosperity. Shunning Venutius her husband, she made Vellocatus, his armour-bearer, the partner of her throne and bed. By that flagitious act the power of her house was shaken to its foundation. The discarded husband had the people on his side, while the adulterer was supported by the unchaste passion and the ferocious disposition of the queen. Venutius, therefore, having drawn together a body of auxiliaries, and being aided by the defection of the Brigantians themselves, reduced Cartismandua to the last extremity. She then invoked the protection of the Romans, who sent some cohorts and squadrons of horse to her relief. Several battles ensued, with various success. The queen, however, was rescued from impending danger. The kingdom was restored to Venutius, and the Romans found themselves involved in a war.

46. About the same time, Germany was up in arms, from the seditious spirit of the legions, and the sluggish inactivity of the commanders. By the treachery of the states in alliance, and the strength of the enemy, the interests of the empire were brought to the brink of ruin. Of this war, with its causes and issues, I shall hereafter give an account, for it ran out to a considerable length. Commotions, about the same time, broke out in Dacia, a people never to be relied on; and, since the legions were withdrawn from Mæsia, there was no force to awe them.

They, however, watched in silence the first movements of affairs. But when they heard that Italy was in a blaze of war, and that all the inhabitants were in arms against each other, they stormed the winter-quarters of the cohorts and the cavalry, and made themselves masters of both banks of the Danube. They then prepared to raze the camp of the legions, when Mucianus sent the sixth legion to check them, having heard of the victory at Cremona, and lest a formidable foreign force should invade Italy on both sides, the Dacians and the Germans making eruptions in opposite quarters. On this, as on many other occasions, fortune favoured the Romans in bringing Mucianus and the forces of the east into that quarter, and also in that we had settled matters at Cremona in the very nick of time. Fonteius Agrippa, from Asia, where he had governed for a year with proconsular authority, was now appointed to command in Mæsia, with the addition of some Vitellian soldiers, whom it was politic and desirable with a view to peace to disperse through the provinces, and occupy with foreign wars.

47. The rest of the provinces were by no means free from commotion. A barbarian slave, who had formerly commanded the royal fleet, had suddenly kindled the flame of war in Pontus. His name was Anicetus, a freedman of Polemon, high in power at one time, but now that the kingdom was turned into a Roman province, impatient of the change. Having, therefore, in the name of Vitellius prevailed upon the nations bordering on Pontus to join him, and by the hope of plunder attracted to his standard all who were plunged in poverty, he found himself at the head of a force not to be despised, with which he made a sudden assault upon Trapezus, a city celebrated from of old, and founded by Grecians at the extremity of the Pontic coast. A cohort, formerly a royal garrison, was put to the sword there. They had subsequently received the privilege of Roman citizens, and, from that time, used the arms and banners of Rome, still retaining the indolent and dissolute habits of the Greeks. He also set fire to the fleet, as he had it all his own way by sea, the best of the light galleys, and all his troops, by order of Mucianus, being stationed at Byzantium. Nay, even the Barbarians scoured the sea with perfect composure, in vessels constructed in an offhand manner, which they call *camaræ*, the sides of which are brought near together, with broad bottoms, and joined together without fastenings of brass or iron. In a tempestuous sea, they raise the sides with additional planks in proportion to the swell

of the waves, till the vessel is covered over like a roof; thus they roll about amidst the billows, since having a prow at either extremity alike, and the steerage convertible, it makes no difference to them, and is unattended with danger to row in one direction or the other.

48. Vespasian thought the affair of sufficient moment to send a detachment of the legions under the command of Virdius Geminus, an officer of undoubted experience. He came up with the Barbarians as they were roaming in disorder on the shore from their eager pursuit of prey, and forced them to fly to their boats. Having rapidly constructed a number of galleys, he overtook Anicetus in the mouth of the river Cohibus, now shielded by the aid of the king of the Sedochezans, having, by money and presents, purchased the friendship of that prince. The king at first protected him by threats and arms; but finding that he must choose between the price of treason or war, with the usual treachery of Barbarians, having struck a bargain for the blood of Anicetus, he surrendered his suppliants, and thus ended the servile war. Rejoiced at this success, and while everything was prospering beyond his hopes, an account of the victory at Cremona reached him in Egypt. He proceeded with the greater speed to Alexandria, that as Vitellius could no longer keep the field, he might distress the City, dependent as it was on foreign supplies, by famine. With this view he also purposed, by land and sea, to invade Africa, which lay on the same side, in order to cause famine and dissensions, by stopping the supplies of provisions.

49. While the imperial dignity was passing into other hands by this revolution in every part of the world, Antonius conducted himself after the affair of Cremona with anything but his wonted honesty; whether it was that he considered that he had done the business of the war, and that what remained required no effort, or that prosperity called forth the pride, avarice, and other latent vices of his nature. He ramped over Italy as a conquered country; caressed the soldiers, as if they were his own; by all his words and actions sought to build up his own power; and, to tincture the soldiers with a spirit of insubordination, gave to the legions the disposal of slain centurions' commissions. The consequence was, that the most turbulent were elected, the soldiers were no longer under the control of the generals, but the generals were carried away by the violence of the soldiery. This spirit, destructive of all subordination and discipline, he soon

made instrumental to purposes of plunder, not entertaining the least awe of Mucianus, who was approaching; a conduct more disastrous in its consequences, than to have slighted Vespasian.

50. To proceed; the winter coming on, and the country being inundated by the Po, the army was obliged to march lightly equipped. The eagles and banners of the victorious legions, with the old, the wounded, and numbers even in full vigour, were left at Verona. The cohorts and cavalry, with a select detachment from the legions, were thought sufficient for a war already extinguished. The eleventh legion, at first hesitating, but since the turn of affairs regretting that they had no share in the victory, had joined them, accompanied by six thousand Dalmatians, newly levied; the whole led by Poppæus Silvanus, a man of consular rank; but virtually commanded by Annius Bassus, general of the legion. Silvanus, a supine and spiritless character, who wasted in talking the time that called for enterprise, was ruled by Bassus, under the semblance of submission, and wherever there was anything to be done, Bassus aided with unostentatious energy. To this body of forces was added the flower of the marines from the fleet at Ravenna, who desired to act as legionary soldiers. The Dalmatians supplied their place in the fleet. The army and generals halted at the temple of Fortune, being undetermined about their plan of operations; as they had heard that the prætorian cohorts were on their march from Rome, and the passes over the Apennine were supposed to be occupied. They were also themselves alarmed at the scarcity of provisions, in a country laid waste by war; and at the fierce clamours of the soldiers demanding the donative for nails. They had made no provision for money or food; while the imprudence and greediness of the soldiers, who seized and devoured what might have served if dealt out to them, precluded all management.

51. I find from historians of the highest note, that the victorious army exhibited such an indifference to the distinction between what is permitted and what is forbidden, that a common horse-soldier made a merit of having killed his brother in the late battle, and solicited a reward from the generals. And while the law of nature forbade them to give honorary rewards to that act of blood, the policy of the war they were engaged in prevented their punishing it. Under a pretence that he had earned ampler rewards than they could bestow on the moment, they adjourned the business, and history has not recorded anything more. In former civil wars, however, a similar horror

had occurred. In the battle with Cinna at the Janiculum, a man of Pompey's party (as Sisenna relates) slew his brother, and forthwith on discovering the dire fact, despatched himself: so true it is, that in ancient times men not only were more prompt in honouring virtue, but also felt a keener remorse for crimes than now. But these and other transactions, fetched from the records of past ages, we shall call to mind whenever opportunities, circumstances, and situations require examples of virtue, or solace under instances of turpitude.

52. Antonius and the principal officers judged it prudent to send forward the cavalry, and explore every part of Umbria to find, if possible, a place of moderate acclivity over the Apennine. In the mean time, the troops left behind at Verona were ordered to advance with the eagles and standards. Measures were also taken to have a plentiful supply of provision-ships on the sea and on the Po. Some of the chiefs sought occasions for delay from time to time: for Antonius had now become insupportable; and they had more reason to hope from Mucianus, who saw with a jealous eye the rapid success of Antonius, and concluded that if he did not arrive in time to enter Rome with the victorious army, he would have no share in the operations or glory of the war. He therefore wrote to Varus and Antonius in dark, ambiguous terms; sometimes descanting on the necessity of despatch, and then on the advantages of caution; and with such studied art, that according to events he might assume the merit of success, and throw the blame of failure on others. To his intimate friends, and in particular Plotius Griphus, lately raised by Vespasian to the rank of senator, and the command of a legion, he gave less equivocal instructions. The answers which he received from all this, were accommodated to his wishes, and reflected on the rashness of Varus and Antonius. These letters Mucianus forwarded to Vespasian, and in consequence the measures and achievements of Antonius were not estimated as he had hoped.

53. Antonius was indignant, and imputed to Mucianus the guilt of causing his heroic acts to be lightly deemed of by his calumnies; nor did he refrain from speaking his mind, for he had no control over his tongue, and had no idea of submission. He wrote a letter to Vespasian, in a style more arrogant than became one addressing a prince, and not without disparaging insinuations against Mucianus. "It was by Antonius that the legions in Pannonia were excited to a revolt; by him the leaders in Mæ-

sia were inspirited; by his firmness the Alps were forced, Italy seized, and the succours from Germany and Rhætia cut off. That his having discomfited the legions of Vitellius, when separated and disunited among themselves, by a storm of horse, and then pressed them with the foot-force for a night and day, was an exploit of the most brilliant kind, and accomplished by him. The calamity of Cremona was attributable to the nature of the war: that former civil dissensions had stood the state in greater losses—the razing of more cities. That he served his emperor in war, not by messages and epistles, but by his arm and his sword. Nor did he mean to detract from the merit of those who in the mean time managed matters in Asia: they had the task of maintaining tranquillity in Mæsia, he of preserving and protecting Italy. Spain and Gaul, the most potent force in the world, were by his influence drawn over to Vespasian. But his efforts had been vain, if those only who partook not in the danger obtained its rewards.” These proceedings did not escape Mucianus: and thence a deadly feud between them; on the part of Antonius, carried on with openness: on that of Mucianus, covertly, and, for that reason, the more implacably.

54. Vitellius, after the overthrow of his army at Cremona, suppressing the news, by that shallow attempt to conceal the fact, delayed the remedy rather than postponed the disease. For unquestionably had he admitted the mischief and taken counsel upon it, he had resources and means in abundance; when on the contrary, he pretended that all was prosperous, his case grew worse from the disguise. A marvellous silence about the war was observed in his presence; the citizens of Rome were forbid to talk about it, and for that reason the more did so; and those who, had there been no restraint, would have stated only the truth, circulated exaggerated accounts because they were commanded to keep silence. Nor did the chiefs of the adverse party omit anything that could extend the fame of their victory. The spies that fell into their hands were led round the camp, and, after seeing the strength of the conquerors, sent back. Vitellius examined them all in private, and then ordered them to be put to death. A singular proof of magnanimity was given by a centurion, named Julius Agrestis, who having in several interviews tried in vain to rouse Vitellius to exertion, obtained leave to go in person to view the strength of the enemy, and see the real condition of Cremona. Nor did he try to escape the notice of Antonius by secret observation, but avowed the emperor's orders and his own resolution,

and requested to see everything. Persons were sent to show him the field of battle, the ruins of Cremona, and the legions that had laid down their arms. He returned to Vitellius. The emperor, denying the truth of his intelligence, and actually charging him with treachery, he said, "since some great and decisive proof is necessary, and since neither my life nor death can now be of any use, I will give you convincing evidence." And having thus spoken, retired and sealed his assertions by voluntary death. Some historians say he was slain by order of Vitellius, agreeing in the account of his fidelity and magnanimity.

55. Vitellius, as though roused from sleep, ordered Julius Priscus and Alphenus Varus, with fourteen prætorian cohorts, and all the squadrons of cavalry, to guard the passes of the Apennine. A legion of marines followed. So many thousand chosen horse and foot, under any other general, would have been sufficient even for offensive operations. The cohorts that remained were put under the command of Lucius Vitellius, the emperor's brother, for the defence of the city. The emperor abated nothing of his habitual luxury, and with the precipitation of one who felt himself falling, hurried on the elections, at which he appointed a succession of consuls for several years; he concluded treaties with the allies; invested foreigners with the Latin privileges: he granted to some exemption from all tribute, others he assisted with immunities; in short, utterly regardless of posterity, he tore the empire to tatters. But the populace were swayed by the extent of his bounties. Simpletons gave their money for favours, while men of reflection looked upon those grants as nugatory, which could neither be made nor accepted without ruining the state. At length Vitellius, urged by the importunity of the army, which lay encamped at Mevania, marched out of the city, attended by a numerous train of senators; some to pay their court, many through fear, having no settled plan, and entirely dependent upon advice of dubious sincerity.

56. While haranguing the army, a circumstance occurred which may well be called portentous. So numerous a flight of ill-omened birds hovered over his head, that forming a dense cloud they obscured the day. This was followed by another prognostic of an alarming nature. A bull broke loose from the altar, and trampling under foot the preparations for sacrifice, fled to a distant place, and there, on a spot where victims were never slain, was felled. But Vitellius himself was the great portent



after all, without a particle of experience or capacity to direct; obliged to ask others how to put the troops in array, what provision was to be made for reconnoitring; how to regulate proceedings with the view of urging on or protracting the war; and even changing countenance, and in his step betraying the alarm he felt at every breath of intelligence; and then stupifying himself with drink. Weary at length of the camp, and hearing of the revolt of the fleet at Misenum, he went back to Rome, where each adverse event as it occurred terrified him most, because it was the latest; but not a thought did he bestow upon the issue of the general contest. For when it was open to him to pass over the Apennine with his whole force unimpaired, and attack an enemy distressed by cold and scarcity, by dividing his troops he exposed to be cut to pieces and captured by the enemy, a gallant soldiery, and devoted to him to the death, though the most experienced of the centurions condemned his measures, and if consulted, would have given him sound advice. The creatures immediately about the person of Vitellius prevented their access to him; the ears of the prince being brought to such a state that wholesome counsels grated harshly upon them, and he would listen only to what was gratifying at the moment, though pernicious in its consequences.

57. The revolt of the fleet at Misenum was occasioned by the fraud of Claudius Faventinus; so much in civil commotions depends on the boldness of one man. He had been a centurion under Galba, who cashiered him with ignominy. He forged letters from Vespasian, promising ample rewards to such as went over. Claudius Apollinaris commanded the fleet; a man inconstant in his attachments and irresolute in perfidy. It happened that Apinius Tiro, who had discharged the office of prætor, was then at Minturnæ. He offered to head the revolters. They drew the neighbouring colonies and municipal towns into the confederacy. The inhabitants of Puteoli declared with alacrity for Vespasian, while Capua adhered to Vitellius: and thus with the rage of civil war the jealousies of rival municipalities were blended. Vitellius fixed on Claudius Julianus, who as præfect of the fleet at Misenum lately, had exercised his authority mildly, to endeavour to reclaim the soldiers by soothing means. He was supported by a city-cohort, and a band of gladiators whom he had commanded. When the two camps were pitched in view of each other, Julianus, without much hesitation went over to Vespasian, and they took possession of Tarracina,

a place better protected by its walls and situation than the character of its inhabitants.

58. Vitellius, informed of these transactions, left part of his army at Narnia, with the prætorian præfects, and sent his brother Lucius Vitellius with six cohorts and five hundred horse to check the force which was coming upon him by way of Campania. He himself, heart-sick and desponding, was revived by the ardour of the soldiers and the clamours of the populace demanding to be armed; while deceived by the hollow semblance, he gave the name of army, and legions, to a spiritless rabble, bold only in tongue. At the instance of his freedmen, for as to his friends, the higher they ranked the less confidence he reposed in them, he ordered the people to be assembled in their tribes, and as they gave their names, he administered the oath of fidelity; but the crowd pressing too thick upon him, he divided the task of completing the levy between the consuls. The senators were required to bring in a certain weight of silver, and a certain number of slaves. The Roman knights made a voluntary offer to serve with their persons and fortunes; and even the descendants of freedmen, without solicitation, pressed to do the same. This affectation of zeal, which had its origin in fear, issued in a favourable feeling; and very many were touched with compassion, not so much for Vitellius as for the unfortunate state and degradation of the sovereignty. Vitellius, on his part, omitted not to invite commiseration by a dejected air: a pathetic tone of voice: and by tears; making ample promises, nay, as is usual with men in distress, generous beyond all bounds. He even now was willing to accept the title of Cæsar; having repudiated it theretofore; but then from the superstitious veneration in which it was held, and because in cases of extreme danger the voice of the rabble is equal to the wisest counsels, he acquiesced. However, as all undertakings originating in blind impulse, though vigorous at first, languish under the effect of time, the senators and knights fell off by degrees; at first slowly, and in the absence of the prince, but soon boldly and indifferently; till at last Vitellius, ashamed of his defeated efforts, granted a remission of those services which were withheld.

59. As by taking possession of Mevania, Italy was stricken with terror, and the war seemed to be revived, so Vitellius, by his dastardly departure, gave a manifest impulse to the feeling in favour of the Flavian party. The Samnites, the Pelignians, and the Marsians, stung with

envy at the alacrity with which Campania had taken the lead in the revolt, were roused into action; and applied themselves to all the duties of the war with the energy usually exhibited in the service of a new master; but the army, in passing over the Apennine, suffered extremely from the rigour of the winter; and the difficulty with which, though unmolested by the enemy, they laboured through the snow, plainly showed the dangers they must have encountered if fortune, to which the Flavian generals were often indebted no less than to the wisdom of their counsels, had not drawn Vitellius from his post. During the march they met with Petilius Cerealis, who in the habit of a peasant, and from his acquaintance with the country, had eluded the guards of Vitellius. As he was closely allied to Vespasian, and himself an officer of no mean repute, he was ranked with the commanders in chief. Many writers have stated that not only he, but Flavius Sabinus, and Domitian, had it in their power to escape out of Rome; and messengers sent by Antonius, who had made their way through the enemy's lines by all sorts of disguises, pointed out to them a refuge, and promised them safe conduct; but Sabinus pleaded his ill state of health as unfitting him for the fatigue and danger of the attempt. Domitian was not deficient in inclination: but the guards appointed by Vitellius to watch his motions, though they offered to join his flight, he suspected of a design to draw him into a snare. In reality Vitellius, from regard for his own connections, meditated no severity towards Domitian.

60. Arrived at Carsulæ, the generals thought fit to halt there for some days, as well to rest the troops, as to wait the arrival of the eagles and standards of the legions. It also appeared an eligible spot for their camp, commanding, as it did, a view of the country on every side, with the opportunity of bringing in provisions in security; having several municipalities of the greatest affluence in their rear. Being ten miles distant from the Vitellian forces, they hoped, by intrigue and secret negotiations, to induce the whole party to lay down their arms. But the soldiers were impatient of delay. They wished to end the war by victory, not by compromise. They did not even desire to wait the arrival of their own legions, regarding them rather as sharers in the booty than the dangers of the battle. Antonius called the men together, and, in a public harangue, informed them, "that Vitellius had still numerous forces in reserve, who might come over if left to their own reflection, but determined adversaries if

precluded from hope. In the first movements of a civil war, much must be left to chance. To complete the conquest, is the province of wisdom and deliberate counsels. The fleet at Misenum, with the whole region of Campania, the fairest part of Italy, had already declared for Vespasian. Of the whole Roman world, the tract that lies between Narnia and Tarracina was all that remained in the hands of Vitellius. By the victory at Cremona enough of glory had been gained, and, by the demolition of that city, too much disgrace. He implored them not to desire to capture rather than to preserve the city of Rome. They would reap ampler rewards, and their fame would stand higher, if they sought the safety of the senate and people of Rome without effusion of blood."

61. By these and similar reasonings the impetuosity of the soldiers was calmed. The legions arrived soon after, and, by the terror and fame of the augmented force, the Vitellian cohorts oscillated, there being no one to incite them to go on with the war, but many to change sides, who strove with each other in going over to the enemy with their companies of foot, or their troops of horse, thereby to confer a benefit on the victor, and lay up a fund of favour to be enjoyed thereafter. Information was received through these that four hundred of the enemy's cavalry were stationed in the neighbourhood, in garrison at Interamna. Varus was instantly despatched at the head of a detached party against them. A few who resisted were put to the sword; the greater part laid down their arms, and begged forgiveness. Some fled back to the camp at Narnia, which they filled with consternation, by magnifying the numbers and courage of the enemy, to palliate the disgrace of evacuating the garrison. In the Vitellian army defection and treachery went unpunished: allegiance was undermined by the rewards of the revolter; and the only contest now was, who should be first in perfidy. The tribunes and centurions deserted in shoals; not so the common soldiers, who had contracted a firm attachment to Vitellius; but at last Priscus and Alphenus, by abandoning the camp, relieved them all from any misgivings on the score of treason.

62. During these transactions, Fabius Valens was put to death while under restraint at Urbinum. His head was shown in triumph to the Vitellian cohorts, to cut off all hope from him; for a belief prevailed that he had made his escape into Germany, and was there employed in raising an army of veterans to renew the war. Seeing that he was slain they resigned themselves to despair.

The effect of the death of Valens, in producing an impression on the mind of the Vitellian army that the war was at an end, was incalculable. Fabius Valens was a native of Anagnia, of an equestrian family. Of profligate manners, but not destitute of genius, he aimed at the reputation of urbanity in libertine excesses. In the interludes, called *Juvenalia*, in the reign of Nero, he appeared often among the pantomime performers, at first with seeming reluctance, but afterwards of his own choice, with more talent than decency. As commander of a legion under Verginius, he encouraged his designs, and blackened him to the world. He murdered Fonteius Capito, after undermining his principles, or because he failed in the attempt. False to Galba, he continued faithful to Vitellius, deriving lustre from the perfidy of others.

63. The Vitellians, seeing all hopes cut off, determined to submit to the conqueror, and even in this act paying regard to character, descended into the plains overlooked by Narnia, with their banners and colours displayed. Vespasian's army fully expecting a battle, and equipped for it, formed their lines in close array on each side of the road. In the interval they received the Vitellians. Thus surrounded, Antonius addressed them in the language of humanity. One division was ordered to stay at Narnia, and the other at Interamna. Some of the victorious legions were left with them, not to annoy them if they remained quiet, but strong enough to check any violation of order. Antonius and Varus, in the mean time, did not omit to send frequent messages to Vitellius, offering him money, and a safe retreat in Campania, upon condition that he should lay down his arms, and surrender himself and his children at discretion to Vespasian. Letters to the same effect were also written to him by Mucianus. Vitellius not unfrequently listened to these proposals, and talked about the number of his train, and the spot on the coast he should choose. Such a torpor had come over his mind, that if others had not remembered that he was a prince, he himself had forgotten it.

64. On the other hand, leading men of the state endeavoured, by secret exhortations, to incite Flavius Sabinus, the præfect of the city, to earn a share in the success and glory of the revolution. "The city-cohorts," they said, "were peculiarly his own; the cohorts of the night-watch would join him; there were their own slaves, the name of a successful party, and the strong and universal tendency of things in favour of the victors. He should not yield to Varus and Antonius the whole glory of the

war. Vitellius had but a few cohorts left, and those perplexed and alarmed at the disheartening news from every quarter. The minds of the populace were prone to change. Let Sabinus show himself, and the acclamations, now given to Vitellius, would be as loud for Vespasian. As to Vitellius, prosperity overpowered him; much more must his energies be enfeebled in the ruin of his fortune. The merit of concluding the war would be his who first got possession of the city. It became Sabinus to secure the sovereign power for his brother; and it comported with the dignity of Vespasian that Sabinus should earn the first place among his subjects.

65. Sabinus, enfeebled by old age, received these expostulations in any thing but a spirit of alacrity. Some there were who whispered their suspicions, that he wished to retard the elevation of his brother from motives of envy and jealousy. Sabinus was the elder, and, while both remained in a private station, always took the lead, superior in fortune and influence; and when Vespasian's credit was giving way, Sabinus is said to have propped it up, by taking a mortgage on his brother's house and lands. Whence, though they preserved the exterior of friendship, a smothered animosity was supposed to exist. The fairer construction is, that Sabinus, a man of a meek disposition, was averse to carnage, and, with that intent, held frequent conferences with Vitellius on the subject of a pacification and the settlement of terms for a cessation of hostilities. Having frequently met in private, they, as the report went, at last concluded a treaty in the temple of Apollo, when Cluvius Rufus and Silius Italicus witnessed their expressions and exclamations: the looks of the contracting parties were observed by spectators at a distance. The countenance of Vitellius was downcast, and indicative of a broken spirit; while Sabinus exhibited no signs of triumph, but had more the air of commiseration.

66. And if Vitellius could have influenced the minds of his followers with the facility he himself displayed in giving up the contest, Vespasian's army might have taken possession of the city of Rome unstained with blood. But in proportion as his friends were firm in his interest, they rejected all terms of accommodation, representing the danger and disgrace of it, and that their security for its fulfilment depended on the caprice of the conqueror. Vespasian had not the magnanimity to suffer Vitellius to live in a private station; even the vanquished would not bear it. Thus danger would grow out of the commiseration of his friends. Grant that he is himself an aged man,

and wearied with the alternations of prosperity and adversity. But what name, what rank, would be bestowed on his son Germanicus? Promises of a supply of money, a retinue of slaves, and a retreat in the delightful regions of Campania were now held out; but when Vespasian had seized the imperial dignity, neither he, nor his friends, nor even his armies, would think themselves secure, save in the annihilation of the rival interest. Even Fabius Valens, though a prisoner, and, while they feared a reverse of fortune, reserved as a pledge in the hands of the enemy, was thought too formidable to live; much less would Antonius, and Fuscus, or Mucianus, who might be regarded as embodying the characteristic principles of the party, be content with any extent of power over Vitellius, unless it included that of killing him. Pompey was pursued to death by Julius Cæsar, and Mark Antony by Augustus. Unless, perhaps, nobler sentiments are to be expected from Vespasian, the client of Vitellius, who was the colleague of Claudius. Nay, as became the censorship of his father, three consulships, the numerous honours of his illustrious house, they urged Vitellius to gird himself up for acts of daring, from desperation at least, if from no other impulse. The soldiers were inflexible in their attachment, and the affections of the people were still with him. To sum up all, nothing so calamitous could befall them as that into which they were rushing voluntarily. If vanquished, they must perish; if they surrendered, they must perish. All they had to consider was, whether they would pour out their parting breath amidst scorn and contumely, or with the honour due to valour.

67. Vitellius was deaf to vigorous counsels. His whole soul was absorbed in commiseration and anxiety, lest by pertinacious resistance the conqueror would be inexorable to his wife and children when he was gone. He had also a mother worn out with age; who, however, died a few days before, happily anticipating the downfall of her family. From the elevation of her son she derived nothing but sorrow, and an extended reputation for virtue. On the fifteenth before the calends of January, the defection of the legions and cohorts, that surrendered at Narnia, reaching the ears of Vitellius, he came down from his palace in mourning apparel, surrounded by his afflicted family. His infant son was carried in a small litter, exhibiting the appearance of a funeral procession. The voices of the people were sweet, but out of season; the soldiery wrapt in sullen silence.

68. Nor was there a man so dead to human sympathies, as not to be touched by the scene before him. A Roman emperor, but a little before lord of mankind, abandoning the habitation of his greatness, and going forth from empire, through the midst of citizens, through the streets of the capital. They had never beheld such a spectacle; they had heard of nothing like it. Cæsar, the dictator, fell by sudden violence; Caligula perished by a dark conspiracy. The shades of night and rural solitudes had thrown a veil over the flight of Nero; Piso and Galba may be said to have died in battle. Vitellius, before an assembly of the people called by himself, in the midst of his own soldiers, and in the view even of women, after declaring in brief terms, but such as assorted with the mournful circumstances, that he retired for the sake of peace and the good of the commonwealth; that all he desired, was that they would retain him still in their memory, and look with pity on the misfortunes of his brother, his wife, and unoffending children; at the same time raising his son in his arms, and commending him now to individuals, now to the whole body, at length, suffocated with grief, took the dagger from his side, and offered it, as the symbol of the power of life and death over citizens, to Cæcilius Simplex, the consul, who stood near him. The consul refusing to accept it, and the people loudly opposing his resignation, Vitellius left the place, to lay down the ensigns of sovereignty in the temple of Concord, and seek a retreat in his brother's house. Here a still louder cry arose. They objected to the house of a private citizen, and insisted on his returning to the palace. Every other way they obstructed, and none was left open, except that which led into the *Sacred Way*. Then, having no alternative, he returned to the palace. The abdication of the prince was already rumoured through the city, and Flavius Sabinus had written to the tribunes of the cohorts, to restrain the violence of the soldiers.

69. Accordingly, as if the whole power of the state had fallen into the lap of Vespasian, the leading members of the senate, with a numerous band of the equestrian order, and all the city-soldiers, and the night-watch, crowded the house of Flavius Sabinus. They were there informed of the zeal of the people for Vitellius, and the menaces thrown out by the German cohorts. Sabinus had gone too far to think of retreat. Individuals trembling for themselves, lest, if they dispersed, and thus diminished their strength, the Vitellians should come upon them, induced Sabinus, though reluctant, to take up arms.



But, as often happens in cases of this kind, all were ready to advise, and few to share the danger. Near the FUNDANE lake a desperate band of the Vitellians met the armed citizens who were going forth in attendance on Sabinus. A slight encounter, in the surprise and confusion of the moment, ensued, but was favourable to the Vitellians. Sabinus, in the alarm and perplexity of the occasion, retreated to the fort of the capitol, which he garrisoned with the soldiers, and a small party of senators and Roman knights, judging this the safest course open to him. Their names cannot be given easily, as numbers afterwards, in the reign of Vespasian, assumed the merit of this service to his party. There were even women who braved a siege. Among these the most distinguished was Verulana Gratilla, who had neither children nor relations to attract her, but followed in the course of war. The Vitellians invested the citadel with so much negligence, that Sabinus, in the dead of night, was able to receive into the place his own children, and Domitian, his brother's son; sending, also, through the unguarded quarters, information to the Flavian generals, that they were themselves besieged, and that without relief they would be reduced to a state of distress. Sabinus experienced so little molestation during the night that he might have safely made his escape; for the soldiery of Vitellius, resolute in facing danger, paid little attention to laborious duties and night-watches; besides that, a winter storm of rain obstructed the sight and hearing.

70. At the dawn of day, before mutual hostilities commenced, Sabinus despatched Cornelius Martialis, a principal centurion, with instructions and complaints to Vitellius, that the treaty was violated. "That it was a mere pretence and semblance of abdication to deceive so many illustrious citizens. For, why did he go from the rostra to his brother's house, which overlooked the forum, and was calculated to offend the eyes of the citizens, rather than to the Aventine and the mansion of his wife. Such a course became a private character, and one who avoided all appearance of sovereign power. Vitellius, on the contrary, returned to his palace, the very citadel of empire; thence a military force was sent forth, and the most frequented part of the city was strewed with the corpses of unoffending citizens. The capitol itself was not spared. Surely he had himself continued in a civil capacity, and as one of the senators, while the contest between Vitellius and Vespasian was carrying on by encounters of the legions, the capture of cities, the surrender of cohorts; when both

the Spains, the Upper and Lower Germany, and all Britain, had revolted; though the brother of Vespasian, he had not swerved from his allegiance; and when at length he entered into a negotiation, Vitellius invited him to it. The pacification and agreement were advantageous to the vanquished; and to the victors brought nothing but honour. If he repented of the convention, he should not point his arms against Sabinus, whom he duped by perfidy; nor the son of Vespasian, scarcely arrived at puberty. By the murder of one old man, and one stripling, what advantage could be gained? He should make head against the legions, and decide the contest with them. Everything would be determined by the issue of the battle. Vitellius, who was in a state of the utmost agitation, in his reply endeavoured briefly to clear himself, laying the blame upon the soldiers, whose intemperate zeal was more than a match for his mild control. He advised Martialis to depart through a private part of the house, lest the soldiers in their fury should destroy the negotiator of a peace which they abhorred. He was himself unable to command or to prohibit any measure; no longer emperor, but merely the cause of war.

71. Martialis had scarcely re-entered the capitol, when the furious soldiers appeared before it, without a general, and each man acting on his own suggestions. Having rapidly passed the forum, and the temples that overlook it, they marched up the opposite hill, as far as the first gates of the citadel. On the right side of the ascent, a range of porticoes had been built in ancient times. Going out upon the roof of those, the besieged threw a shower of stones and tiles. The assailants had no weapons but their swords, and to fetch engines and missiles seemed a tedious delay. They threw brands into the portico that jutted near them. They followed up the fire, and would have forced their way through the gate of the capitol, which the fire had laid hold of, if Sabinus had not placed as a barrier in the very approach, in lieu of a wall, the statues, those honourable monuments of our ancestors, which were pulled down wherever they could be found. They then assaulted the capitol in two different quarters; near the grove of the asylum, and where the Tarpeian rock is ascended by a hundred steps. Both attacks were unforeseen. That by the asylum was the nearer and most vigorous. Nor could they be stopped from climbing up the contiguous buildings, which being raised high under the idea of undisturbed peace, reach the basement

of the capitol. Here a doubt exists whether the fire was thrown upon the roofs by the storming party or the besieged, the latter being more generally supposed to have done it to repulse those who were climbing up, and had advanced some way. The fire extended itself thence to the porticoes adjoining the temples; soon the eagles that supported the cupola caught fire, and as the timber was old they fed the flame. Thus the capitol, with its gates shut, neither stormed nor defended, was burned to the ground.

72. From the foundation of the city to that hour, the Roman republic had felt no calamity so deplorable, so shocking as that, unassailed by a foreign enemy, and, were it not for the vices of the age, with the deities propitious, the temple of Jupiter, supremely good and great; built by our ancestors with solemn auspices, the pledge of empire, which neither Porsenna, when Rome surrendered to his arms, nor the Gauls, when they captured the city were permitted to violate, should be now demolished by the madness of the rulers of the state. The capitol was once before destroyed by fire during a civil war; but it was from the guilty machinations of private individuals. Now it was besieged publicly, publicly set fire to, and what were the motives for the war? what was the object to be gained, that so severe a calamity was incurred? Warred we in our country's cause?—Tarquinius Priscus, during the war with the Sabines, built it in fulfilment of a vow, and laid the foundations more in conformity with his anticipations of the future grandeur of the empire, than the limited extent of the Roman means at that time. Servius Tullius, assisted by the zeal of the allies of Rome, and after him Tarquin the Proud, with the spoils of Suessa Pometia added to the building. But the glory of completing the design was reserved for the era of liberty. When tyrants were swept away, Horatius Pulvillus, in his second consulship, dedicated the temple, finished with such magnificence, that the wealth of after ages graced it with new embellishments, but added nothing to its dimensions. Four hundred and fifteen years afterwards, in the consulship of Lucius Scipio and Caius Norbanus, it was burnt to the ground, and again rebuilt on the old foundation. Sylla having now triumphed over his opponents, undertook to build it, but nevertheless did not dedicate it; the only thing wanting to crown his felicity. That honour was reserved for Lutatius Catulus, whose name, amidst so many works of the Cæsars, remained legible till the days of Vitellius. Such was the sacred building, which was at this time reduced to ashes.

73. But the fire occasioned greater consternation among the besieged than among the besiegers, inasmuch as the Vitellian soldiers, in the moment of difficulty, wanted neither skill nor courage. In the opposite party the men were seized with panic, and the commander had neither spirit nor presence of mind; he lost all power of speech and hearing. Deaf to the advice of others, he was unable to devise any plan himself. Driven about in all directions according to the shouts of the enemy, he ordered what he had forbidden, and countermanded what he had ordered. Soon, as usually happens in desperate emergencies, all directed, and none obeyed. At length they threw down their arms, and each man looked about for a way of escape, and how to conceal himself; the Vitellians burst in, and in a moment all was one scene of fire, and swords, and blood. A few gallant spirits made a brave resistance, and perished in the attempt. The most distinguished were Cornelius Martialis, Æmilius Pacensis, Casperius Niger, and Didius Scæva. Flavius Sabinus, without his sword, and not so much as attempting flight, was surrounded; as was also Quinctius Atticus, the consul, who was marked out by the shadowy ensigns of his magistracy, and his own vain glory, as he had put forth edicts to the people laudatory of Vespasian, and reflecting harshly upon Vitellius. The rest by various stratagems made their escape; some in the disguise of slaves; others protected by the fidelity of their friends, and concealed amidst the baggage. A few, who having caught the signal by which the Vitellians knew each other, by boldly asking it and giving it in reply, found security in their daring.

74. Domitian, on the first irruption, was secreted in the apartments of the warden, and then by the contrivance of his freedman, having been clad in a linen vestment, and put among the band of the sacrificers without being recognised, he remained in concealment in the neighbourhood of Velabrum, at the house of Cornelius Primus, a client of Vespasian's. During the reign of his father, he threw down the warden's lodge, and built a chapel to JUPITER CONSERVATOR, with an altar, having the story of his vicissitudes engraven on a marble tablet. Afterwards, on his accession, he dedicated a magnificent temple to JUPITER THE GUARDIAN, and a statue representing the god with himself in his arms. Sabinus and Quinctius Atticus were conducted in fetters to the presence of Vitellius. He received them without an angry word or look, though the soldiers indignantly

insisted on their right to murder both, and to reap the rewards of their service. A shout arising from those nearest him, the meaner portion of the populace, called for vengeance on Sabinus, mingling menaces with adulation. Vitellius, who endeavoured to address them from the stairs of the palace, was forced by their importunity to withdraw. The mob then fell upon Sabinus, stabbed him in many places, mangled him horribly, and cutting off his head, dragged his mutilated trunk to Gemoniæ.

75. Such was the end of a man who, it must be admitted, was entitled to respect. He had carried arms five and thirty years in the service of his country, distinguished both in his civil and military capacities. His integrity and love of justice were unimpeachable. His fault was that of talking too much. In the course of seven years, during which he administered the province of Mæsia, and twelve more, while he was governor of Rome, malice itself could find no other blemish in his character. In the close of his life some condemned him for want of spirit; many regarded him as a man of moderation, and sparing of Roman blood. Before the elevation of Vespasian, all agree that he was the ornament of his family. It is recorded that his fall was matter of joy to Mucianus. In general, his death was considered as an event of public utility, by putting an end to a contention between two rivals, one of whom would consider that he was the emperor's brother, and the other that he was a claimant for a share of the imperial power. The consul, Quinctius Atticus, was the next victim demanded by the populace, but Vitellius opposed their fury; being now reconciled to him, and as it were making a requital, because being interrogated as to the destruction of the capitol, he avowed himself the author, and by that confession, or perhaps well-timed falsehood, he seemed to take upon himself the odium and guilt, exonerating the Vitellian party.

76. During these transactions, Lucius Vitellius, having pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Feronia, menaced the destruction of Tarracina, where the marines and gladiators were shut up, not daring to sally out and face the enemy in the open field. The gladiators, as has been mentioned, were under the command of Julianus, and the marines under that of Apollinaris; two men, immersed in sloth and luxury, from their vices more like gladiators than generals. They kept no night-watch, nor guarded the insecure parts of the walls. Day and night abandoned to excess, they made the voluptuous haunts of that coast resound with revelry, sending the soldiers in

all directions to provide luxuries, and talked of war only while feasting. Apinius Tiro, who had left the place a few days before, by unfeelingly exacting presents and contributions from the municipal towns, brought a greater accession of ill-will than of strength to the party.

77. In the mean time a slave of Verginius Capito deserted to Lucius Vitellius, with an offer, if placed at the head of a detachment, to put the citadel, loosely guarded as it was, into their hands. In the dead of night he stationed a party of light-armed cohorts on the topmost ridges of the hill, over the heads of the enemy. Thence the soldiers poured down to slaughter rather than fight. They mowed them down unarmed or arming, others scarce awake, and all thrown into consternation by the general uproar, the darkness, the clangour of trumpets, and the shouts of the enemy. A few of the gladiators made resistance, and sold their lives dearly. The rest fled with precipitation to the ships, where all was involved in indiscriminate terror, the peasants being intermixed with the troops, and all were put to the sword without distinction. In the beginning of the tumult, six light galleys escaped. On board of one of them was Apollinaris, the commander of the fleet. The rest were either taken, or, by the overweight of those that rushed on board, were sunk. Julianus was conducted to Lucius Vitellius, and, in his presence, first ignominiously scourged; and then put to death. Some persons charged Triaria, the wife of Lucius the commanding officer, with having appeared girt with a soldier's sword, and behaving in a tyrannical and cruel manner amidst the afflictions and calamities of the sacking of Terracina. The general sent a letter wreathed with laurel to his brother, with intelligence of the victory, desiring, at the same time, to know whether he should march directly forward to Rome, or stay to finish the entire reduction of Campania; a delay which was of real benefit, not only to Vespasian's party, but the commonwealth; for if a soldiery, flushed with success, and to their natural hardihood adding the insolence of victory, had been led to Rome, there would have been a conflict of no trifling magnitude; and not without the destruction of the city. For Lucius Vitellius, though his character was bad, wanted not vigour of mind. He had raised himself to eminence, not by his virtues, as is the case with good men, but by his vices, like the most profligate of mankind.

78. While these transactions were going on with the party of Vitellius, the army of Vespasian, quitting Narnia,

were passing the Saturnalian holidays at Ocriculum, quite at their ease. To wait for the arrival of Mucianus, was the ostensible reason for this ill-timed delay. Motives of a different nature were imputed to Antonius. There were those who suspected him of having lingered there with a fraudulent intent, in consequence of letters of Vitellius, in which he offered him the consulship, his daughter, who was marriageable, and a rich dowry. Others treated it as mere invention, a contrivance to gratify Mucianus. Some were of opinion that it was the deliberate plan of all the generals to alarm the city with the appearance of war, rather than to carry it into Rome; since the strongest cohorts had abandoned Vitellius, and as all his resources were cut off, it was thought he would abdicate. But all was defeated, at first, by the temerity, and, in the end, by the irresolution, of Sabinus, who having rashly taken up arms, was not able, against so small a force as three cohorts, to defend the capitol, a fortress of unequalled strength, and capable of resisting the shock of powerful armies. Where all were guilty of misconduct, the blame cannot well be fixed on any one in particular, for both Mucianus, by the ambiguity of his letters, checked the progress of the victorious army; and Antonius, by ill-timed compliances, or perhaps to retort odium upon Mucianus, committed an error; and the rest of the officers, concluding that the war was ended, occasioned the disasters that signalized its close. Even Petilius Cerealis, who had been sent forward at the head of a thousand horse, that cutting across through the Sabine country he might enter Rome by the Salarian road, did not push on with the requisite vigour; but at last the news that the capitol was besieged put them on the alert.

79. Antonius, in the night time, moved along the Flaminian road, and arrived at the Red Rocks when the mischief was done. There he heard that Sabinus was murdered; that the capitol was burnt; that the city was in consternation; in fact, nothing but bad news. Word was also brought that the populace, joined by the slaves, had taken up arms for Vitellius. At the same time the cavalry, under Petilius Cerealis, met with a defeat. Advancing incautiously, and with precipitation, as against vanquished troops, they were received by a body of infantry and cavalry intermixed. The battle was fought at a small distance from Rome, amidst houses, and gardens, and ziz-zag ways, well known to the Vitellians, but creating alarm and confusion in men unacquainted with them. Nor did now the cavalry under Cerealis act with una-

nimity. They had among them a party of those who laid down their arms at Narnia, who waited to see the issue of the battle. Tullius Flavianus, who commanded a squadron of Vespasian's horse, was taken prisoner. The rest fled with scandalous precipitation; the conquering troops pursuing them only as far as Fidenæ.

80. The success of the Vitellians in this engagement inspired his partisans at Rome with new courage. The populace had recourse to arms. A few were provided with regular shields; the rest snatched up whatever weapons fell in their way, and with one voice demanded the signal for the attack. Vitellius thanked them, and bid them press forward in defence of the city. He then convened the senate; when ambassadors to the armies were chosen, to propose, in the name of the commonwealth, an agreement and pacification. They were variously treated. In the camp of Petilius Cerealis they were in danger of their lives; the soldiers disdainng all terms of accommodation. The prætor Arulenus Rusticus was wounded. In addition to the violation of the rights of ambassadors, the personal dignity of the man increased the odium of the proceedings. His attendants were dispersed. The lictor that preceded him, presuming to clear the way, was murdered; and if the guard appointed by Cerealis had not interposed in time, the privilege of ambassadors, respected even by barbarous nations, had been trampled under foot, in the frenzy of civil discord, under the very walls of Rome. The deputies who went to the camp of Antonius met with a milder reception; not because the soldiers had more self-control, but the general more authority.

81. Musonius Rufus, a Roman knight, had followed in the train of the ambassadors. He professed himself devoted to the study of philosophy, and the doctrines of the stoic sect. He mixed among the soldiers, and began to lecture armed men by a dissertation on the blessings of peace, and the calamities of war. Many treated him with derision; more were disgusted; and some were going to beat him off and trample upon him, had he not, by the advice of the more orderly, and the menaces of others, ceased from his ill-timed lessons of wisdom. The vestal virgins went out with letters from Vitellius addressed to Antonius. He requested a postponement of the contest for a single day. If he allowed an interval for reflection, it would afford facilities for settling matters. The virgins were permitted to depart with every mark of honour. An answer in writing was sent to Vitellius, in-



forming him, that by the murder of Sabinus, and the destruction of the capitol, negotiations for the settlement of the war were put out of the question.

82. Antonius, however, called an assembly of the soldiers, and in a soothing speech, endeavoured to induce them to encamp at the Milvian bridge, and enter Rome the next day. His reason for delay was, lest the soldiery, with feelings excited by the late battle, should give no quarter to the people or the senate, or respect the temples and shrines of the gods. But they looked with suspicion on every postponement of their victory as proceeding from hostility to them. At the same time colours glittering on the hills, though followed by an undisciplined rabble, gave the appearance of a hostile army. Forming into three divisions, the first proceeded by the Flaminian road; the second along the banks of the Tiber; and the third approached the gate Collina, by the Salarian way. The mob was put to flight by the charge of the cavalry; and the Vitellian soldiers, themselves also ranged in three columns, came on. Many engagements took place before the walls, with various success, but for the most part favourable to Vespasian's men, who had the advantage in the talent of their leaders. That party only that had wheeled round to the left of the city, through slippery and narrow passes, towards the Sullustian gardens, were roughly handled. The Vitellians, standing on the walls of the gardens, repulsed them with stones and javelins as they approached, for the best part of the day; but at length Vespasian's cavalry forced their way through the Collinian gate, and took them in the rear. A fierce battle was also fought in the field of Mars. Their good fortune and reiterated success gave the Flavians the victory. The Vitellians fought under the impulse of despair alone; and though dispersed, they rallied again within the walls of the city.

83. The people were present as spectators of the combatants; and, as in a theatrical contest, encouraged now this side, and, when a change took place, the other, with shouts and plaudits. Whenever one or other side gave way, and the men took shelter in shops, or ran for refuge into any houses, by demanding to have them dragged forth, and put to death, they secured to themselves a larger share of plunder; for while the soldiers were intent on blood and slaughter, the plunder fell to the rabble. The city exhibited one entire scene of ferocity and abomination; in one place battle and wounds; in another bathing and revelry. Rivers of blood

and heaps of bodies at the same time; and by the side of them harlots, and women that differed not from harlots—all that unbridled passion can suggest in the wantonness of ease—all the enormities that are committed when a city is sacked by its relentless foes—so that you would positively suppose that Rome was at one and the same time frantic with rage and dissolved in sensuality. Before this period regular bodies of armed men had met in conflict within the city, twice when Sylla, and once when Cinna conquered. Nor was there less of cruelty on those occasions; but now there prevailed a reckless indifference alien from human nature; nay, even pleasures were not intermitted, no, not for an instant. As if the occurrence formed an accession to the delight of the festive season, they romped, they enjoyed themselves, without a thought about the success of their party, and rejoicing amidst the afflictions of their country.

84. The greatest exertions were required in storming the camp, which the bravest of the Vitellians still clung to as their last hope; and therefore, with the more diligent heed, the conquerors, and with especial zeal the old prætorian cohorts, applied at once whatever means had been discovered in the capture of the strongest cities; shells, engines, mounds, and firebrands, exclaiming that all the fatigues and dangers they had undergone in so many battles were consummated in that effort, that their city was restored to the senate and people of Rome, and to the gods their temples; that the camp was the peculiar glory of the soldier—there was his country, there his household gods. They must either carry it forthwith, or pass the night under arms. On the other hand the Vitellians, though inferior in numbers, and less favoured by fortune, sought to mar the victory, to delay the pacification, stained their hearths and altars with their blood, clung to those endearing objects which the vanquished might never more behold. Many, exhausted, breathed their last upon the towers and battlements; the few that remained tore open the gates, in a solid mass rushed in upon the victors, and fell, to a man, with honourable wounds, facing the enemy; such was their anxiety, even in death, to finish their course with credit. Vitellius, seeing the city conquered, was conveyed in a litter, by a private way at the back of the palace, to his wife's house on mount Aventine, with intent, if he could lie concealed during the day, to fly for refuge to his brother and the cohorts at Tarracina. Straightway, from his inherent fickleness, and the natural effects of fright, since, as he

dreaded everything, whatever course he adopted was the least satisfactory, he returned to his palace, and found it empty and desolate; even his meanest slaves having made their escape, or shunning the presence of their master. The solitude and silence of the scene alarmed him; he opened the doors of the apartments, and was horror struck to see all void and empty. Exhausted with this agonizing state of doubt and perplexity, and concealing himself in a wretched hiding-place, he was dragged forth by Placidus, the tribune of a cohort. With his hands tied behind him, and his garment torn, he was conducted, a revolting spectacle, through crowds insulting his distress, without a friend to shed a tear over his misfortunes. The unseemliness of his end banished all sympathy. Whether one of the Germanic soldiers who met him intended for him the stroke he made, and if he did, whether from rage or to rescue him the quicker from the mockery to which he was exposed; or whether he aimed at the tribune, is uncertain: he cut off the ear of the tribune, and was immediately despatched.

85. Vitellius was pushed along, and with swords pointed at his throat, forced to raise his head, and expose his countenance to insults; one while they made him look at his statues tumbling to the ground; frequently to the rostrum, or the spot where Galba perished; and lastly they drove him to the Gemoniæ, where the body of Flavius Sabinus had been thrown. One expression of his was heard, that spoke a spirit not utterly fallen, when to a tribune who insulted him in his misery Vitellius observed, that nevertheless he had been his emperor. He died soon after under repeated wounds. The populace, with the same perversity of judgment that had prompted them to honour him while living, assailed him with indignities when dead.

86. He was born at Luceria. He had completed his fifty-seventh year. He rose to the consulship, to pontifical dignities, and a name and rank amongst the most eminent citizens, without any personal merit; but obtained all from the splendid reputation of his father. The men who conferred the imperial dignity upon him did not so much as know him. By impotence and sloth he gained the affections of the army, to a degree in which few have attained them by worthy means. Frankness and generosity, however, he possessed; qualities which, unless duly regulated, become the occasions of ruin. He imagined that friendship could be cemented, not by an uniform course of virtue, but by profuse liberality, and

therefore earned them rather than cultivated them. Doubtless the interest of the commonwealth required the fall of Vitellius; but those who betrayed Vitellius to Vespasian can claim no merit for their perfidy, since they had broken faith with Galba. The day now verging rapidly towards sunset; on account of the consternation of the magistrates and senators who secreted themselves by withdrawing from the city, or in the several houses of their clients, the senate could not be convened. When all apprehension of hostile violence had subsided, Domitian came forth to the generals of his party, was unanimously saluted with the title of Cæsar, and escorted by a numerous body of soldiers, armed as they were, to his father's house.

# THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

## BOOK IV.

By the death of Vitellius, the war was suspended rather than peace established. The victors, armed, hunted the vanquished through the city with inexorable rancour. The streets were choked with carnage; the Forum and the temples inundated with blood, all who fell in the way of the conquerors being butchered without distinction. And in a little time, their audacity increasing, they searched for and dragged to light those who had concealed themselves; any person they saw who was tall in stature and in the vigour of life, they butchered; making no distinction between citizen and soldier. Their cruelty satiated itself with blood in the first heat of resentment, and then it assumed the form of rapacity. Nothing was suffered to remain concealed, nothing unviolated, under colour of detecting the partisans of Vitellius; hence they took occasion to begin breaking open houses, or if resistance were made, it formed an excuse for shedding blood. All the vile and indigent joined in the fray; abandoned slaves came forward and betrayed their rich masters; others were pointed out by their friends. Lamentations were heard in every quarter, and Rome was filled with the cries of despair and the horrors of a city taken by storm; insomuch that the people regretted the licentiousness of the Othonian and Vitellian soldiers, which before excited their indignation. The chiefs, who had succeeded so well in kindling the flame of civil war, were unable to check the insolence of victory: and that, because to stir up tumult and public distraction, the most profligate have the greatest power; but peace and order are the work of virtue and ability.

2. Domitian fixed his residence in the imperial palace, with the name of Cæsar, but as yet paid no attention to affairs of government. However, in riot and debauchery, he played the part of the emperor's son. The command of the prætorian bands was assigned to Arrius Varus, while the supreme authority rested with Antonius, who

eagerly appropriated treasure and slaves from the house of the prince, as if they were the spoils of Cremona. The other officers, as from their moderation or obscurity they were undistinguished during the war, so were they unrewarded. The people, still in consternation, and ready to crouch in servitude, demanded that Lucius Vitellius, then advancing with the cohorts from Tarracina, might be intercepted, and the remains of the war annihilated. The cavalry was sent forward to Aricia, and the legions halted on this side of Bovillæ; but Lucius Vitellius, without hesitation, surrendered himself and his cohorts to be dealt with as the victor chose; and the soldiers, abandoning an unfortunate cause, laid down their arms, as much from indignation as fear. The captives marched through the city in a long procession, guarded on each side by a file of troops; not one with the mien of a suppliant, but all gloomy and sullen, not moving a muscle at the shouts and insolence of the jeering rabble. A few, who ventured to rush out upon them, were overpowered by those that hemmed them in: the rest were secured in prison. Not a word escaped from any of them unworthy of their warlike character; and though under the frowns of fortune, they preserved their reputation for valour. Lucius Vitellius was forthwith put to death. In vice equal to his brother, he surpassed him in activity while he was at the head of affairs; not so much a sharer in his good fortune, as involved in the consequences of his fall.

3. About the same time, Lucilius Bassus was despatched with a party of light-armed cavalry, to restore tranquillity in Campania; where the municipalities were agitated with dissensions among themselves, rather than by a spirit of disaffection towards the prince. On the first appearance of a military force, all was hushed: and the cities of inferior note were treated with indulgence. The third legion was stationed in winter-quarters at Capua, and its principal families were exposed to severe suffering; whereas, on the other hand, to the people of Tarracina no relief was extended; so true it is, that men are more willing to retaliate an injury than to requite an obligation: because gratitude imposes a burthen, but revenge is attended with gain. It was some solace to the people of Tarracina to see the slave of Verginius Capito, who, as already mentioned, betrayed them, hanging on a gibbet, with the identical rings on his fingers which he received from Vitellius. At Rome, the senate in high glee, and confident as to the result of things, decreed to Vespasian all the honours usually granted to their princes: for the civil war

which first broke out in Spain and Gaul, involving Germany and soon after Illyricum, after having swept over Egypt, Judea, Syria, and all the provinces and armies of the empire, seemed at length to have come to a close when the whole world had been, as it were, purged from its pollutions. Their zeal was heightened by letters from Vespasian, written on the supposition that the war continued. Such was their character, on a cursory view of them, but notwithstanding he spoke as emperor; though concerning himself his language was constitutional, and showed a paramount concern for the public interest. Nor was the senate backward in demonstrations of respect; they decreed the consulship to Vespasian and his son Titus. Domitian was made prætor with consular authority.

4. Mucianus had also sent letters to the senate, which furnished matter for remarks. "If he was still a private citizen, why should he speak on the affairs of the state? The same might have been said in a few days as a senator, instead of speaking to the question. His very invective too, against Vitellius, came too late, and gave no proof of independent spirit. His vain-glorious boast, that having the sovereign power in his own disposal, he conferred it on Vespasian, was degrading to the commonwealth, and insulting to the prince." In terms of much respect, they decreed triumphal decorations to Mucianus, in reality for his conduct in the civil war; but his expedition against the Sarmatians was the pretext. The consular ornaments were voted to Antonius Primus, and the prætorian to Cornelius Fuscus and Arrius Varus. The gods were the next object of their care; they resolved to rebuild the capitol. All these motions were made by Valerius Asiaticus, consul elect. The rest signified their assent by a nod, or the hand. A few, distinguished for their rank, or habitual servility, expressed their assent in set speeches. When it came to the turn of Helvidius Priscus, prætor elect, without hesitation he delivered a speech as complimentary to a virtuous prince as it was destitute of disguises; he was heard with applause by the whole assembly, and that day formed an important era in his life, as ministering occasion for a serious collision, and the acquisition of signal renown.

5. As I have again fallen upon the mention of a man whose name must frequently recur, the case seems to require that I should briefly trace out his character and pursuits, as well as the fortune that attended him. Helvidius Priscus was born in the municipal city of Tarracina. His father, Cluvius, was a centurion of principal rank.

He applied his splendid talents to sublime studies, from his earliest years; not with a design, as most men do, to veil a life of indolence with an imposing name, but to bring with him into public business a mind fortified against the accidents of fortune. He adopted the tenets of those philosophers who maintain that virtue alone is good, and vice evil; who consider power, noble descent, and all other circumstances independent of the mind, as belonging to the class of things neither good nor evil. When yet only of quæstorian rank, Pætus Thræsea gave him his daughter in marriage. Of all the virtues of his father-in-law, he imbibed none so deeply as his spirit of liberty. As a citizen, senator, husband, son-in-law, friend, he discharged all the duties of his several relations with undeviating propriety; despising riches; in the cause of truth inflexible; and, when danger threatened, erect and firm.

6. Some might consider him as too fond of fame, for the desire of glory clings even to the best of men, longer than any other passion. When his father-in-law fell, he was driven into exile; but, being recalled in the reign of Galba, he stood forth the accuser of Eprius Marcellus, the informer against Pætus Thræsea. This prosecution, which whether it was the more just or magnanimous, it were hard to tell, divided the senate into contending factions; for the ruin of Marcellus would draw after it the whole phalanx of informers. The contest at first was fiercely conducted, and sustained by speeches of consummate eloquence on both sides afterwards. Galba balanced between the parties, and many senators deprecating its continuance, Helvidius desisted; a proceeding which subjected him to conflicting remarks; such is human nature; some commending his moderation, others regretting his want of firmness. However, on the day when the senate voted the succession of Vespasian, it was agreed that deputies should be sent to the prince. In the debate upon this occasion, a sharp conflict ensued between Helvidius Priscus and Eprius Marcellus. The former proposed that the ambassadors should be named by the magistrates on oath; the latter was for drawing the names by lot, as had been proposed by the consul elect.

7. But the zeal of Marcellus was stimulated by apprehensions of personal disgrace, if he should appear to be postponed to others in the selection. After an interchange of remarks they proceeded gradually to continuous and acrimonious speeches; Helvidius asking Marcellus, "Why he should dread so much the decision of the magistrates? He had wealth and eloquence, which would



give him advantage over many, unless the recollection of his crimes proved a hindrance: no distinction of character was made by the lot and urn. The method of suffrage and appeal to the judgment of the senate, had been adopted to reach the life and character of individuals; it was for the interest of the community, and the honour of the prince, that such as approached him should be men of unblemished integrity, who would pour into the ear of the prince the language of truth and sincerity. Vespasian had been in habits of friendship with Thræsea, Soranus, and Sentius; and if the informers against them are not to suffer punishment, still it was not fitting that they should be held up as paragons. By this decision of the senate, the prince would, as it were, be warned whom he may trust, and whom he should suspect. There was no more efficient means of insuring good government, than for the prince to have honest friends. Marcellus may rest satisfied with inciting Nero to the murder of so many innocent citizens; he should be content to enjoy the rewards of his guilt and impunity, and leave Vespasian to better men than himself."

8. Marcellus observed in reply, "that the motion, which was opposed with so much warmth, did not originate with himself. It was proposed by the consul elect, in conformity to ancient precedents, which had established the lot for the election of ambassadors, to preclude cabals and prejudices. No reason could be assigned why established usages should fall into desuetude, or the ceremony of paying respect to the prince be wrested to the purpose of stigmatising any person. All were competent to the duty of doing homage; what was more to be guarded against was, lest by the intractable tempers of some persons, offence should be given to the prince at the opening of his reign, when his mind is naturally filled with apprehensions, and watches the very looks and language of every body. For himself, he was not unmindful of the times on which he was fallen, of the form of government established by their ancestors: he admired the past, and accommodated himself to the present system, devoutly wishing for virtuous princes, but willing to acquiesce under any sort. The overthrow of Thræsea could not be imputed to his speech, more than to the decision of the senate; the cruelty of Nero accomplished its purposes by means of such mockeries as these. Nor did others suffer more from exile than he himself did from such a friendship; in a word, let Helvidius be ranked with the Catoes and the Bruti in courage and fortitude, for himself, he pretended to be no more than one

of that very senate, which, as well as he, crouched to the tyrant. He advised even Priscus not to aspire above his sovereign, nor affect to control by his lectures a prince advanced in years, who had gained triumphal honours, and the father of princes in the prime of life. As unlimited power was the aim of the worst princes; so however excellent they may be, they desired to see liberty exercised within due bounds." These arguments, urged with earnest zeal on both sides, were heard with the extremes of approbation and aversion. The party that preferred choosing the ambassadors by lot prevailed; even those of the fathers who were for a middle course, assisting to retain the customary practice; while all the most distinguished inclined the same way, from fear of incurring odium if they should themselves be chosen.

9. This struggle was followed by another. The prætors, who at that time conducted the department of the treasury, after complaining of the poverty of the state, proposed a plan of retrenchment. The consul elect was for referring this business to the prince, in consideration of the magnitude of the grievance and the difficulty of remedying it. Helvidius Priscus contended that it was a matter to be settled according to the discretion of the senate. The consuls were collecting the votes, when Volcatius Tertullinus, a tribune of the people, interposed his veto, that in so arduous a business anything should be determined in the absence of the emperor. Helvidius had moved that the capitol should be rebuilt by the public, with the aid of Vespasian. Men of moderation passed this proposition over in silence, and then forgot it. There were some who also remembered it.

10. Musonius Rufus then made an attack on Publius Celer, whom he charged with having accomplished the ruin of Bareas Soranus, by false testimony. This investigation it was thought would revive the animosities connected with the system of informations. But the defendant, base and guilty as he was, could not be screened, for the memory of Soranus was held in veneration, and Celer, who was a teacher of philosophy, and afterwards the accuser of Bareas, appeared as the betrayer and seducer of his friend, and, as he pretended, his pupil. The next sitting was fixed for the cause. Nor did Musonius or Publius excite the public expectation so much as Priscus and Marcellus, and others of that class, now that the minds of men were inflamed with a desire of vengeance.

11. In this state of affairs, when the senate was split

into factions; when the vanquished party burned with resentment, and the conquerors were without authority; with no laws, no sovereign at the head of affairs, Mucianus entered the city, and soon engrossed the whole power of the state. The influence of Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus, was demolished at once; Mucianus ill suppressing his rage against them, though he betrayed it not in his looks. But the people of Rome, shrewd in exploring the antipathies of parties, veered round, and transferred their homage to Mucianus. He alone was the object of their suit and adoration. Mucianus, on his part, omitted nothing; he appeared in public attended by armed guards; chopping and changing his palaces and gardens; in his equipage, his gait, his night watches, aspiring to the substance of imperial power, while repudiating the name. The murder of Calpurnius Galerianus, diffused a sensation of extreme alarm. He was the son of Caius Piso. He was a perfectly guiltless man, but the splendour of his name and his own fine person, formed frequent subjects of commendation among the people; and in a city like Rome, still in agitation, and listening with greedy ears to every fresh rumour, there were not wanting persons to invest him with the empty name of succeeding to the throne. By order of Mucianus he was taken into custody, and lest his death in the city should excite too much notice, he was conveyed under guard to a place forty miles distant on the Appian road, where his veins were opened, and he bled to death. Julius Priscus, who commanded the prætorian bands under Vitellius, despatched himself with his own hand, from a sense of shame rather than by compulsion. Alphenus Varus preferred to protract a life of sloth and infamy. Asiaticus, for he was a freedman, suffered for his abused and ill-gotten power, by being put to death as a slave.

12. About this period, the report which had gained ground, of a dreadful defeat in Germany, reached the city, but without exciting any sensation of sorrow. Men talked of the revolt of Gaul, slaughtered armies, and the capture of the winter-camp of the legions, as if they were not calamities. The causes which led to the war in that quarter, the commotions which it kindled among our allies, and nations unconnected with us, I will trace to their origin. The Batavians, while they dwelt beyond the Rhine, were a part of the people called the Cattians. Driven from their native country by intestine commotions, they settled on a waste tract of land on the extreme confines of Gaul, and, at the same time, took possession of

an island among the shoals, washed at the northern extremity by the ocean, and at the back, and on both sides, by the Rhine. Unoppressed by the Roman power and an alliance with a nation more potent than themselves, they merely furnished men and arms in support of the empire; having had much experience in the German wars, and afterwards added to their fame by their service in Britain, whither cohorts of them were conveyed under the command of the most distinguished chiefs of their country, in conformity with their long established practice. In their own country they also maintained a chosen body of cavalry, so remarkably expert in swimming, that in whole squadrons, with their arms, and keeping hold of their horses, they can make good their way across the Rhine.

13. The most eminent chieftains of the nation were Julius Paulus and Claudius Civilis, both of royal descent. The former, under a false charge of rebellion, was put to death by Fonteius Capito. Civilis was sent in irons to be disposed of by Nero: Galba released him from his fetters. Under Vitellius, he was again in danger from the Roman soldiers, who called aloud for his execution. Hence his hatred of the Roman name, and his hopes of success founded on the distractions of the empire. But Civilis, with a natural shrewdness above the ordinary run of barbarians, took occasion from a similar blemish of the face, to call himself a second Sertorius, or Hannibal; and wishing to avoid an open rupture with Rome, lest a force should be sent against him as an enemy, affected attachment to the person and cause of Vespasian. Some colour, it must be admitted, was given to this proceeding by the letters he received from Antonius, directing him to prevent the arrival of the succours summoned by Vitellius, and keep the legions in the province under pretence of commotions in Germany. Hordeonius Flaccus gave the same advice in person, having espoused Vespasian's cause, and from concern for his country, whose destruction was inevitable; if renewed force were given to the war, and so many thousands of troops poured down upon Italy.

14. Civilis, therefore, having taken his resolution to revolt, concealed his ulterior views for the time, and intending to be guided by events as to other matters, thus commenced his revolutionary proceedings. By order of Vitellius, the youth of Batavia was to be called upon to enlist. This requisition, onerous in itself, was rendered still more so by the avarice and profligacy of the Roman officers, who pressed the aged and infirm into the service,

to gain the price of their discharge. On the other hand, boys of tender years, and handsome persons, (and generally their youths are well-grown), were dragged away to prostitution. Hence a feeling of indignation; and the leaders of the preconcerted conspiracy induced them to refuse to be enrolled. Civilis, under the pretext of a banquet, convened the nobles, and bravest of the nation, in a sacred grove; and when he saw that they were warmed with midnight revelry and mirth, he addressed them, first expatiating on the fame and exploits of the Batavians, and then enumerating the wrongs of his countrymen, the depredations of the Romans, and all the other evils of thralldom. Indeed, he said, they were no longer treated as allies, but as bond-slaves. When would a lieutenant-general come to govern them, though with a burthensome retinûe, and domineering authority? They were now turned over to præfects and centurions, who, as soon as they have gorged themselves with spoils and blood are recalled, a fresh set of rapacious creatures sent out, and the same system of depredation carried on under varied names. A levy was just at hand, by which children would be separated in a manner for ever from their parents, brothers from brothers. The Romans were never, at any period, in so feeble a condition. Nor had they aught in their winter-quarters besides old men, and plunder. Let them only lift up their eyes, and they would see no reason to dread their shadowy unsubstantial legions. On the other hand, they had themselves an efficient force of foot and horse. The Germans were their kinsmen; the Gauls sympathized with them. Not even the Romans' displeasure was to be apprehended in the war he advised; in which, if they failed, they could lay the blame on Vespasian: and if they succeeded there was no account to be rendered at all.

15. Having been heard with zealous approbation, he bound them all according to barbarian forms, and by the oaths and imprecations of their country. Deputies were sent to the Canninefates, to engage them in the confederacy. That nation occupies part of the island, in their origin, language, and valour, equal to the Batavians, but inferior in numbers. He then, by secret communications, gained over the British auxiliaries, consisting of cohorts of Batavians, that were sent into Germany, as I have mentioned already, and now quartered at Magontiacum. Among the Canninefates was a chieftain named Brinno, a man of stolid daring, and of signally illustrious parentage. His father, after many signal exploits, had laughed at the

ridiculous expedition of Caligula with impunity. As the mere descendant, therefore, of a rebel family, he was acceptable to his countrymen, and being placed on a shield, according to the custom of the nation, and rocked to and fro on the shoulders of the men, was chosen general-in-chief. Calling in the aid of the Frisians, a people beyond the Rhine, he forthwith assaulted, by way of the sea, the winter-quarters of two cohorts, which, from their proximity, lay most open to attack. The assault was not foreseen; nor if it had been, had they force enough to repulse them. The camp was therefore taken and pillaged. They next fell upon the settlers and Roman traders, who had spread themselves over the country as in security. At the same time they menaced their strong holds with destruction; but as they could not be defended, they were burned by the præfects of the cohorts to the ground. Aquilius, a principal centurion, collected together all the colours and standards, and the remnant of his forces, into the upper part of the island, exhibiting rather the name than the strength of an army. For the flower of the cohorts having been drawn away, Vitellius had encumbered with arms a nerveless band collected from the neighbouring villages of the Nervians and Germans.

16. Civilis, thinking it his interest to proceed by craft, actually blamed the præfects for deserting their forts. With the cohort under his command, he would quell the insurrection of the Canninefates: the Romans might return to their respective quarters. That fraud was at the bottom of this advice, and that the cohorts when dispersed might fall an easy prey, and also that Civilis, and not Brinno, was at the head of this war, was evident from proofs which were gradually disclosing themselves, and which the Germans, a nation transported with war, were not able long to suppress. When his stratagem failed he resorted to force, and combined the Canninefates, Frisians, and Batavians in distinct bodies in the form of wedges. The line of battle of their opponents was formed not far from the Rhine; while their ships, which, when the forts were burned, they had brought to land there, were ranged to face the enemy. The battle had not lasted long, when a cohort of Tungrians, with their ensigns displayed, went over to Civilis. By this unexpected treachery the Roman army was thrown into confusion, and the soldiers were slaughtered by their friends and enemies. Nor did the fleet behave with less perfidy. Some of the rowers, pretending inexperience, impeded the functions of the mariners and fight-

ing-men. Soon afterwards they pulled in the opposite direction, and drove the sterns against the bank occupied by the enemy; at last they butchered the pilots and centurions who did not join with them; till at length the whole four-and-twenty ships were either taken, or went over to the enemy.

17. This victory was attended with eclat at the moment, and with future advantages. In want of arms and shipping they were now supplied with both, and their fame resounded throughout Gaul and Germany as the assertors of liberty. The Germanies, by their ambassadors, forthwith offered auxiliaries. Civilis sought to allure the Gauls to his interest by policy and presents, granting to such of their officers as were taken prisoners liberty to return to their native country, and giving to the cohorts the power of doing as they pleased, whether they preferred to go or to remain. If they stayed, honourable military employment, if they departed, the spoils of the Romans were offered to them. At the same time Civilis reminded them of the oppressions they had endured for so many years, while by an abuse of language they gave the name of peace to a state of miserable bondage. The Batavians were exempt from taxes and tributes, and yet they took up arms against the oppressors of mankind. In the first engagement the Romans were routed and conquered. What if the Gauls shake off the yoke? What amount of force would remain in Italy? It was, he said, by the blood of the provinces that the provinces are conquered. He bid them not think of the battle with Vindex. By the Batavian cavalry the Æduans and Arvernians were put to the rout. Among the auxiliaries of Verginius on that occasion were Belgians; and Gaul, on a just estimate of the case, had been crushed by her own forces. At present, one common interest united all, with the further advantage of whatever military discipline was observed in a Roman camp. The veteran cohorts, before whom Otho's legions fell prostrate, had declared for them. Syria and Asia, and the oriental nations, habituated to despots, might bow down in slavery. In Gaul many still lived who were born before tributes were imposed. Unquestionably, by the overthrow of Varus and his legions, slavery was recently driven out of Germany; when it was not Vitellius, but Augustus Cæsar; who was challenged to the conflict. Liberty, he said, was imparted by nature even to dumb animals, while valour was the characteristic excellence of man. The gods looked with favour on superior courage. Wherefore, let

them, unoccupied as they were, and with vigour unimpaired, pounce upon men whose thoughts were engaged with other matters, and whose strength was exhausted; while some espoused the cause of Vespasian, and others that of Vitellius, an opportunity of striking a blow against both was presented.

18. Thus Civilis, while vigorously prosecuting his designs upon Gaul and Germany, if his project succeeded, thought of making himself king of the richest and most powerful nations. On the other hand, Hordeonius Flaccus encouraged the first essays of Civilis by affecting not to see them. When, however, messengers arrived in haste and alarm with intelligence that the camp was taken by storm, the cohorts cut to pieces, and the Roman name exterminated from the isle of Batavia, he ordered Mummius Lupercus, with two legions, then under his command in winter-quarters, to march forth against the enemy. That officer, with all speed, conveyed over into the island the legionaries he had with him, the Ubians, who were near at hand, and the Treverian cavalry, stationed at no great distance, adding a squadron of Batavian horse, long since wavering in their allegiance, but keeping up a semblance of fidelity, that by abandoning the Romans in the crisis of a regular battle, they might earn a greater reward by going over. Civilis having surrounded himself with the banners taken from the vanquished cohorts, that his own troops might have their recent trophies before their eyes, and the enemy be dispirited by the tokens of their defeat, ordered his mother and his sisters, with the wives and little ones of the soldiers, to stand together in the rear, as objects which would stimulate them to victory, or prevent their giving way by inspiring a sense of shame. When the field resounded with the war-whoop of the men, and the cries of the women; the Roman legions and cohorts returned a shout by no means so great. The Batavian cavalry going over to their countrymen, and at once turning their arms against us, exposed the left wing of the army; but the legionary soldiers, though the predicament was alarming, preserved their ranks and their arms. The Ubian and Treverian auxiliaries fled with scandalous precipitation, and dispersing themselves, skulked all over the fields. The Germans pressed on in that quarter. The legions, in the mean time, were enabled to retreat to the camp called Veterum. Claudius Labeo, captain of the squadron of Batavian cavalry, and who entertained a feeling of rivalry towards Civilis, from a contest



about town matters, was removed to the country of the Frisians, lest if put to death, he might be the occasion of odium among his countrymen, or if retained he might furnish the materials of dissension.

19. During these transactions the cohorts of the Caninefates and Batavians, which, by order of Vitellius, were on their march from Rome, were overtaken by a messenger despatched by Civilis. The soldiers immediately swelled with pride and arrogance. They demanded the donative as a recompense for their march, double pay, and an augmentation of their cavalry, all which had, it must be admitted, been promised by Vitellius; but their object was not to obtain them, but to have a pretext for sedition. Hordeonius Flaccus yielded in several instances; but the only effect was, that they demanded with increased importunity what they knew he would deny. Throwing aside all respect for Flaccus, they bent their course towards the Lower Germany to join Civilis. Flaccus called a council of the tribunes and centurions, to deliberate whether he should reduce the mutineers by force. Soon afterwards, from his natural timidity, and the irresolution of his officers, who regarded with concern the wavering fidelity of the auxiliary forces, and the legions which were recruited by a hasty levy, he resolved to keep his men within their entrenchments. Then altering his mind, and the very officers who advised the measure condemning it, under the idea of pursuing them, he sent despatches to Herennius Gallus, then at the head of the first legion stationed at Bonna, to oppose the march of the Batavians, and he himself, with his army, would hang upon their rear; and they might have been cut off, if Hordeonius on one side, and Gallus on the other, advancing their troops on either hand, had hemmed them in between them. Flaccus relinquished his project, and in a second letter to Gallus, directed him not to obstruct their departure. Whence a suspicion arose that the war was fomented with the concurrence of the generals, and that all that had happened, or was apprehended, was the result, not of the supineness of the soldiery, or the energy of the enemy, but the dishonesty of the generals.

20. The Batavians, when they drew near to the camp at Bonna, sent forward messengers to lay before Herennius Gallus the resolutions of the cohorts, with which they were charged. They imported that they had often fought for the Romans, and did not mean to make war against them. Worn out in a long and painful service,

they desired nothing but a retreat from labour in their native country. Their march, if not obstructed, would leave behind no trace of mischief; but if their passage was disputed, they were determined to cut their way sword in hand. The Roman general hesitated; but the soldiers goaded him on to hazard a battle. Three thousand legionary soldiers, some Belgic cohorts raised by sudden levies, and a body of peasants, and followers of the camp, of no service in action, but tongue-valiant before the hour of danger, sallied forth from all the gates to surround the inferior numbers of the Batavians. The Batavians, who had seen much service, formed themselves into wedges, with deep files on all sides, and secured in front, rear, and flank. Thus they charged through the slender array of our troops. The Belgic cohorts giving way, the legion was driven in, and they made for the rampart and gates in dismay. There an extensive carnage took place, the fosses were filled with heaps of bodies; nor did they perish by the sword only and by wounds, but many of them from the rush and their own weapons. The conquerors pursued their march, avoided the Agrippinian colony, during the rest of the way committing no act of hostility; and alleged, in excuse for the encounter at Bonna, that they had only acted in self-defence, having solicited peace and received a refusal.

21. Civilis, by the arrival of these veteran cohorts, found himself at the head of a regular army, but doubtful as to the course he should pursue, and reflecting on the power of the Romans, he made his whole army take the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, and also sent a deputation to the two legions, which after their late defeat retired to the Old Camp, inviting them to take the same oath. The legions returned for answer, "that it was not their custom to adopt the counsels of an enemy, nor of a traitor. They had Vitellius for their sovereign, in whose behalf they would maintain their allegiance, and fight to their last gasp. Wherefore let not a Batavian fugitive assume the style and character of an arbiter in the affairs of Rome, but expect the punishment due to treason." Enraged by this reply, Civilis roused the whole Batavian nation to arms. The Bructerians and Tencterians entered into the league, and by agents, despatched for the purpose, all Germany was invited to share in the spoil and glory of the conquest.

22. Munius Lupercus and Numisius Rufus, the commanders of the legions, to meet this formidable combination of forces, strengthened their rampart and walls. The

structures erected during a long peace near the entrenchments, so as to resemble a municipal town, were levelled to the ground, lest they should be of service to the enemy. But sufficient foresight was not exercised in storing the camp with provisions; they allowed them to be seized as plunder; and thus, that which would have long sufficed for the supply of necessary wants, was consumed in a few days in unrestrained excess. Civilis commanded the centre in person, with the flower of the Batavian forces; and that he might appear the more formidable, he lined both banks of the Rhine with battalions of Germans, while the cavalry scoured the country round. His ships, at the same time, were brought up the river. On one side, the colours taken from the veteran cohorts, on the other the images of wild beasts brought forth from the woods and sacred groves, according to the custom observed by each barbarous nation on going into action, astounded the besieged by the appearance of native and foreign forces arrayed together against them. The extent of the entrenchments, designed at first for the reception of two legions, and now defended by scarce five thousand men, inspired the assailants with additional confidence. But there was within a numerous body of sutlers, who, on the first alarm had crowded to the camp, and aided in the military operations.

23. A portion of the camp rose up the side of an eminence with a gentle ascent, the other part afforded a level approach. The fact was, Augustus Cæsar conceived that the legions, stationed there in winter-quarters, would be able to check and bridle both the Germanies, but not that such an adverse state of things would occur, that they would come and actually assault our legions. In consequence, no pains were employed to add to the natural strength of the place, or to raise works; courage and arms were deemed sufficient. The Batavians, and the troops from beyond the Rhine, in order that the valour of each separately might be more distinctly seen, took up detached positions according to the several nations, discharging their missile weapons in a skirmishing manner. Afterwards, when most of their darts hung without effect upon the towers and pinnacles of the walls, while they were wounded by the discharge of stones from above, they raised a shout, and rushed forward to assault the ramparts, many of them applying scaling ladders; others, by means of a military shell, formed by their party; and already some were gaining the top of the fortification, when they were thrown down headlong by the swords of

the enemy, and by blows with their bucklers, and were overwhelmed with stakes and javelins; for they were over-hot at starting, and elated immoderately by success. They even ventured to use engines to which they were unaccustomed: nor had they themselves any skill in them. They were taught by prisoners and deserters to raise, with rude materials, a platform, in the shape of a bridge, and then to move it forward upon wheels; that some standing on it might fight as from a rampart, while others, under cover of it, endeavoured to sap the walls. But the stones discharged from the engines of the Romans dissipated the rude fabric. They then began to prepare penthouses and mantelets, but the besieged attacked them with a volley of flaming javelins, from engines, and even the assailants were enveloped in flames; till at length, in despair of carrying the works by force, they changed their plan for more protracted operations, for they were not uninformed that the besieged had provisions but for a few days, and a vast unwarlike rabble to supply. At the same time, from the effects of scarcity, treason was anticipated; the unstable attachment of slaves seemed likely also to break down, and hopes were entertained that some prize would turn up in the lottery of war.

24. Hordeonius Flaccus, having received intelligence that the Old Camp was invested, sent despatches into Gaul for a reinforcement, and ordered Dillius Vocula, who commanded the eighteenth legion, to proceed at the head of a chosen detachment as rapidly as possible along the banks of the Rhine; being himself paralysed with fear, disabled by bodily infirmity, and detested by his men. Indeed his soldiers complained in terms distinct and audible, of the Batavian cohorts sent out of Magontiacum; of the machinations of Civilis connived at; that the Germans were drawn into the revolt; that neither by the aid of Antonius Primus or Mucianus, had the interest of Vespasian more advanced. That avowed enmity and hostility might be met openly; but fraud and treachery worked in the dark, and therefore were not to be warded off. That Civilis was standing in undisguised opposition to them, drawing up his troops in order of battle: Hordeonius, from his chamber and his bed, ordered whatever served the cause of their enemy. That so many gallant soldiers, with arms in their hands, were governed by one sickly old man. Nay, rather, by putting the traitor to death, they should relieve their fortune and their valour from the inauspicious omen. While excited by these discourses

among themselves, letters were brought from Vespasian which ministered fresh fuel to the flame. Flaccus, as they could not be concealed, read them to the assembled soldiers, and sent the bearer bound in chains to Vitellius.

25. The men thus pacified arrived at Bonna, the winter station of the first legion. The soldiers there, still more exasperated, transferred the blame of their defeat to Hordeonius. "By his orders," they said, "they had advanced in battle array against the Batavians, expecting that the troops from Magontiacum would follow. By the treachery of the same man they were cut to pieces, no succours arriving to support them. The other armies were kept in ignorance of all that passed, nor was any account sent to Vitellius, although by the timely access of the forces of so many provinces, the perfidious outbreak might have been suppressed." Flaccus read, in the presence of the army, copies of the several letters by which he had entreated succours from Britain, Spain, and Gaul; and introduced a bold and noxious precedent, that letters should be delivered to the eagle-bearers of the legions, to be by them communicated to the soldiers, before they were read by the generals. He then ordered one of the mutineers to be loaded with irons, rather to exercise his authority than because the blame attached to one only. From Bonna the army proceeded to the Agrippinian colony, where numerous succours came pouring in from the Gauls, who at first zealously supported the Roman interest; but shortly afterwards, when the Germans began to make head, most of the states had recourse to arms, from the hope of liberty, and, if the enterprise succeeded, with the ambitious design of lording it over others. The resentment of the legions waxed furious; the example of a single offender bound in chains had not inspired awe; nay, that very man turned round upon the general, and charged him with being an accomplice, alleging, that as he had been a messenger between Civilis and Flaccus, he was overwhelmed with a false accusation, because he was a witness of the truth. Vocula mounted the tribunal with admirable firmness, and ordered the soldier, who remonstrated vociferously, to be seized and led away to execution; and while the seditious were panic-struck, all the well-disposed obeyed his orders. Forthwith the soldiers, with one voice, insisted that he should be their general, and Flaccus resigned the supreme command into his hands.

26. But the minds of the soldiers, still dissatisfied, were violently agitated by various causes. Deficiency of pay and

provisions distressed them; the Gauls too were averse to the levy, and to paying their tribute; the Rhine, by reason of a drought unknown in that climate, was hardly navigable; supplies were conveyed with difficulty; to hinder the Germans from fording over, a chain of posts was formed on the banks of the river; and owing to the same cause the supply of grain was diminished, while the consumers were increased. With vulgar minds, the very shallowness of the stream passed for a prodigy; as if even the rivers and the ancient defences of the empire deserted them. That, which in time of peace would have been regarded as accidental or natural, was then called fatality and divine vengeance. The army having entered Novesium, was there joined by the thirteenth legion, the commander of which Herennius Gallus was now associated with Vocula in the superintendence of affairs. Not daring to seek the enemy, they pitched their camp at a place called Gelduba. They then endeavoured to restore the tone of the troops by employing them in forming the line of battle, in digging trenches, throwing up ramparts, and other military works: and to animate their courage by plunder, Vocula marched with the main body into the neighbouring villages of the Gugernians, a people leagued with Civilis. A portion of the troops kept possession of the camp with Herennius Gallus.

27. It happened that a barge, laden with grain, was stranded in a shallow part of the river, at a small distance from the camp. The Germans endeavoured to draw the vessel to their own bank. Gallus would not submit to it, and sent a cohort to aid it. On the side of the Germans also the numbers were increased, and succours gradually flocking in on both sides, a regular battle ensued. The Germans, after making a prodigious slaughter, carried off the vessel. The Romans, for this had now grown into a habit, imputed their defeat not to their own want of valour, but to the treachery of the general. The soldiers, dragging Gallus out of his tent, tearing his clothes, and scourging him, demanded who were his accomplices in betraying the army? what was the price of his perfidy? Their rage against Hordeonius Flaccus returned. He, they said, was the author of the crime, and Gallus was an instrument in his hands; and thus they proceeded, till at length Gallus himself also, impelled by his fears of those who menaced instant destruction, charged Hordeonius with treason; and being loaded with fetters, he was not released till Vocula returned to the camp. That general, on the following day, ordered the ringleaders of the mu-

tiny to be put to death. Such was the contrast of lawlessness and passive submission that existed in that army. The common men, beyond all doubt, were devoted to Vitellius, while the most distinguished officers inclined strongly to Vespasian. Hence that alternation of atrocious guilt and capital punishment; that medley of dutiful obedience and savage ferocity; so that those who could not be kept in order, submitted to chastisement.

28. In the mean time all Germany was swelling the power of Civilis by numberless accessions of forces, the fidelity of the several states being guaranteed by hostages of the chief of their nobility. Civilis issued his orders, that the territories of the Ubians and Treverians, should be laid waste, according to their proximity to each confederate state; and, at the same time, that another party should pass over the Mosa, to harass the Menapians, the Morinians, and the frontiers of Gaul. Booty was seized in both quarters, but with peculiar animosity from the Ubians; because, though originally Germans, they had forsworn their country, and, adopting a Roman name, styled themselves the Agrippinian colony. Their cohorts were cut to pieces in the town of Marcodurum, where they lay in a state of fancied security, because they were at a distance from the bank of the Rhine. Nor did the Ubians take it so passively as not to go in quest of plunder from Germany; at first with impunity, but afterwards they were cut off; and throughout the war the fidelity they observed was more enviable than the fortune that attended them. Flushed with success, and rendered more formidable by the defeat of the Ubians, Civilis pressed the siege of the Old Camp, keeping strict guard that no secret intelligence of coming succours might reach the garrison. The management of the battering-engines and other warlike preparations he delegated to the Batavians; the forces from beyond the Rhine, who demanded the signal for action, he ordered to advance and tear down the rampart, and when they were repulsed, he bade them renew the contest, as he had a redundance of men, and the loss of some of them would not be felt; nor did the night put a period to the effort.

29. The barbarians having placed heaps of wood around and set fire to them, betook themselves to a repast, concurrently with their operations; and as each grew warm with liquor, they rushed with bootless temerity to the assault. For indeed their darts were without effect from the darkness, while the Romans took aim at the barbarian line, which was exposed to full view, and singled out.

as marks whoever was conspicuous by his valour, or the splendour of his decorations. Civilis saw the disadvantage, and ordered the fires to be put out, that all might be enveloped in darkness, and the fight carried on without distinction. Then indeed dissonant noises were heard; unforeseen accidents occurred, there was no room for foresight either in striking or avoiding blows; they faced about to the quarter whence the shout proceeded, and directed their weapons thither. Valour could profit nothing; chance confounded all things, and the bravest often fell by the hand of the coward. The Germans fought with blind fury; the Roman soldiers, inured to danger, threw not their poles pointed with iron nor discharged their massy stones at hap-hazard. Whenever the sound of the barbarians sapping the foundations of the walls, or of the scaling-ladders applied to the ramparts, presented the enemy to their attack, they drove the assailants down with the bosses of their shields, and followed them up with their javelins. Many who made good their way to the top of the walls they stabbed with daggers. After a night spent in this manner, the day disclosed a new mode of conflict.

30. The Batavians had reared a turret two stories high, which, as it approached the prætorian gate, where the ground was most even, was shivered to pieces by strong bars brought forward for the purpose, and beams which were made to impinge upon it; many of those who stood upon it were annihilated; and an attack was made upon the assailants, in their alarm and confusion, by a sudden and successful sally. At the same time more machines were made by the legionary soldiers, who excelled in skill and ingenuity. One, in particular, struck the enemy with terror and amazement. It was an instrument poised in the air, and having an oscillatory motion, by which, when suddenly let down, one or more of the enemy were borne aloft before the faces of their comrades, and then, by turning the whole mass, were discharged within the camp. Civilis abandoning the hope of storming the place, again had recourse to a leisurely blockade; employing himself in undermining the fidelity of the legions by messages and promises.

31. These transactions happened in Germany before the battle of Cremona, the issue of which was communicated by a letter from Antonius Primus, with Cæcina's proclamation annexed. Alpinus Montanus also, the commander of one of the vanquished cohorts, in person admitted the fate of his party. By this event the minds of



the Roman army were variously affected. The auxiliaries from Gaul, who neither loved nor hated either party, and whose service was unconnected with sentiment, persuaded by their officers, forthwith abandoned the cause of Vitellius. The veteran soldiers hesitated, but at the instance of Hordeonius Flaccus, and importuned by the tribunes, they swore fidelity to Vespasian; but without any decisive indication of concurrence in their looks or their state of mind. And though they repeated accurately all the other words of the oath, they passed over the name of Vespasian in a faltering manner, or in a low murmur, and very generally in silence.

32. A letter from Antonius to Civilis, read before the assembled legions, excited the suspicions of the soldiers, as their tone was that of one writing to a co-partisan, and they spoke in a hostile manner of the Germanic army. Soon afterwards, intelligence of this having been conveyed into the camp at Gelduba, the same things were said and done, and Montanus was deputed to Civilis, with instructions to require, that he would "cease from prosecuting the war, and abstain from veiling his hostile views under a false pretence of military operations. If he meant to serve Vespasian, that end was answered." To this message Civilis replied at first with subtlety; but perceiving in Montanus a determined spirit, and a promptitude for enterprise, commencing with complaints and the dangers he had gone through in the Roman service during five and twenty years, he said, "a fine reward I have received for my toils, in the death of a brother, in being loaded with fetters myself, in the ferocious language of this army, language in which I was demanded to be given up for capital punishment, and for which I now seek satisfaction according to the law of nations. But as for you Treverians, and the other crouching souls, what reward do you expect for having so often shed your blood, except hard and thankless service, eternal tributes, rods, axes, and the humours of your masters? Lo I, the præfect of a single cohort, with the Canninesfates and the Batavians, who are but a small portion of Gaul, have razed that spacious and inefficient camp, or we hem them in and distress them with sword and famine. In a word, by daring nobly, either liberty will follow; or if we fail, our condition cannot be worse than it was before." Civilis, having thus fired the ambition of Montanus, dismissed him, but with directions to report his answer in milder terms. Montanus, on his return, reported that he had

failed in his negotiation, suppressing the rest ; which however soon afterwards came to light.

33. Civilis, reserving for himself a part of his forces, despatched his veteran cohorts, and the bravest of the Germans, under the command of Julius Maximus and Claudius Victor, to act against Vocula and his army. The latter was his sister's son. As they passed they stormed the winter-quarters of a squadron of cavalry, situated at Asciburgium; and fell upon the camp with such suddenness, that Vocula had not time to harangue his men, nor form his line. The only admonition he could give them, in the tumult of the moment, was to strengthen the centre with legionary troops. The auxiliaries were placed in the wings pellmell. The cavalry advanced to the attack ; but being received by the well-ordered ranks of the Germans, they turned their backs, and fled towards their party. From that moment it was a massacre, not a battle. The Nervians, through fear or treachery, left the flank of the Romans open to the enemy ; and thus the Barbarians penetrated to the legions. The legions, after losing their colours, were driven into their entrenchments, with great carnage ; when on a sudden the fortune of the day was changed, by the arrival of fresh succours. The Vascon cohorts, formerly levied by Galba, and who had then received orders to join the army, hearing, as they approached, the uproar of battle, charged the Batavians in the rear. The terror that seized the enemy was greater than could be expected from the number. Some imagined that they were succours from Novesium ; others, the whole army from Magontiacum. That doubt added to the courage of the Romans. Depending on the valour of others, they recovered their own. The bravest of the Batavian infantry were put to the rout. Their cavalry escaped with the prisoners and standards, which they had taken in the beginning of the action. The number slain on the part of the Romans greatly exceeded the loss of the enemy ; but the slaughter fell on the worst of their troops, whereas the Germans lost the flower of their army.

34. The commanders on both sides equally deserved to fail ; and, when fortune favoured, equally neglected to improve the advantage. For had Civilis sent into the field a stronger force, his men could not have been hemmed in by so small a number ; and, having forced the entrenchments, he would have razed them to the ground. Vocula had sent out no scouts to inform him of the approach of

the enemy, and therefore he had no sooner marched out of his camp, than he was defeated. And afterwards, falling short of that confidence which the victory should have inspired, he wasted several days before he advanced against the enemy, whom, if he had hastened at once to smite, and had followed the tide of fortune, he might have raised the siege of the legions by the same effort. Civilis meanwhile, had endeavoured to work upon the minds of the besieged, representing that it was all over with the Romans, and victory had crowned the efforts of his party. The standards and banners were carried round; even the prisoners were exhibited; one of whom had the courage to achieve a memorable act: with a loud voice he declared what had really occurred; when he was instantly put to death; a proceeding which gave additional credibility to the informant. At the same time, the blaze of villages on fire, and the country laid waste on every side, announced the approach of a victorious army. Vocula commanded his men to halt in sight of the camp, and ordered a fosse to be made, and a palisade to be thrown up. His desire was, that, the baggage and knapsacks being safely deposited, they might fight without incumbrance. After this arose a clamour from the men, who demanded the signal for battle; they had even accustomed themselves to use menaces. Without taking time to form the line, fatigued by their march, and their ranks in confusion, they commenced the fight. For Civilis was ready to receive them. He relied no less on the errors of his enemy, than on the valour of his own troops. The Romans fought with fluctuating success. The bold and forward in sedition were cowards in the field. Some remembering their late victory, maintained their post, smote the barbarians, kept up their own spirits, cheered on their comrades, and, having restored the broken ranks, and renewed the battle, stretched out their hands to the besieged, inviting them to seize the opportunity. The legions from their ramparts seeing all that occurred, rushed out at every gate. Civilis, as it happened, being thrown to the ground from his horse falling, and, in consequence, a report that he was slain or dangerously wounded, being credited in both armies; it is incalculable what terror the circumstance struck into his friends, and with what alacrity it inspired the enemy.

35. Vocula, instead of hanging on the rear of the fugitives, repaired the rampart and turrets of the camp, as if a second siege threatened him; so that he who so often neglected to make use of his victory, was with good reason suspected of preferring the continuance of war.

The scarcity of provisions was what chiefly distressed the Roman army. The baggage of the legions, with the crowd of useless persons, were sent to Novesium, to bring in corn from that place by land; for the enemy was master of the river. The first train proceeded in safety, Civilis not having then sufficiently recovered his strength. Being informed soon after that a second party was on their way to Novesium, with a few cohorts, marching in all the negligence of a profound peace, but a few soldiers with the standards, their arms laid up in the waggons, and all scattered in complete disorder, he advanced against them in regular order, having sent forward troops to occupy the bridges and the narrow defiles. The battle extended through a wide space, and was continued with fluctuating success, till night put an end to the encounter. The cohorts pushed into Gelduba, where the camp, remaining as before, was occupied by a garrison left there for the purpose. The danger the foragers would have been exposed to on their return, when incumbered and disheartened, was apparent. Vocula added to his own army a thousand chosen men from the fifth and fifteenth legions, who had stood the siege in the old camp: invincible soldiers, and exasperated against their commanding officers. A number of others, without orders, thought fit to follow, declaring aloud on their march that they would no longer bear the distress of famine, nor the treachery of their chiefs. While those who remained behind, complained that, by drawing off a part, they were abandoned to their fate. Hence two seditions raged at the same time; one demanding the return of Vocula, and the other resolved not to re-enter the camp.

36. Civilis, in the mean time, besieged the Old Camp. Vocula retired to Gelduba, and thence to Novesium. Civilis took possession of Gelduba, and soon after, in an engagement of the cavalry, near Novesium, gained a victory. But all events, whether prosperous or otherwise, alike excited the soldiery to seek the destruction of their general officers. Being reinforced by the arrival of the fifth and fifteenth legions, and having gained intelligence that a sum of money was sent by Vitellius, they clamoured loudly for their donative. Hordeonius Flaccus complied without much hesitation, but in the name of Vespasian. This formed the great aliment of sedition. The men, betaking themselves to feasts, revellings, and nocturnal carousings, in their liquor renewed their old antipathy to Flaccus; and none of the tribunes or commanders daring to oppose them, for the night banished all feeling of re-

spect, they dragged him from his bed and slew him. The same proceeding was meditated against Vocula, but he escaped through the darkness, effectually disguised in the habit of a slave. When their fury had subsided, and fear succeeded, they sent centurions with letters to the states of Gaul, to solicit succours and money.

37. The mutineers themselves, as is usual with a multitude without a leader, rash, faint-hearted, nerveless, on the approach of Civilis, seized their arms, laid them down, and betook themselves to flight. Distress engendered a spirit of disunion; the soldiers from the upper Rhine separating their own cause from the rest. The images of Vitellius were, notwithstanding, set up in the camp, and the adjacent Belgic cities, when Vitellius had already fallen. Then the soldiers of the first, the fourth, and the eighteenth legions, returning to a sense of their duty, put themselves under the command of Vocula, and having, by his direction, again taken the oath of fidelity to Vespasian, marched under him to raise the siege of Magontiacum. The besiegers had departed; a motley army of Cattians, Usipians, and the Mattiaci, satiated with plunder, but not without loss of blood. While on their march, dispersed and off their guard, our soldiers fell upon them. The Treverians had even constructed a breast-work and palisade along the frontiers of their country, and in their contests with the Germans received and gave defeats of considerable magnitude; but, in the end, they marred their signal services to the Roman people, by afterwards renouncing their connection with them.

38. Meanwhile, Vespasian and his son Titus, though both absent from Rome, entered on the consulship; while the city was plunged in grief, and perplexed with manifold apprehensions; in addition to the calamities that pressed upon her, having given way to groundless fears that Africa had revolted, at the instance of Lucius Piso, who had engaged in revolutionary schemes. Piso was at that time governor of the province; by no means a turbulent character. But because the ships were detained by the severity of the winter, the populace, who are accustomed to buy food from day to day, and concern themselves about the price of provisions alone, of all the affairs of the state, while they dreaded, believed that the coast was barred; and the transport of provisions prohibited. The Vitellians, not having yet renounced the spirit of party, did what in them lay to confirm the report; and even the conquerors did not dislike the news; for they

were men whose rapacious appetites, not to be glutted even with foreign war, no civil victory could ever satisfy.

39. On the calends of January, in the senate convened by Julius Frontinus the city prætor, a vote of thanks was passed to the general officers, the armies, and the kings in alliance with Rome. Tertius Julianus, who had quitted the legion under his command, as soon as the men declared for Vespasian, was deprived of the prætorship. Plotius Griphus succeeded to the office. Hormus was raised to the equestrian rank soon after. Upon the resignation of Frontinus, Cæsar Domitian received the prætorship. His name was prefixed to all edicts and letters; but the authority of government still centred in Mucianus, save that Domitian, prompted by his friends or his own caprice, had the temerity to do many acts. But Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were the chief objects of apprehension to Mucianus: in all the freshness of recent glory, renowned for the splendour of their achievements, and high in the favour of the soldiery, they were caressed also by the populace, because they had shown no severity towards any one out of the field of battle. Antonius too was reported to have urged Scribonianus Crassus, who derived splendour from a line of illustrious ancestors, and the reflection of his brother's fame, to undertake the government; and he would not have wanted partisans; but Scribonianus declined, being so little disposed to embark in dangerous uncertainties, that he would hardly have been prevailed upon to acquiesce, if every difficulty were removed. Mucianus, therefore, as Antonius could not be openly crushed, after accumulating praises upon him in the senate, loaded him with promises in private, holding out to his view the province of Hither Spain, vacant by the departure of Cluvius Rufus; and at the same time bestowed upon his friends tribuneships and præfectures. Then, having filled his ambitious mind with hopes and aspirations, he destroyed the foundation of his influence, by sending the seventh legion, which was ardently attached to Antonius, into winter-quarters. The third was in the interest of Arrius Varus, and for that reason sent into Syria. Part of the army was marched into Germany; thus, the seeds of sedition being removed, the city began to resume its ancient form: the laws revived, and the magistrates discharged the functions of their office.

40. Domitian, on the day of his first appearance in the senate, discoursed in few and measured terms of the

absence of his father and his brother and of his own inexperience. His deportment was graceful, and his propensities being as yet unknown, his frequent blushes were considered as a mark of modesty. Cæsar proposing that the honours of Galba should be revived, Curtius Montanus expressed an opinion that the compliment should be paid to the memory of Piso. The senate voted both propositions, but that relating to Piso was not carried into effect. Commissioners were then appointed by lot; some with power to restore to the lawful owners the property wrested from them during the war; others, to inspect the tables of brass, on which the laws were engraved, and to repair such as were defaced by time; to amend the public registers, which had been vitiated by the servile spirit of the times; and to set limits to the public expenditure. To Tertius Julianus, as it now appeared that he had fled to join the banners of Vespasian, the prætorian dignity was restored; but the honour was confirmed to Griphus. It was resolved that the hearing of the question between Musonius Rufus and Publius Celer should be resumed. Celer was convicted, and atonement made to the manes of Soranus. This day, which was signalised by an act of public justice, was not without an instance also of individual merit. Musonius was considered to have fully made out his charge in all its parts. In contrast with this was the estimation in which Demetrius, a disciple of the Cynic school, was held, for having defended a notorious culprit, with more ambition than sincerity. Publius himself, in the hour of danger, had neither courage nor ability to defend himself. The signal for retribution on the whole race of informers being given, Junius Mauricus requested Cæsar to lay the journals of the late emperors before the senate, that in those records they might see who were the accusers, and whom they solicited permission to accuse. Domitian replied, that, in a matter of such magnitude, the emperor ought to be consulted.

41. The senate, on the motion of some of the leading members, devised a form of oath, in which all the magistrates, with rival zeal, and the rest as they were asked to vote, called the gods to witness, that no man's life by any aid of theirs had been affected, and that they themselves had derived no honour or reward from the distresses of the citizens; while those who felt conscious of guilt were agitated, and, by various subtleties, varied the terms of the oath. The fathers approved of their respect for the sanctity of an oath, but still considered them guilty of perjury. That stigma, as it were, fell with intense force

upon Sariolenus Vocula, Nonius Actianus, and Cestius Severus, notorious for their frequent informations in the reign of Nero. The first of these laboured under the recent guilt of attempting the same thing with Vitellius; and the fathers continued to threaten him with violence, till he withdrew from the senate-house. Pactius Africanus was the next object of resentment. It was he, they said, who pointed out to Nero as victims the two brothers, the Scribonii, distinguished by the splendour of their fortunes, and the harmony in which they lived. He dared not avow the fact, and he could not deny it. Turning round upon Vibius Crispus, who pressed him with pointed questions, by mixing him up with acts which he could not clear himself of, he parried the odium due to his own crimes by a communication of guilt.

42. On that day Vipstanus Messalla, not yet of senatorian age, acquired, in an eminent degree, the fame of eloquence and fraternal affection, in boldly standing forth to plead for his brother Aquilius Regulus. The ruin of the house of the Crassi, and of Orfitus, had raised Regulus to the pinnacle of public detestation. Of his own motion, as it appeared, he undertook the prosecution when a very young man, not to ward off danger from himself, but to promote his views of advancement. Sulpicia Prætextata, the wife of Crassus, with four children, also attended, to demand vengeance if the senate should take cognizance of the case. Messalla, therefore, did not attempt to defend the cause or the accused, but by his exposing himself to intercept the dangers that menaced his brother, many of the fathers were softened. To counteract that impression, Curtius Montanus, in a speech of great vehemence, went so far as to allege against Regulus, that as soon as Galba was despatched, he gave money to the murderer of Piso, and gnawed the head of Piso with his teeth. "This surely," he said, "was an act which Nero did not force him to—nor did you, Regulus, redeem your dignity, or earn your life by that barbarity. Let us, if you will, admit the plea of those who, to save themselves, accomplish the ruin of others. You, Regulus, after the banishment of your father, and the distribution of his effects among his creditors were left beyond the reach of danger. Excluded by your youth from public honours, you had nothing to tempt the avarice of Nero; nothing to excite his fears. From a thirst for blood, a yearning for the wages of iniquity, you initiated your genius, as yet unknown and untried in the defence of any man, with the murder of an illustrious citizen; when, after snatching



the spoils of a consul from the funeral pile of your country, pampered with a reward of seven thousand great sesterces, and glittering with the sacerdotal honours, you prostrated in one common ruin, unoffending youths, aged men of the highest character, and women of illustrious rank; when you upbraided the supineness of Nero in troubling himself and the informers to go from house to house: the whole senate, you said, might be destroyed by one word. Retain amongst you, conscript fathers, preserve this man of compendious counsels, that Romans of every time of life may be instructed, and as Marcellus and Crispus are models for our old men, so our youth may imitate Regulus. Iniquity, even when unsuccessful, finds its followers. What if it thrives and flourishes? and what if we shall see the man whom we dare not now cross, though only of quæstorian rank, raised to the rank of prætor and consul? Think you that the race of tyrants ended with Nero? The men who survived Tiberius reasoned in that manner; after the death of Caligula they said the same; whereas in the mean time there sprang up one still more hateful and barbarous. From Vespasian we have nothing to fear; such is his time of life, such his moderation: but examples continue to operate when the authors of them are no more. Conscript fathers, we have lost all our energy: we are no longer the senate, that, after Nero was put to death, demanded that the informers and the ministers of his iniquity should be punished in the established way. The day that succeeds the downfall of a tyrant is a blessed day indeed."

43. Montanus was heard with such marked approbation, that Helvidius conceived the hope that Marcellus also might be borne down. Commencing, therefore, with an encomium upon Cluvius Rufus, who, though equally rich and distinguished for eloquence, during the reign of Nero, had never busied himself to work the ruin of any man, he pressed Eprius with this example, and the charge he had against him, at once, while the minds of the fathers were still glowing with indignation. Marcellus saw the temper of the assembly, and, pretending to quit the senate house, said, "I withdraw, Priscus, and leave your senate to you. Reign there in the presence of a Cæsar." Vibius Crispus followed him; both enraged, but with different expressions in their looks; Marcellus with eyes flashing vengeance: Crispus, with a malignant smile. Their friends, however, hastening up to them prevailed on them to return. As the matter was hotly contested, by the men of integrity on one side, the largest

party; on the other by a few, but powerful, striving with pertinacious rancour to carry their point, the day was consumed in altercation.

44. At the next meeting of the senate, Domitian proposed to bury in oblivion all complaints, all resentments, and all the sad necessities of former times. Mucianus spoke at large in behalf of the informers, and in a mild tone advised and, as it were, entreated such as wanted to revive prosecutions which had been commenced, and afterwards abandoned. The fathers gave up the independence which they had just begun to exercise, when they found that opposition was made to it. Mucianus apprehending that, by this check, a blow might appear to be given to the authority of the senate, and that impunity would seem to be granted to all the crimes committed in Nero's time, remanded to the islands, to which they had been banished, Octavius Sagitta, and Antistius Sosianus, of senatorian rank. The former had, in a frenzy of love, murdered Pontia Posthumia, whom he had been connected with, and who refused to marry him. Sosianus, by his evil practices, had been the ruin of numbers. Both had been condemned by a solemn decree of the senate, and banished; and though others were allowed to return, they were compelled to abide by the original sentence. But the odium Mucianus had incurred was not mitigated by this expedient; for, verily, Sosianus and Sagitta, even if they had returned from exile, were of small account. The danger was from the craft, the wealth of the informers, and their influence ever employed in schemes of villany.

45. A cause, which was heard in the senate, according to ancient usage, had the effect of calming the excited feelings of the fathers. Manlius Patruitus, a senator, complained that, in the colony of the Seniensiensians, he had been beaten by a crowd of people, and by order of the magistrates. Nor did the injury stop there: a representation of funeral obsequies, with wailings and lamentations, was exhibited around him in his presence, together with insults and invectives thrown out against the whole body of the senate. The parties accused were cited to appear. The cause was heard, the accused convicted, and condign punishment inflicted. The fathers added a decree, by which the people of the colony were required to observe good order. About the same time, Antonius Flamma, at the suit of the inhabitants of Cyrene, was condemned to suffer the penalties under the law against extortion, and to be banished for his cruelty.

46. During these transactions, a sedition was near breaking out among the soldiery. The soldiers, disbanded by Vitellius, and afterwards embodied in the service of Vespasian, claimed a right to their former rank in the prætorian guards. At the same time, a number of others, who had been drafted from the legions, under a prospect of being promoted to that station, demanded their promised pay. Even the Vitellian soldiers could not be displaced without much bloodshed. Mucianus entered the camp. The better to ascertain the period of time each had served, he directed that the victorious troops, leaving proper distances between them, should be drawn up under arms, and with their standards. The Vitellians, who, as has been mentioned, surrendered at Bovillæ, with all that could be found either at Rome or in the neighbourhood, were brought forward almost in a state of nudity. These Mucianus directed to be placed apart, and the German and British soldiery, and if there were any belonging to other armies to stand near in separate bodies. The Vitellians were at once paralysed with fear at the first view, since they beheld, as it were, a hostile army exhibiting a terrific appearance with javelins and arms, while they themselves were enclosed, unarmed, and disfigured by neglect. But when they began to be haled hither and thither, an universal panic seized them, and great above all was the alarm of the German soldiers, who thought, from this separation, that they were marked out for slaughter. They embraced their companions, clung round their necks, bid them give a last kiss, begged that they might not be left to perish alone, nor, as their cause was one, allow them to suffer a different fate. One while they appealed to Mucianus, then invoked their absent sovereign, and lastly summoned heaven and the gods to witness; till at length Mucianus, calling to them in the name of soldiers bound by the same oath, and serving the same emperor, proceeded to obviate their groundless fears; for the victorious army also aided their tears by clamours, and so ended matters that day. A few days after, when Domitian addressed them, having now recovered their firmness, they replied in a tone of confidence. They spurned the lands offered, requested to serve, and receive their arrears of pay. Their request was in a supplicatory style, but it was not to be resisted. They were accordingly incorporated with the prætorian guards. The superannuated, and such as had served out their time, were then discharged with honour from the service. Some were cashiered for misbehaviour; but

gradually and singly, the safest expedient for destroying a combination of numbers.

47. For the rest, whether it arose from real poverty, or a wish to seem poor, a scheme was proposed in the senate for raising, by a loan from private persons, the sum of six millions sesterces. The management of the business was committed to Poppæus Silvanus; but, soon after, the necessity was removed, or perhaps the pretence was dropped. On the proposal of Domitian, the several appointments to the consulship, by Vitellius, were declared null and void. A censorial funeral was performed in honour of Flavius Sabinus; signal instances these of the instability of fortune, exhibiting the extremes of elevation and depression in the same persons.

48. About this time Lucius Piso, the proconsul, was murdered. I shall be enabled to exhibit this sanguinary deed in the most perfect light, after having retraced a few circumstances already related, and which are not unconnected with the cause and origin of this class of atrocities. In the time of Augustus and Tiberius, the legion quartered in Africa, with the auxiliaries employed to defend the frontier of the province, were subject to the proconsul. Caligula, whose mind was of a wild unsettled character, suspecting Marcus Silanus, then governor of Africa, transferred the command of the legion to an imperial lieutenant, whom he sent for the purpose. The power of granting military preferment was divided between the two; and the orders of both clashing with each other, a disagreement arose, which was aggravated by an improper feeling of rivalry. The authority of the lieutenants gained the ascendant, either from the long continuance of the office, or because inferiors are naturally more diligent in a contest for pre-eminence; while the most illustrious of the proconsuls were more solicitous about personal security than the preservation of their authority.

49. But at that time Valerius Festus had the command of the legion; a young man of lavish expenditure and immoderate ambition. He also felt uncomfortable on account of his alliance with Vitellius. Whether it be true, that, in private conferences, he endeavoured to incite Piso to a revolt, or withstood the solicitations of Piso, is uncertain, as no man was admitted to their privacy; and after the death of Piso the generality were inclined by views of interest towards the murderer. The natives of the province, as well as the soldiers, were undoubtedly disaffected to Vespasian. It is likewise certain, that parti-

sans of Vitellius, coming from Rome; represented to Piso that Gaul was on the eve of a revolt; the Germans ready to take up arms; the dangerous situation in which he stood; and the greater security afforded by open war than doubtful peace. In that juncture, Claudius Sagitta, who commanded the squadron of horse called Petrina, favoured by a quick passage, arrived in Africa before Papirius, a centurion, despatched by Mucianus, and asserted that the centurion was charged to assassinate Piso; that Galerianus, his cousin-german and son-in-law, had already fallen, his only hope of safety was in taking a bold step; two courses were open to him; he might, if he preferred it, forthwith summon the province to arms; or, passing over into Gaul, offer to head the Vitellian party. Piso remained deaf to these remonstrances. The centurion sent by Mucianus had no sooner landed at Carthage, than with a loud voice, and without intermission, he cried, all prosperity to Piso, as though he were prince, and urged all he met, thunderstruck as they were at an event so strange and unexpected, to echo his huzzas. The credulous multitude rushed to the forum, and insisted on Piso's making his appearance. They made the whole place ring with shouts of joy, from an inherent supineness in ascertaining truth, and a propensity to adulation. Piso, from the information of Sagitta, or his natural modesty, went not out of his house, nor committed himself to the intemperate zeal of the people; but interrogated the centurion; and finding that the object was to lay a ground of charge against him as a pretext for his murder, he ordered his officers to put him to death, not so much from the hope of saving his life, as indignation at the assassin, because, being also one of the murderers of Clodius Macer, he had come with hands reeking with the blood of a legate to assassinate a proconsul. Henceforth, having rebuked the Carthaginians in an edict indicating the anxiety he felt, he discontinued the duties of his station, and confined himself to his house, lest any occasion of fresh disturbance should arise even by accident.

50. But when Festus was apprised of the excitement of the populace, the punishment of the centurion, and other matters true and false, magnified, as usual, by the voice of fame, he despatched a party of horse to kill Piso. The assassins, who performed the journey at full speed, rushed, sword in hand, into Piso's house, at the dim hour when the light is still but beginning to appear; and being chosen from the Carthaginian auxiliaries and Moors,

many of them were ignorant of the person of Piso. Near his chamber-door they met one of the slaves, and asked him who he was, and where was Piso. The slave replied, with a noble falsehood, that he was Piso, and was butchered on the spot. Piso in a short time after met his fate; for there was one among them who knew him, Bebius Massa, one of the imperial procurators in Africa, even then the bane of every worthy character, and whose name will often recur hereafter as a prime mover in the calamities of our country. Festus proceeded from Adrumetum, where he had stopped, anxiously looking out for the result, to the legion, and ordered Cetronius Pisanus, præfect of the camp, to be put in bonds, from personal animosity; but he called him a satellite of Piso. He also punished some of the soldiers, and rewarded others, with no good reason for either, but to acquire the reputation of having suppressed a war. He then adjusted a quarrel between the Cœnsians and the people of Leptis; which, from the seizure of fruits and cattle by rustics one among another, an affair of no such magnitude, was now carried on by arms and regular battles. For the Cœnsians were inferior in number to their adversaries; but they had formed a league with the Garamantes, a fierce and savage race, and a prolific source of depredations among their neighbours. Hence the people of Leptis were reduced to the last extremity. Their lands were laid waste, and they were trembling within their walls, till, by the intervention of the Roman cohorts and cavalry, the Garamantes were routed, and all their booty was retaken, except what some of them, going about from one to another of their inaccessible huts, had sold to the inhabitants of more remote districts.

51. Vespasian having received intelligence of the victory at Cremona, and the success of his arms in every quarter, the death of Vitellius was announced to him by men of all ranks, who, with equal courage and good fortune, ventured to traverse the sea at that tempestuous season. Vologeses, the Parthian king, offered by his ambassadors to assist him with forty thousand of his cavalry. It was a proud and gratifying circumstance to him to be solicited to accept such powerful auxiliaries, and not to want them. He returned thanks to Vologeses, and told him to send ambassadors to the senate, apprising him also that the war was concluded. Vespasian, whose thoughts were anxiously fixed on Italy and the affairs of the city, heard the unfavourable rumour of the conduct of Domitian, according to which it seemed that he was outstepping the limits that belonged to his time of life,

and assuming more than could be conceded to a son. Vespasian, therefore, consigned to Titus the main strength of his forces to accomplish the remains of the Jewish war.

52. Titus, we are told, before he parted from his father, entreated him in a lengthened conversation, not to allow himself to be excited too easily by the statements of the accusers of his son; and that in dealing with him, he would show a mind unprejudiced and placable. Fleets and armies were not such impregnable bulwarks of empire, as a numerous family; for friends may be cut off by the effects of time, transfer their attachment in a change of fortune, or fail under the influence either of inordinate desires or erroneous views; but it was a difficult task to detach from men those who are connected with them by the ties of blood: but especially in the case of princes in whose prosperity others participate, whilst their misfortunes pressed peculiarly upon their nearest relatives. Even between brothers, unanimity would not be lasting, if the parent did not set the example. Vespasian, more charmed with the filial piety of Titus than softened towards Domitian, desired him to banish all anxiety, and proceed in the great work of aggrandizing his country by vigorous prosecution of the war. His own business should be to cultivate the arts of peace, and secure the welfare of his family. Vespasian then committed to the still tempestuous sea some of the swiftest of his ships, laden with corn; and well it was he did, for the city was then tottering under a state of things so critical that the corn in the granaries was sufficient for no more than ten days' supply, when the stores from Vespasian came in to their aid.

53. The care of rebuilding the Capitol he committed to Lucius Vestinus, a man of equestrian rank, but in credit and dignity among the first men in Rome. The soothsayers, who were convened by him, advised that the ruins of the former shrine should be removed to the marshes, and a temple raised on the old foundation; for the gods would not permit a change of the ancient form. On the eleventh day before the calends of July, the sky being remarkably serene, the whole space devoted to the sacred structure was encompassed with chaplets and garlands. Such of the soldiers as had names of auspicious import entered within the enclosure, with branches from trees, emblematical of good fortune. Then the vestal virgins in procession, with a band of boys and girls, whose parents, male and female, were still living, sprinkled the whole

place with water drawn from living fountains and rivers. Helvidius Priscus, the prætor, preceded by Plautius Ælianus, the pontiff, after purifying the area by sacrificing a swine, a sheep, and a bull, and replacing the entrails upon the turf, invoked Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, and the tutelar deities of the empire, praying that they would prosper the undertaking, and, with divine power, carry to perfection a work begun by the piety of man; and then Helvidius laid his hand upon the wreaths that bound the foundation-stone and entwined about the cords; at the same time, the magistrates, the priests, the senators, the knights, and a number of citizens, with simultaneous efforts, prompted by zeal and exultation, haled the ponderous stone along. Contributions of gold and silver, and pieces of other metals, the first that were taken from the mines, that had never been melted in the furnace, but in their native state, were thrown upon the foundations on all hands. The soothsayers enjoined that neither stone nor gold, which had been applied to other uses, should profane the building. Additional height was given to the edifice; this was the only variation conceded by religion; and in point of magnificence it was considered to be inferior to the former temple.

54. Meanwhile, the news of Vitellius's death spreading through Gaul and Germany, gave rise to two wars at once. For Civilis, throwing off his mask, declared open hostility against the Romans; and the Vitellian soldiers, rather than acknowledge Vespasian, were ready to submit to slavery under a foreign yoke. The Gauls had assumed a tone of confidence, concluding that the same fate had attended the Roman armies wherever stationed; a rumour being current among them that the Dacians and Sarmatians had laid siege to the encampments in Mæsia and Pannonia. Affairs in Britain were supposed to be in no better situation. Above all, the destruction of the Capitol impressed them with a conviction that the dissolution of the Roman empire was at hand; the city, they said, had been captured formerly by the Gauls, but the abode of Jupiter being untouched the empire had survived. The Druids, in their wild enthusiasm, declared in prophetic strains that now a sign of the wrath of heaven had been given by the appointed fire, and that the transfer of the empire of the world to the transalpine nations was pretended. A report prevailed, at the same time, that the chieftains of Gaul, who had been employed by Otho against Vitellius, bound themselves in a compact not to neglect the opportunity for regaining their liberty, should



the power of the Roman people be broken in a succession of civil wars and internal calamities.

55. Before the murder of Hordeonius Flaccus, nothing transpired from which the confederacy could be inferred; but after the assassination of Hordeonius, messengers were seen passing to and fro between Civilis and Classicus, who commanded a squadron of Treverian horse. Classicus, in rank and wealth, surpassed the rest of his countrymen; he was of a royal lineage, and his ancestors renowned for wisdom and valour: as for himself, he made his boast, that he was the hereditary enemy, rather than the ally, of Rome. He was joined in the plot by Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus; the former a Treverian, the latter a Lingonian. Tutor had been preferred by Vitellius to command on the banks of the Rhine. Sabinus, in addition to his natural vanity, was inflamed by pride, in consideration of his falsely supposed descent. He pretended, that his great-grandmother attracted the admiration of the deified Julius, and had an adulterous amour with him. These men made it their business, in secret conferences, to sound the temper of others; and, having engaged in the plot such as they thought proper for the purpose, met at a private house in the Agrippinian colony; for, as a body, the inhabitants abhorred attempts of this kind. Nevertheless there were present certain of the Ubians and Tungrians, but the Treverians and Lingonians possessed the greatest influence; nor could they brook the delay of deliberating. They proclaimed each as loud as he could, that "the Roman people were raging with civil dissensions; her armies were cut to pieces; Italy was laid waste, and the city at that moment taken by storm; while all her armies had each of them a war upon its hands. If the passes over the Alps should be secured by garrisons, the Gauls having established their independence, might then determine what limit they would assign to their efforts." This project was approved as soon as heard.

56. How to dispose of the remaining Vitellian soldiers was a perplexing question; many were of opinion that they ought to be put to the sword, as turbulent and unprincipled men, and polluted with the blood of their officers. The plan of sparing them prevailed, lest by removing all hope of pardon they should rouse them to a desperate resistance. It were better that they should be enticed into the confederacy. Let their officers only be put to death, and the common men, conscious of their crimes, yet entertaining hopes of impunity, would readily join them. Such was the nature of their first measure. They also sent

emissaries, to kindle the flame of war in Gaul. The conspirators themselves feigned submission to the commands of Vocula, that he might be the more off his guard, and fall an easier victim. Some persons however conveyed information to Vocula, but he wanted strength to suppress the movement, as the legions were deficient in complement and not to be trusted. Surrounded by a suspected soldiery and secret enemies, he concluded that his best course under existing circumstances, was to proceed by dissimulation and the arts by which he was assailed, and therefore went down to the Agrippinian colony. Thither Claudius Labeo, who, as already mentioned, had been captured and sent out of the jurisdiction to the Frisians, having corrupted his guard, had fled for refuge; and having promised, if a force were assigned him, to penetrate into Batavia, and bring back the chiefs of the country to the interest of Rome, he obtained a small party of foot and cavalry; but not venturing to attempt anything with the Batavians, he induced some of the Nervians and Betasians to take up arms, and made incursions upon the Canninefates and Marsacians more by stealth than open war.

57. Vocula, induced by the fraudulent representations of the Gauls, proceeded against the enemy. As soon as he approached the Old Camp, Classicus and Tutor, advancing under colour of exploring the motions of the enemy, concluded a treaty with the German chiefs; and then for the first time they encamped apart from the legions, and threw a separate rampart round a camp of their own, Vocula protesting that Rome was not so rent by her own divisions as to become the scorn of the Treverians and Lingones: she had still a number of provinces firm in her interest; victorious armies; the auspicious fortune of the empire; and the gods her avengers. Thus formerly Sacrovir and the Æduans, and recently Vindex and the Gauls, had been crushed, each by a single battle. And now too, the violators of treaties might expect the same gods, the same fate. Julius and Augustus best understood the disposition of the Gauls; Galba, and a mitigation of tributes, had excited hostile feelings in them. They were enemies now because they were subjected to a mild rule; when they had been despoiled and stripped of their possessions, they would resume a friendly spirit. Having delivered this speech in a tone of high displeasure, seeing that Classicus and Tutor persisted in their perfidy, he marched back to Novesium. The Gauls encamped at the distance of two miles. The minds of the centurions

and soldiers that visited them there, were seduced by bribes to engage that a Roman army, with a baseness of spirit till then unheard of, should swear fidelity to a foreign power; and that an earnest of the atrocious compact should be given by the murder of their commanders, or by delivering them up in chains. Vocula, though many persuaded him to escape, resolved to go boldly through with the business; and summoning an assembly, discoursed in the following manner:

58. "Never have I addressed you, my fellow-soldiers, with more anxiety for your welfare; or with less concern for myself. For that my destruction is meditated I hear without regret; and look forward to death, plunged as I am in affliction, as the termination of my sufferings. But I blush for you, my heart bleeds for you, against whom no battle is preparing, no troops are marshalling; for that were according to the law of arms and the usage of enemies; Classicus hopes to fight against the Roman people with your hands; and boasts of the empire of Gaul, and of the oath of fidelity to Gaul. If our good fortune and courage have failed us for the moment, are we so deficient in examples of former times; when, as was often the case, Roman legions chose to perish rather than abandon their post? The allies of Rome have seen their cities wrapped in fire, and, with their wives and children, have perished in the flames: nor had they any other motive for undergoing that fate, than the preservation of their honour and fame. At this moment, in the Old Camp, the legions are enduring the horrors of famine and a siege; but neither threats nor promises can shake their constancy. Besides arms and men, and a camp excellently fortified, we have provisions sufficient for a war, however protracted. Our money sufficed on a recent occasion, even for a donative; and whether you prefer to impute it to Vespasian or to Vitellius, doubtless it is the bounty of a Roman emperor. Conquerors in so many wars, after routing the enemy so often at Gelduba at the Old Camp, if you dread a pitched battle, that surely were unworthy of you; but you have a rampart and walls, and methods of protracting the war till succours arrive, and armies crowd to your relief from the neighbouring provinces. Grant that I have incurred your displeasure; there are other commanders, there are tribunes; at all events, a centurion, or even a common soldier. Let not this portentous fact be circulated round the world, that Civilis and Classicus purpose invading Italy attended by Roman soldiers. And if the Gauls and Germans shall lead you to the walls of Rome, will you

use your arms against your country? My soul recoils with horror at the bare idea of such an atrocity. Shall watches be set for Tutor the Treverian? Shall a Bata-vian give the signal for battle? Will you serve as recruits to complete the German battalions? When the Roman legions appear before you in order of battle, in what horrible act will your conduct issue? Deserters already, will you become so a second time? Traitors to your country, will you turn traitors to your new allies? Will you stagger between your recent and your former oath, objects of detestation to the gods? Thee, Jove, supremely great and good, to whom through a space of eight hundred and twenty years we have paid our vows to for so many triumphs; and thee, Quirinus, founder of the Roman name, I implore and beseech, that if it is not your pleasure, that, under my command, this camp shall remain pure and inviolate, you would at least not suffer it to be defiled and polluted by Tutor and Classicus. Grant, I beseech you, to Roman soldiers, either purity of thought, or that they may repent speedily, and before they plunge into guilty acts."

59. This speech was heard with various emotions, between hope, fear, and shame. Vocula retired; and while he was deliberating about putting a period to his existence, his slaves and freedmen prevented him from forestalling a horrible death by a voluntary act. Classicus hastened to destroy him by the hand of Æmilius Longinus, a deserter from the first legion, whom he sent for the purpose. It was thought enough that Herennius and Numisius, commanders of legions, should be secured in chains. Classicus, in a short time afterwards, entered the camp, with the pomp and apparel of a Roman commander; and though he brought with him a mind inured to every kind of daring, he had not power to say anything beyond reciting the words of the oath. All the soldiers present swore fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. The assassin of Vocula was raised to high rank in the army; the rest he signalised by rewards in proportion to their services in crime. Tutor and Classicus took their respective shares in the conduct of the war. Tutor, with a strong force, invested the Agrippinian colony, and compelled the inhabitants and all the soldiers stationed on the Upper Rhine, to swear on the same terms, after putting to death the tribunes at Magontiacum, and driving away the præfect of the camp, because they declined. From those who submitted Classicus selected the most profligate, and sent them to the Old Camp, with directions to

promise a free pardon if they acquiesced in things as they were; otherwise, that famine, the sword, and the utmost he could inflict, would be their portion. The messengers added the weight of their own example.

60. The besieged were distracted between the claims of duty and the pangs of hunger: between honour and infamy. While in this state of indecision, they were in want not only of ordinary food, but even of such as is unusual; their beasts of burden and horses being consumed, and all other animals impure and filthy which necessity brought into use, at last, while tearing up shrubs and stocks, and the herbs that grew between the stones, they exhibited an example of patience and suffering, till at length they tarnished their transcendant merit by an inglorious termination, in suing for their lives by deputies sent to Civilis. Nor were their supplications listened to till they swore fidelity to the empire of Gaul. Then having stipulated for the plunder of the camp, he assigned guards to secure the money, sutlers, and baggage, and to escort them away, destitute as they were. They had proceeded about five miles, when the Germans starting up, fell upon them as they were marching and off their guard. The most resolute of them never stirred a foot; many were cut off while attempting to escape; the rest fled for refuge back to the camp; when it must be admitted Civilis complained of the proceeding, and rebuked the Germans, as having broken faith by an act of villany. Whether this was mere pretence, or he was really unable to restrain their savage violence, is not clearly made out. After ransacking the camp they threw fire upon it, and all who survived the battle the flames destroyed.

61. Now, at length, having completed the destruction of the legions, Civilis cropped his long and burnished hair, in fulfilment of a vow common to barbarians, which he took upon himself after he commenced hostilities against the Romans. He is also reported to have placed as marks some of the captives, to be shot by his son, a little boy, with arrows and javelins suited to children. However, he neither took the oath of allegiance to the Gauls himself, nor obliged any Batavian to do so, relying on the power of the Germans; and should it be necessary to contend for empire, he knew that his name stood high, and that he had the advantage. Munius Lupercus, the commander of a legion, was sent, among a number of presents, as a gift to Velede, a virgin of the Bructerian nation, who ruled over a large tract of territory; according to an ancient custom among the Germans of supposing

that many of their women have a prophetic spirit, and when the superstitious notion has waxed strong of believing them to be divinities. The authority of Velea, at that time, was at its zenith, for she had foretold the success of her countrymen, and the destruction of the legions. Lupercus was murdered on the road. A few centurions and tribunes, who were natives of Gaul, were reserved as hostages for the alliance. The winter-camps of the cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions, excepting one at Magontiacum, and another at Vindonissa, were pulled down and burned.

62. The thirteenth legion, with the auxiliaries that surrendered at the same time, received orders to march from Novesium to the colony of the Treverians; a day being fixed within which they should quit the camp. The whole interval they passed in anxiety, some on one account, others on another; the dastardly looked with horror at the example of those slain at the Old Camp; the better sort were touched with shame, and felt the infamy of their situation. "What kind of march would that be, they reflected? and who was to lead them? And every thing would be at the caprice of those whom they had made their masters." Others, without a thought about the disgrace, stowed their money and what they valued most about their persons; some prepared their arms, and accoutred themselves as if for battle. While occupied with these reflections, the day for their departure arrived, and brought with it still deeper woes than they anticipated; for indeed the mutilation and defacement within the camp was not so striking. It was the open space, the light of day that developed their degradation. The images of the emperors were torn down; the Roman standards neglected; while the banners of the Gauls flared on all sides. The train moved on in silence, like a long funereal procession. Their leader was Claudius Sanctus, a man who had lost an eye, of a horrid countenance, and still more deformed in mind. The disgrace was redoubled by the arrival of another legion from the camp at Bonna; and when the report was spread of the captured legions, all who a little before shuddered at the Roman name, hastening from the fields and houses, and pouring forth from all quarters, gazed on the unwonted spectacle with too much zest. The joy of the jeering rabble was more than the squadron of horse, called Picentina, could endure, and heedless of the threats or promises of Sanctus, they marched off towards Magontiacum; and in their way, accidentally meeting Longinus, the murderer of Vocula,

by overwhelming him with their darts, they made the first step in the expiation of their guilt, which they had to complete thereafter. The legions, without altering their course, proceeded to the city of the Treverians, and pitched their tents under the walls.

63. Civilis and Classicus, elated with success, were in doubt whether to give up the Agrippinian colony to be plundered by the soldiers. Their own natural ferocity and love of plunder conspired to prompt them to raze the city, but the plan of the war suggested arguments against it, and the advantage of a reputation for clemency to those who are commencing a new empire. Civilis was also moved by the recollection of a service rendered to his son, on the first breaking out of the war, who was laid hold of in the colony of the Agrippinians; and whom they had treated with respect while in their custody. But the nations beyond the Rhine saw the opulence and growth of the place with envy, and considered that, to terminate the war, it was necessary either that it should be an open city for all Germans, or that by being demolished, it should occasion the dispersion of the Ubians also.

64. Accordingly the Tencterians, a people separated by the Rhine, sent ambassadors to the Agrippinian colony, with directions to explain to an assembly of the state their resolution, which the boldest of the deputies thus laid before them: "That you should have returned to the community and title of Germans, we give thanks to the gods, whom we adore in common, and to Mars, the chief of deities; and we congratulate you that at length free yourselves, you will live, henceforward, among free men. For the Romans hitherto have barred our lands, our rivers, and, in a manner, the heavens, to prevent our holding intercourse in word or deed; or, what is still more offensive to men born to arms, to make us visit you without arms, and almost naked, under the eye of a guard, and obliged to pay a tax for the favour. But that our friendship and union may be established imperishably, we require of you to pull down the walls of your city, those strongholds of slavery: even savage animals, if you keep them confined, forget their natural courage. We require that you put to the sword all the Romans within your borders; liberty and tyrants cannot dwell together. Let the goods of the slain be brought into a common stock, that no one may embezzle any thing, or consult his own private interest apart. Let it be lawful for us and you to inhabit both banks of the Rhine, as our ancestors of old. As the use of light and air is given by nature to us all,

she has made every land free to the brave. Revive the institutions and customs of your country; renouncing those luxuries by which the Romans acquire power over the people subject to them, more than by their valour. An unmixed, and untainted, and unenslaved people, you will either live upon a footing of equality, or you will exercise authority over others."

65. The Agrippinians having taken time for deliberation, since their present state was not such as to admit of their accepting terms which would expose them to future danger, nor of openly rejecting them, replied in this sort: "As soon as the opportunity of recovering our liberty presented itself, we seized it, more in compliance with our eager desire to be united with you and the rest of the Germans, our kinsmen by blood, than from calculations of security. Now that the Roman armies are just assembling, it is more for our safety to add to the strength of our walls than to demolish them. If there were any strangers out of Italy or the provinces within our borders, they have perished in the war, or they have escaped to their respective homes. Those who of old were settled here, and have been united with us in marriages, and those who have since sprung from them, may fairly claim this colony as their country. Nor do we esteem you so inhuman as to wish us to murder our fathers, our brothers, and our children. All duties, all restrictions upon commerce we repeal. Let the passage over the river be free and unguarded, but in the day time and without arms, until these new and recent privileges become established by custom. We desire that Civilis and Velea may arbitrate between us: under their sanction the treaty shall be ratified." The Tencterians were thus appeased, and ambassadors were sent with presents to Civilis and Velea, who concluded everything to the satisfaction of the Agrippinians. The deputies, however, were not admitted to the presence of Velea, and to accost her. Persons were not allowed to see her, to increase the awe of her. She herself resided in the summit of a lofty tower: a relation, chosen for the purpose, was employed to convey the questions and responses, like a messenger between man and a deity.

66. Strengthened by his alliance with the Agrippinian colony, Civilis determined to gain over the neighbouring states; or, if they opposed him, to subdue them by force. The Sunicians had already submitted to his arms, and he had formed the youth of the country capable of bearing arms into regular cohorts. To oppose his progress, Clau-



dius Labeo encountered him with a body of Betasians, Tungrians, and Nervians, raised by sudden levies, relying on the advantage of his position, as he had got possession of the bridge over the Meuse. The battle was for some time fought in a narrow defile, with doubtful success, till the Germans swam across the river, and charged Labeo's forces in the rear. Civilis at the same time, whether from an effort of courage or a preconcerted plan, rushed among the Tungrians, proclaiming aloud, "that the object of the war was not to procure for the Batavians and Treverians dominion over the nations. Far be from us such arrogance, said he; accept our alliance: I am ready to join you; your general, if you will; if not, a common soldier." The crowd were moved by his words, and sheathed their swords. In that moment, Campanus and Juvenalis, the leading chieftains of the Tungrians, surrendered the whole nation to Civilis. Labeo made his escape, lest he should be cut off. The Betasians and the Nervians, who also surrendered, Civilis incorporated with his army; carrying all before him as the states were either awed into submission, or came over spontaneously.

67. Meanwhile, Julius Sabinus, having destroyed the monuments of the alliance with Rome, caused himself to be proclaimed Cæsar; and at the head of a large and undisciplined body of his countrymen, marched hastily against the Sequanians, a neighbouring state, and faithful to Rome. The Sequanians did not decline the conflict. Fortune favoured the juster cause: the Lingones were defeated. The rashness with which Sabinus rushed on to the attack, was equalled by the precipitation with which he fled. He escaped to a farmhouse, and, in order to spread a report of his death, set fire to it. It was believed that he died there voluntarily; but the various arts by which he protracted life for nine years, and the places in which he lay concealed, together with the constancy of his friends, and the memorable example of his wife Epponina, shall be recorded in their proper place. The victory obtained by the Sequanians checked the progress of the war; the states began to alter their tone, and to reflect on the obligations of justice and the faith of treaties; the Remi setting the example, who sent a notice to the different states of Gaul, to send deputies to consult in common, whether they should strike for liberty or remain quiet.

68. These transactions, when reported at Rome, in an exaggerated form, were a source of anxiety to Mucianus, lest the generals, though distinguished soldiers, for he

had selected Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis to command the German armies, should prove unequal to the weight of the war. Rome, at the same time, could not be left without a ruler. The unbridled passions of Domitian also were dreaded; while Antonius Primus and Arrius Varus were suspected. The latter, who had been put in command of the prætorian guards, had arms and men in his power. Mucianus removed him from his office, and, to solace him, made him superintendent of provisions. To pacify the mind of Domitian, the friend of Varus, he appointed Arretinus Clemens, a man nearly related to the house of Vespasian, and high in favour with Domitian, to the command of the prætorian guards; urging that, in the reign of Caligula, his father held the same command with high repute. The same name, he observed, would be welcome to the soldiers; and Clemens himself, though a member of the senate, would be able to discharge the duties of both stations. The most eminent individuals among the citizens were chosen to join the expedition, and others procured the appointment by intrigue. Domitian and Mucianus prepared to set out, but in dissimilar moods; the young prince in the confidence and fervour of youth, impatient for action; Mucianus, studying pretexts for delay, to check his ardent spirit, lest, if he were suddenly placed at the head of an army, from the impetuosity natural to his years, and the impulse of pernicious counsellors, he should embarrass the negotiations for peace, and the operations of war. Two of the victorious legions, the sixth and eighth, the twenty-first from the Vitellian party, and the second from the forces lately raised, were marched into Gaul; some over the Pennine and Cottian Alps, and others over the Graian mountain. The fourteenth legion was summoned from Britain, and the sixth and tenth from Spain. The consequence was, that the states of Gaul, being inclined to more pacific counsels from the rumour of the approaching army, as well as the impulse of their own minds, assembled in congress at Rheims. A deputation from the Treverians waited there for the result of the deliberations, and with them Tullius Valentinus, the most strenuous promoter of the war. In a speech prepared for the purpose, he poured forth all the charges usually urged against extensive empires, with insulting and invidious reflections upon the Roman people; a congenial promoter of seditious disturbances, and a favourite with the multitude on account of his intemperate eloquence.

69. On the other hand, Julius Auspex, a leading chief.

among the people of Rheims, by representing the power of the Romans, and the blessings of peace, that war was undertaken even by men of no account in the field, but was carried on at the peril of the bravest spirits, and that the legions were already bearing down upon them, restrained the more discreet by motives of respect and allegiance, and the more inexperienced by setting before them the danger they would encounter, and by appealing to their fears. The consequence was, that they applauded the spirit of Valentinus, but adopted the advice of Auspex. There can be no doubt that the interest of the Treverians and Lingones with the states of Gaul was impaired by their having espoused the cause of Verginius, in the commotions excited by Vindex. The mutual jealousies of the provinces, operated in deterring many. Which was to be the leading state in the war? where the source of authority and the auspices? what city would they choose as the seat of empire, if all things succeeded according to their wishes? They had not yet gained the victory, but were already quarrelling among themselves. One state boasted of its alliances; another of its riches and power; a third of its ancient origin, in their altercations. Dissatisfied with the prospect of the future, they resolved to acquiesce in their present condition. Letters were despatched to the Treverians in the name of the states of Gaul, requiring them to lay down their arms, while they might obtain their pardon, and their friends were ready to solicit for them. The same Valentinus opposed this course, and his countrymen, by his advice, were deaf to all remonstrances: though he was not so diligent in preparing the means of war, as he was assiduous in his attendance on public assemblies.

70. Thus the exertions of the Treverians, the Lingones, and other revolted states, were in no proportion to the extent of the danger they had incurred in undertaking the war. Not even their generals acted in concert. Civilis traversed the devious regions of Belgium with the object of making Labeo his prisoner, or forcing him out of the country. Classicus loitered away the best part of his time in indolence, as if he were enjoying the privileges of empire already acquired. Even Tutor neglected to secure the upper bank of the Rhine, and the passes of the Alps. In the mean time, the one and twentieth legion, by the way of Vindonissa, penetrated into Gaul, and Sextilius Felix, with auxiliary cohorts, through Rhætia. He was joined by a squadron of horse, called Singulares, first summoned to his aid by Vitellius, and after-

wards united with Vespasian. Their commanding officer was Julius Briganticus, whose mother was the sister of Civilis; hated by his uncle, and hating him implacably, as is often the case in quarrels between near connections. Tutor having augmented his army by new musters in the country of the Vangiones, the Caeracatians, and Tribocians, strengthened them with a body of veterans, horse and foot, from the legions; men whom he had either inveigled by promises, or compelled by menaces. A cohort detached by Sextilius Felix appeared in sight; they put them to the sword; but soon after, seeing the approach of Roman generals and an army, they went over to that side; a desertion that did them honour; and the Tribocians, the Vangiones, and the Caeracatians, followed their example. Tutor, avoiding Magontiacum, retired with the Treverians to Bingium, where, having broken down the bridge over the Nava, he thought himself posted to advantage; but being charged by Felix with a cohort under his command, who had found a fordable place, Tutor's reliance was gone, and he was put to the rout. The Treverians were struck with terror at this severe defeat, and the common people laying down their arms dispersed themselves about the country. Some of their chiefs, to claim the merit of being the first to submit, fled for refuge to such states as had not renounced the Roman alliance. The legions which had been removed, as already mentioned, from Novesium and Bonna to the territory of the Treverians, voluntarily swore fidelity to Vespasian. Valentinus was absent during these transactions; he returned furious, and resolved to throw everything into confusion and peril again, but the legions went off to Mediomatricum, a city in alliance with Rome. Tutor and Valentinus induced the Treverians once more to take up arms; putting to death Herennius and Numisius commanders of legions, to strengthen the bond of guilt that held them together by diminishing the hope of pardon.

71. Such was the state of the war when Petilius Cerealis reached Magontiacum. By his arrival the hopes of the party were raised. Eager for battle himself, and more to be admired for the contempt in which he held the enemy than the prudence of his measures, he kindled the spirit of the soldiery by the bold tone of his language, intimating that he would not hesitate a moment to engage the enemy on the first opportunity of getting at him. The levies, which had been raised in Gaul, he ordered back to their own country, with directions to publish

everywhere, that the legions were sufficient to defend the empire; and, therefore, that the allies might return to the employments of peace, as though the war was concluded, now that the Roman armies had taken up the matter. By this message the Gauls were brought to a more submissive temper. Their young men being thus restored to their country, they felt their tribute lighter; and were the more zealous in their duties, because they were not made much of. Civilis and Classicus learning that Tutor was defeated, the Treverians cut to pieces, and fortune favouring the Roman arms in everything, were in a state of alarm and nervous agitation, and drawing together their scattered forces, in the mean time warned Valentinus, by repeated messengers, not to run the hazard of a decisive engagement. Cerealis was the more impatient to strike a sudden blow. He despatched emissaries to Mediomatricum, with orders to bring the legions against the enemy by a shorter rout, and uniting the soldiers stationed at Magontiacum with the forces which he brought with him from Italy, he, in three days' march, arrived at Rigodulum. At that place Valentinus, at the head of a large body of Treverians, had taken post, defended on one side by the Moselle, and on the other by mountains. He added a fosse, and a barrier of stones; nor did these defences deter the Roman general from ordering his infantry to force them, and marching his cavalry in battle array up the hill, despising an enemy hastily drawn together, who, he knew, would not be so much benefitted by their position, as that his own troops would not derive superior advantages from their valour. The soldiers were retarded a little in the ascent till they got clear of the enemy's missiles; when they came to engage hand to hand, the barbarians were hurled headlong from the steep like the fragments of a falling edifice. In the mean time a party of the cavalry, wheeling round the more level eminences, made the principal Belgic chiefs prisoners of war, with Valentinus, their general, in the number. -

72. On the following day Cerealis entered the capital of the Treverians. The soldiers panted for the destruction of the city. "It was the birth-place of Classicus and of Tutor. By their treason the legions had been besieged and massacred. What was the great demerit of Cremona, a city which had been plucked from the bosom of Italy because, for a single night, she delayed the career of the victors? A city, standing on the confines of Germany, exulting in the spoils of armies, and reeking with the blood of generals, was left untouched. The booty might

be brought into the account of the public treasury ; they would themselves be satisfied with the burning and demolition of a rebel colony, as an atonement for the destruction of so many camps." Cerealis, from fear of the disgrace that would attach to him, if he should be supposed to engender in his soldiers a taste for rapine and cruelty, checked the fury of his men, and they obeyed. The rage of civil war was over, and against foreign enemies there was less violence of feeling. Their attention was immediately turned to the legions summoned from *Mediomatricum*, who presented a spectacle truly wretched. Conscious of their guilt, they stood overwhelmed with grief, with their eyes fixed on the ground. Between the two armies no mutual salutation passed when they met. They heard the words of consolation and encouragement, but made no answer, skulking to their tents, and shunning even the light of day. Nor was it so much a sense of danger and fear that had confounded them as shame and humiliation ; while even the victors were overpowered by their feelings, not daring to lift up their voices and entreat for them, but interceding for their pardon with tears and silent appeals, till at length Cerealis soothed their minds by declaring that all that had happened, either in consequence of dissensions among the superior officers, and among the soldiers, or the treachery of the enemy, was the effect of fatal necessity. They must consider that day as the first of their service, and of sworn allegiance. Their former offences, great though they were, neither the emperor nor their general desired to look back upon. They were then admitted into the camp ; and the general gave out orders to every company, that no man should presume, upon any occasion of contest or altercation, to reproach his comrades with having been engaged in sedition, or having suffered a defeat.

73. Cerealis then called an assembly of the *Treverians* and *Lingones*, and thus addressed them: "Eloquence, indeed, is a talent which I never cultivated. In the field of battle I have maintained the character of the Roman people for valour. But as words weigh with you more than anything, and things good and evil are estimated by you, not with reference to their intrinsic merits, but the colouring of incendiaries, I have resolved to address a few words to you, which, now the war is over, it will be more your interest to have heard, than mine to have uttered. The Roman generals and emperors entered your territories, and the other provinces of Gaul, from no lust of conquest, but solicited by your ancestors, at that time

torn by intestine divisions, and driven to the brink of ruin; and when the Germans, whom you called to your aid, enslaved, without distinction, those who invited them, and those who resisted. The battles which Rome has fought with the Teutones and the Cimbrians—her wars in Germany, and the toil and vigour of her legions, with the various events that followed, are all sufficiently known. If our legions were posted on the banks of the Rhine, it was not for the defence of Italy, but lest another Ariovistus should aspire to reign over you. And do you now imagine that Civilis, or the Batavians, or the nations beyond the Rhine, have that affection for you and your welfare which your forefathers never experienced from their ancestors? The same motives that first incited the Germans to cross the Rhine, will ever subsist: ambition, avarice, and the love of new settlements: ready, at all times, to change their swampy fens and barren deserts to get possession of your fertile plains and yourselves. But liberty and specious pretences are employed to veil their designs; nor did ever any man desire to reduce others to servitude and subjection to himself, that he did not use those same terms.

74. “Your country, till you put yourselves under our protection, was at all times harassed with wars, and oppressed by tyrants. Rome, though so often provoked by war, imposed upon you by the right of conquest that only which was necessary to preserve peace. For to maintain the tranquillity of nations, arms are necessary; soldiers must be kept in pay; and without a tribute supplies cannot be raised. All other things are placed upon a footing of equality. Our legions are often commanded by you; you are governors of your own provinces, and even of others. Nothing is reserved to ourselves, no exclusiveness exercised. Does a virtuous prince reign at Rome? though placed at a distance, you feel the mildness of his government equally with ourselves. Tyrants turn their rage upon those immediately within their reach. In the same manner as you submit to excessive rains, and barren seasons, and all the other calamities of nature, so also put up with the avarice and prodigality of princes. As long as human nature remains there will be faults. But even these are not unvaried; but are compensated by the occasional display of better qualities. Unless, perhaps, you expect from Tutor and Classicus a milder and more equitable reign; or that under their auspices armies will be raised to repel the Germans and the Britons, by means of lighter tributes than are now paid.

For if the Roman dominion is repudiated, (which may the gods avert!) what other consequence will result than that all the nations will be engaged in war with each other? During a space of eight hundred years, this fabric of empire has been raised by good fortune and strict discipline; nor can it be torn down without bringing ruin upon its destroyers. But you will be exposed to the greatest danger. You have gold and riches, those great incentives to war. Cherish, therefore, and honour peace and the city of Rome: a city whose privileges we enjoy, alike the conqueror and the conquered. Let the experience you have had of the vicissitudes of fortune instruct you to prefer submission with security to rebellion with ruin." Such was the speech in which he allayed the fears, and revived the hopes of the Gauls, who apprehended severer treatment.

75. The Treverian state was occupied by the victorious army, when Cerealis received letters from Civilis and Classicus, the purport of which was, that Vespasian, though they suppressed the intelligence, was no more; that Italy and Rome were reduced to the last extremity by intestine war; that the names of Domitian and Mucianus carried no weight or authority with them. If Cerealis aspired to the sovereignty of Gaul, Civilis and Classicus would rest contented with the limits of their own states. If he preferred the decision of the sword, they did not decline even that. To this message Cerealis returned no answer, but sent the letter, and the person who brought it, to Domitian. Meanwhile, the barbarians, in detached parties, came pouring down from every quarter. Cerealis was generally censured for suffering the forces to form a junction, when he might have cut them off in detail. The Roman army threw a fosse and rampart round the camp, which he had occupied hitherto in an unprotected state.

76. The Germans were arrayed against each other in a conflict of opinions. Civilis was for waiting the arrival of the nations beyond the Rhine, with the terror of whose name the Roman forces would be disheartened, and yield an easy victory. What more were the Gauls than a ready prey to the conqueror? and yet the Belgians, the main strength of the nation, were with them, either avowedly, or in their hearts. Tutor maintained that, by protracting the war the Roman power would increase, as their legions were drawing together from all parts. One was already arrived from Britain, others were summoned from Spain, and more were on their march from Italy;



not tumultuary bands, but veterans inured to war. He alleged, too, that the Germans, for whom they should wait, listened to no orders, submitted to no rule, but were governed solely by caprice; that money and presents, the sole objects for which they bartered their principles, were possessed in a superior degree by the Romans, and that no man was so addicted to arms as not to prefer the same reward for repose to incurring danger for it. But if they engaged the enemy immediately, Cerealis had no legions except those saved from the wreck of the Germanic army, who were bound by treaties with the states of Gaul: and the very circumstance of their having lately routed an undisciplined band under Valentinus, contrary to their own expectations, would minister to their own temerity and that of their general. They would venture again, and would encounter, not an untutored boy, whose thoughts were occupied with words and harangues more than steel and arms, but Civilis and Classicus; whom they will no sooner have set eyes upon than their former fears will again take possession of their minds, their former flight and famine, and the thought of the many occasions in which they had been captured, and held their lives at the mercy of others. Nor were the Treverians and Lingonians bound to them by affection; they would take up arms against them again when their fear was removed. Classicus put an end to the war of opinion by approving of the sentiments of Tutor, and they proceeded to carry them into effect.

77. In the centre of their array were the Ubians and Lingonians, the Batavian cohorts in the right wing, the Bructerians and Tencterians in the left. They made their assault with such suddenness, one division from the hills, another along the plain between the high road and the Moselle, that Cerealis, who passed the night out of his camp, received in bed the news of the attack and the defeat at once, rebuking the timidity of the messengers; but at length the whole extent of the disaster presented itself to his view. The Germans had forced the entrenchments of the legions; the cavalry were routed; and the bridge over the Moselle, which forming a communication connected the parts beyond it with the colony, was in possession of the enemy. Cerealis, undismayed in the midst of this confusion and alarm, and staying the fugitives with his own hand, exposed himself unsparingly amidst the weapons of the enemy though his person was unprotected; and by a happy effort of desperate courage, with the prompt assistance of the most intrepid of his troops, suc-

ceeded in recapturing the bridge, and securing it by a chosen band. Then returning to the camp, he saw the legions which had been captured at Novesium and Bonna, dispersed in wild disorder, their standards well nigh abandoned, and the eagles in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy. Fired with indignation, he exclaimed, "It is not Flaccus, it is not Vocula, whom you thus abandon. There is no treachery here; nor have I anything to be apologised for, except that I was simple enough to believe that you had blotted out the remembrance of your Gallic alliance, and had returned to your former obligation of fealty to Rome. I shall be numbered with the murdered generals; stretch me in death with the Herennii and Numisii; that all your commanders may have perished by the hands of their soldiers, or of the enemy. Go, tell Vespasian, or, if you will, tell Classicus and Civilis, for they are nearer, that you have deserted your general in the battle. But remember the legions will come, who will neither leave me unavenged, nor you unpunished."

78. These reproaches were founded in truth; and the tribunes and other officers assailed them with the same topics. The soldiers rallied and formed by cohorts and companies. Indeed, as the enemy had advanced with precipitation, and the tents and baggage obstructed them, for the fight took place within the rampart, their line could not extend itself. Tutor, Classicus, and Civilis, each in his station, kept up the spirit of the battle, urging the Gauls to fight for liberty, the Batavians for glory, and the Germans by motives of plunder. All things conspired in their favour, till the one-and-twentieth legion, having more space than the rest, forming into a dense body, sustained the shock of the charge, and soon after made them give way. Nor was it without divine interposition that the victors, their courage all at once forsaking them, turned their backs. Their consternation, as they themselves pretended, was occasioned by the appearance of the cohorts, which, having been dispersed on the first onset, rallied on the topmost ridges, and produced an impression that they were a fresh reinforcement. But the fact is, that when on the point of gaining the day, they were impeded by a pernicious rivalry in securing plunder, in the mean time intermitting their exertions against the enemy. Cerealis, as by his carelessness he well nigh ruined all, so by his intrepidity restored things; and following up his success, captured and razed the camp of the enemy the same day.

79. The interval allowed to the soldiers for repose from their fatigue was but short. The Agrippinians implored his aid, offering to deliver up the wife and sister of Civilis, with the daughter of Classicus, all left in their hands as pledges of the alliance. They had, during this time, massacred all the Germans who were amongst them in their several houses; whence their fears and natural entreaties for succours, before the enemy should prepare themselves for any object of ambition, or to avenge their slaughtered countrymen. For Civilis had his thoughts directed to that quarter, having no mean force at his command, with a cohort of resistless bravery and unimpaired strength, composed of Chaucians and Frisians, and posted at Tolbiacum, in the Agrippinian territory. But he was diverted by the mournful intelligence that the cohort was annihilated by a stratagem of the Agrippinians, who, when the Germans were asleep, after a copious feast and drinking bout, fastened the doors, set fire to their habitations, and burned them. At the same time, Cerealis made a forced march to the relief of the city. Civilis was now beset by another source of fear, lest the fourteenth legion, co-operating with the fleet from Britain, might harass the Batavians on the sea-coast. That legion, however, marched over land, under the conduct of Fabius Priscus, to invade the Tungrians and the Nervians; and those two states submitted to the Romans. The Canninefates, assuming an offensive attitude, attacked the fleet, and either took or sunk the greatest part. By the same people a large body of the Nervians, who had voluntarily taken up arms in favour of the Romans, was overthrown. Classicus also fought with a party of horse, detached by Cerealis to Novesium, with good success. These advantages, small it is true, but coming one after another, damaged the eclat of the recently obtained victory.

80. During these transactions, Mucianus ordered the son of Vitellius to be put to death, alleging, as his excuse for it, that discord would continue to prevail unless he extirpated the seeds of dissension. Nor did he suffer Antonius Primus to be summoned by Domitian to form one of his attendants in the expedition, being jealous of his favour with the soldiery, and the lofty bearing of the man, who was so impatient of a superior, that he could not even brook an equal. Antonius went to join Vespasian, by whom he was received, not indeed answerably to his own anticipations, but still not in a manner which indicated any aversion on the part of the emperor. Ves-

pasian was acted upon by conflicting considerations; on the one hand by the services of Antonius, under whose conduct the war was unquestionably terminated; on the other by the letters of Mucianus. The other courtiers also represented him in odious colours, as morose and overbearing, not forgetting the imputations that attached to his earlier years. Antonius himself, too, provoked animosities by his arrogance, for he was too fond of magnifying his own merits. Others he censured as men of no capacity for war; Cæcina he stigmatised as a captive, and one that could not hold out. The consequence was, that he grew daily more despised and despicable, though the emperor still kept up an appearance of friendship with him.

81. In the course of those months during which Vespasian was waiting at Alexandria for the periodical season of the summer winds, and a safe navigation, many miracles occurred, by which the favour of heaven and a sort of bias in the powers above towards Vespasian were manifested. One of the common people of Alexandria, known to have a disease in his eyes, embraced the knees of the emperor, importuning with groans a remedy for his blindness. In this he acted in compliance with the admonition of the god Serapis, whom that nation, devoted to superstition, honours above all other gods; and he prayed the emperor that he would deign to sprinkle his cheeks and the balls of his eyes with the secretion of his mouth. Another, who was diseased in the hand, at the instance of the same god, entreated that he might be pressed by the foot and sole of Cæsar. Vespasian at first ridiculed the request, and treated it with contempt; but when they persisted, at one time he dreaded the imputation of weakness, at another he was led to hope for success, by the supplications of the men themselves, and the encouragements of his flatterers. Lastly, he ordered that the opinion of physicians should be taken, as to whether a blindness and lameness of these kinds could be got the better of by human power. The physicians' stated various points: that in the one the power of vision was not wholly destroyed, and that it would be restored if the obstacles were removed; in the other, that the joints which had become diseased might be renovated, if a healing power were applied; such peradventure was the pleasure of the gods, and the emperor was chosen to perform their will. To sum up all, that the glory of accomplishing the cure would be Cæsar's, the ridicule of its failure would rest upon the sufferers. Accordingly, under an impres-

sion that everything was within the power of his fortune, and that after what had occurred nothing was incredible, with a cheerful countenance himself, and while the multitude that stood by waited the event in all the confidence of anticipated success, Vespasian excuted what was required of him. Immediately the hand was restored to its functions, and the light of day shone again to the blind. Persons who were present even now attest the truth of both these transactions, when there is nothing to be gained by falsehood.

82. After this, Vespasian conceived a deeper desire to visit the sanctuary of Serapis, in order to consult the god about affairs of the empire. He ordered all persons to be excluded from the temple; and lo, when he entered, and his thoughts were fixed on the deity, he perceived behind him a man of principal note among the Egyptians, named Basilides, whom, at that moment, he knew to be detained by illness at a distance of several days' journey from Alexandria. Vespasian inquired of the priests, whether Basilides that day had entered the temple. He asked of others whom he met, whether he was seen in the city. At length, from messengers whom he despatched on horseback, he received certain intelligence, that Basilides was at that instant of time, eighty miles distant from Alexandria. He then concluded that it was a divine vision, and deduced the import of the response from the name of Basilides.

83. The origin of the god Serapis, is a subject hitherto not much discussed by Roman writers; the account given by the priests of Egypt is as follows: At the time when Ptolemy, the first of the Macedonian race, who consolidated the power of Egypt, was adding walls and temples and religious institutions to the new-built city of Alexandria, a youth of surpassing grace, and in appearance transcending the human form, presented himself to him in the night, commanding him to send some of his most trusty friends into Pontus, to bring from that place his effigy; that it would be a source of prosperity to his kingdom, and great and glorious would be the country that gave reception to it. In that instant the youth was seen mounting to heaven in a column of fire. Ptolemy, struck with the omen and the marvellous event, laid his visions of the night before the Egyptian priests, the usual interpreters of such things. And as they had no knowledge of Pontus, nor of foreign matters, he asked Timotheus, the Athenian, one of the race of the Eumolpidæ, whom he had invited from Eleusis, to preside over the mysteries of reli-

gion, what were those rights and ceremonies, and who was the deity alluded to? Timotheus, upon inquiry of such as had travelled into Pontus, learned that there was in those parts a city called Sinope, and near it a temple celebrated from of old among the neighbouring people, sacred to the infernal Jupiter; for there also stood near him a female effigy, which many called Proserpina. But Ptolemy, such is the character of despotic kings, easily alarmed, but when his fears had subsided, more eager in pursuit of his pleasures than concerned about religious matters, came by degrees to think nothing about it, and devoted his attention to other objects; till at length the same form, now more terrific in aspect, and more urgent in his manner, denounced destruction to himself and his kingdom, unless his behests were fulfilled. He then ordered ambassadors and presents to be despatched to Scydrothemis the king, who then ruled over the Sinopians, and enjoined them, when about to sail, to repair to the Pythian Apollo. They sailed with favourable winds, and had a quick passage. The answer of the oracle was in explicit terms: "That they should go and bring back the statue of his father, and leave unmoved that of his sister."

84. Having reached Sinope, they delivered the presents, supplications, and instructions of their king to Scydrothemis. Fluctuating in his resolves, one while he dreaded the displeasure of the deity, again, he was alarmed by the menaces of the people, who opposed the request; oft-times the gifts and presents of the ambassadors moved him; and after three years had been spent, while these proceedings were going on, Ptolemy omitted no efforts of zeal, no methods of supplication; he added to the dignity of his ambassadors, increased the number of ships, and augmented the weight of gold. A threatening vision then appeared to Scydrothemis, warning him no longer to impede the appointment of a god. The king still hesitating, was harassed by a variety of disasters, diseases, tokens of divine vengeance which could not be mistaken, and daily increasing in severity. He called an assembly of the people, and laid before them the orders of the god, the visions of Ptolemy and himself, and the miseries that threatened them. The populace turned away in disgust from their sovereign; envied the Egyptian monarch, trembled for themselves, and beset the temple. Hence a more marvellous report states that the god, of his own motion, quitted the temple, and embarked on board the fleet that lay at the shore; and wonderful to relate, they came to land at Alexandria, on the third day from that time, after measuring

so great an expanse of sea. A temple, such as suited a great and opulent city, was built at a place called Rhacotis, where, in ancient times, a chapel had been dedicated to Serapis and Isis. Such is the most generally received history of the god Serapis, and his conveyance into Egypt. I am aware that there are those who state that he was brought from Seleucia, a city of Syria, in the reign of that Ptolemy whom the third generation produced; others assert that he was brought from Memphis, formerly a celebrated city and the pillar of ancient Egypt, by the same Ptolemy. The god himself, on account of his healing art, is by many called Æsculapius; by others, Osiris, the most ancient deity of the country; and many give him the name of Jupiter, as lord of the universe. But the most maintain that he is Pluto; either from tokens which are discernible in the deity himself, or by a circuitous process of probable reasoning.

85. As for Domitian and Mucianus, before they reached the foot of the Alps, they received advices of the victory gained in the country of the Treverians. Of this victory the best evidence was afforded by the presence of Valentinus, the general of the enemy, who appeared by no means cast down, but exhibited in his looks the determined spirit that had animated him in the field. He was heard in his defence, for the mere object of ascertaining the character of his mind, and was condemned. While under the hands of the executioner, some one remarked insultingly, that his country was reduced to subjection, when he replied, that that circumstance consoled him in his death. But Mucianus now declared, as an idea which occurred to him at the time, what he had long harboured in his breast: "that as by the blessing of the gods the power of the enemy was crushed, it would be hardly becoming in Domitian, now that the war was brought to the verge of a successful termination, to step in and seize the glory which belonged to another. If the repose of the empire, or the safety of the Gauls, were in jeopardy, then Cæsar ought to appear in the field; but the Canninefates and Batavians should be delegated to inferior generals. Domitian himself should remain at Lyons, and at a short distance from the seat of war, dazzle the enemy with the power and auspicious fortune of the principedom: neither condescending to engage in affairs of minor importance, nor wanting when great occasions occurred.

86. His artifices were seen through, but the respect due to his station required that they should not be exposed. Thus they arrived at Lyons, from which place

Domitian is believed to have sent secret messengers to sound Cerealis as to whether on his appearance he would place the army and the command in his hands. Whether Domitian had it in contemplation, when he thought of this proceeding, to levy war against his father, or to support and strengthen himself against his brother Titus, remains uncertain; for Cerealis, by a judicious middle course, evaded his question, as proceeding from one who in the inexperience of youth desired what was ridiculous. Domitian, seeing himself slighted by older officers, ceased to discharge even those functions of empire which were of limited importance, and which he had been in the habit of exercising; burying himself in the depths of his own reflections, while he exhibited externally a semblance of simplicity and modesty, affecting the pursuit of letters and a passion for poetry to veil his real purposes and withdraw himself from the jealousy of his brother, whose dissimilar and milder nature he mistook for its opposite.



# THE HISTORY OF TACITUS.

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## BOOK V.

IN the beginning of the same year, Titus, who was appointed by his father to complete the subjugation of Judæa, and who, when both were no higher than subjects, had gained a reputation for military talents, now exercised a more extended influence, and shone with augmented lustre; the provinces and armies emulating each other in their zeal and attachment to him. Titus, on his part, that he might be thought deserving of still higher distinctions, appeared in all the splendour of external embellishments, and showed himself a prompt and resolute soldier, challenging respect by courtesy and affability; mixing with the common soldiers when engaged in the works and on their march, without impairing the dignity of the general. He succeeded to the command of three legions in Judæa, the fifth, the tenth, and the fifteenth; who had long served under Vespasian. To these he added the twelfth, from Syria; and the third, and twenty-second, withdrawn from Alexandria. He was attended, besides, by twenty cohorts of the allies, and eight squadrons of horse, with the two kings Agrippa and Sohemus, and auxiliaries from Antiochus. He had also a band of Arabs, formidable in themselves, and harbouring towards the Jews the bitter animosity usually subsisting between neighbouring nations. Many persons had come from Rome and Italy, each impelled by the hopes he had of preoccupying the favour of a prince who had not yet chosen his friends. With this force Titus advancing into the enemy's country in order of battle, by his scouts diligently exploring the motions of the enemy, and prepared for action, formed a camp a short distance from Jerusalem.

2. Being now about to relate the catastrophe of that celebrated city, it seems fitting that I should unfold the particulars of its origin. The Jews, we are told, escaping from the island of Crete, at the time when Saturn was driven from his throne by the violence of Jupiter, settled

extreme parts of Libya. Their name is adduced as a proof. *Ida*, it is alleged, is a well known mountain in *Crete*: the neighbouring *Idæans*, by an addition to the name to adapt it to the language of barbarians, are ordinarily called *Judæans*. Some say that the population, overflowing throughout *Egypt*, in the reign of *Isis*, was relieved by emigration into the neighbouring countries, under the conduct of *Hierosolymus* and *Juda*. Many state that they are the progeny of the *Æthiopians*, who were impelled by fear and detestation to change their abode in the reign of king *Cepheus*. There are those who report that they are a heterogeneous band from *Assyria*, a people who, being destitute of a country, made themselves masters of a portion of *Ægypt*, and subsequently settled in cities of their own in the Hebrew territories, and the parts bordering on *Syria*. Others, ascribing to the *Jews* an illustrious origin, say that the *Solyimi*, a nation celebrated in the poetry of *Homer*, called the city which they built *Hierosolyma*, from their own name.

3. Very many authors agree in recording that a pestilential disease, which disfigured the body in a loathsome manner, spreading over *Egypt*, *Bocchoris*, at that time king, repairing to the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in quest of a remedy, was directed to purify his kingdom, and exterminate that race of men as being detested by the gods. That a mass of people thus searched out and collected together were in a wild and barren desert abandoned to their misery, when, all the rest being bathed in tears and torpid with despair, *Moses*, one of the exiles, admonished them not to look for any aid from gods or men, being deserted of both, but to trust themselves to him as a heaven-commissioned guide, by whose aid already they had warded off the miseries that beset them. They assented, and commenced a venturous journey, not knowing whither they went. But nothing distressed them so much as want of water; and now they lay stretched through all the plains, ready to expire, when a herd of wild asses, returning from pasture, went up a rock shaded with a grove. *Moses* followed them, and forming his conjecture by the herbage that grew upon the ground, opened copious springs of water. This was a relief; and pursuing their journey for six days without intermission, on the seventh, having expelled the natives, they took possession of a country, where they built their city, and dedicated their temple.

4. In order to bind the people to him for the time to come, *Moses* prescribed to them a new form of worship, and

opposed to those of all the world beside. Whatever is held sacred by the Romans, with the Jews is profane: and what in other nations is unlawful and impure, with them is permitted. The figure of the animal through whose guidance they slaked their thirst, and were enabled to terminate their wanderings, is consecrated in the sanctuary of their temple; while in contempt of Jupiter Hammon, they sacrifice a ram. The ox, worshipped in Egypt for the god Apis, is slain as a victim by the Jews. They abstain from the flesh of swine, from the recollection of the loathsome affliction which they had formerly suffered from leprosy, to which that animal is subject. The famine, with which they were for a long time distressed, is still commemorated by frequent fastings; and the Jewish bread, made without leaven, is a standing evidence of their seizure of corn. They say that they instituted a rest on the seventh day because that day brought them rest from their toils; but afterwards, charmed with the pleasures of idleness, the seventh year also was devoted to sloth. Others allege that this is an honour rendered to Saturn, either because their religious institutes were handed down by the Idæans, who, we are informed, were expelled from their country with Saturn, and were the founders of the nation; or else because that of the seven stars, by which men are governed, the star of Saturn moves in the highest orbit, and exercises the greatest influence; and most of the heavenly bodies complete their effects and course by the number seven.

5. These rites and ceremonies, howsoever introduced, have the support of antiquity. Their other institutions, which have been extensively adopted, are tainted with execrable knavery; for the scum and refuse of other nations, renouncing the religion of their country, were in the habit of bringing gifts and offerings to Jerusalem: Hence the wealth and grandeur of the state; and also because faith is inviolably observed, and compassion is cheerfully shown towards each other, while the bitterest animosity is harboured against all others. They eat and lodge with one another only; and, though a people of unbridled lust, they admit no intercourse with women from other nations. Among themselves no restraints are imposed. That they may be known by a distinctive mark, they have established the practice of circumcision. All, who embrace their faith submit to the same operation. The first thing instilled into their proselytes is to despise the gods, to abjure their country, to set at nought parents, children, brothers. They show concern, however, for the increase

of their population, for it is forbidden to put any of their brethren to death; and the souls of such as die in battle, or by the hand of the executioner, are thought to be immortal. Hence their desire of procreation, and contempt of death. The bodies of the deceased they choose rather to bury than burn, following in this the Ægyptian custom; with whom they also agree in their attention to the dead, and their persuasion as to the regions below, but are opposed to them in their notions about celestial things. The Ægyptians worship various animals and images, the work of man's hands; the Jews acknowledge one God only, and conceive of him by the mind alone, condemning, as impious, all who, with perishable materials, wrought into the human shape, form representations of the Deity. That being, they say, is above all, and everlasting, neither susceptible of likeness nor subject to decay. In consequence they allow no resemblance of him in their city, much less in their temples. In this way they do not flatter their kings, nor show their respect for the Cæsars. But because their priests performed in concert with the pipe and timbrels, were crowned with ivy, and a golden vine was found in the temple, some have supposed that Bacchus, the conqueror of the East, was the object of their adoration; but the Jewish institutions have no conformity whatever to the rites of Bacchus. For Bacchus has ordained festive and jocund rites, while the usages of the Jews are dull and repulsive.

6. Their land is bounded and their borders are formed on the east by Arabia; on the southern confine lies Egypt; on the west Phœnicia and the sea; they command an extended range northward on the side of Syria. The natives are robust, and patient of labour. Rain is seldom seen, and the soil is rich and fertile. The productions of the earth are such as are usually found with us, and besides them palms and the balm tree flourish in great luxuriance. The palm groves are beautiful and lofty; the balm is of moderate size. As the branches successively swell, if you apply the force of iron the veins shrink, but they may be made to discharge by the fragment of a stone or by a shell; the fluid is employed as a medicine. The principal mountain which this country rears aloft is Libanus, which, astonishing to be related, in a climate intensely hot, is kept cool by its shady groves, and affords a secure retreat for snows. From this mountain the river Jordan springs, and receives its supply of waters. The stream does not discharge itself into the sea; it runs into two different lakes, without mixing with them, and is ab-

sorbed into a third. The last of these lakes is of immense circuit, resembling a sea, but more nauseous in taste, and, by the offensiveness of its odour, pestiferous to the neighbourhood. The wind does not stir its surface, nor can fish or water fowl endure it. The equivocal waters sustain things thrown upon them as if they were thrown upon a solid material; those who are able to swim and those who are not are equally upborne. At a stated season of the year, the lake throws up bitumen. Experience, the mother of all useful arts, has taught men the method of gathering it. It is a liquid substance, naturally of a black hue, and by sprinkling vinegar upon it, it floats on the surface in a condensed mass, which those whose business it is lay hold of with the hand, and draw to the upper parts of the vessel; thence it continues to flow in and load the vessel, till you cut it off. Nor could you cut it off with brass or iron. It shrinks from the touch of red blood, or a garment stained with the sanguineous fluid which females discharge monthly. Such is the account transmitted to us by ancient authors; but persons acquainted with the country, record that waving masses of bitumen are driven towards the shore, or drawn by the hand; and when by the vapour from the land, or the heat of the sun, they have dried, they are cut asunder, like wood or stone, by wedges, or the stroke of the hatchet.

7. At a small distance from the lake are plains, which tradition says were formerly a fruitful country, and occupied by populous cities, but had been destroyed by thunderbolts. Traces still remain, we are told, and that the soil, in appearance parched with fire, has lost the power of bringing forth fruits. For all things, whether spontaneously produced or planted by the hand of man, whether they grow to the extent of the blade only and the flower, or their ordinary form, blackened and insubstantial, crumble into ashes. For my part, as I would admit that cities once famous have been destroyed by fire from heaven, so am I of opinion that the earth is tainted by the exhalation from the lake, the superincumbent air contaminated, and that, therefore, the young plants of corn, and the fruits of autumn, wither away, the soil and air alike being infected. There is also a river named Belus, which glides into the Judæan sea; sands are found in the neighbourhood of its mouth, which mixed with nitre are fused into glass. The shore is of moderate extent, and affords an exhaustless supply to those who dig it out.

8. A great portion of Judæa consists of scattered villages. They have likewise towns. Jerusalem is the

capital of the nation. There stands a temple of immense wealth; the city is enclosed by the first fortifications you meet with; the royal palace by the second; the temple by the inmost. A Jew is not admitted beyond the portal. All, except the priests, are excluded from the threshold. While the Assyrians, and after them the Medes and Persians, were masters of the East, the Jews, of all the nations then held in subjection, were deemed the vilest. After the Macedonian monarchy was established, king Antiochus having formed a plan to abolish their superstition, and introduce the manners and institutions of Greece, was prevented by a war with the Parthians (for Arsaces had then revolted) from reforming this execrable nation. In process of time, when the Macedonians were by degrees enfeebled, when the Parthian state was in its infancy, and the Romans were at a distance, the Jews seized the opportunity to erect a monarchy of their own. Their kings were soon deposed by the caprice and levity of the people; but having recovered the throne by force of arms, and having dared to drive citizens into exile, demolish cities, put to death brothers, wives, and parents, and all the cruelties usual with despotic kings, they encouraged the superstition, because they took to themselves the dignity of the priesthood as a support of their power.

9. Pompey was the first Roman that subdued the Jews, and by right of conquest entered their temple. Thenceforward it became generally known that the habitation was empty, and the sanctuary unoccupied, no representation of the deity being found within it. The walls of the city were levelled to the ground; the temple remained. In the civil wars that afterwards shook the empire, when the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Mark Antony, Pacorus, the Parthian king, made himself master of Judæa; but was, in a short time after, put to death by Ventidius, and his forces retired beyond the Euphrates. Caius Sosius once more reduced the Jews to obedience. Herod was placed on the throne by Mark Antony, and Augustus enlarged his privileges. On the death of Herod, a man of the name of Simon, without waiting for the authority of the emperor, seized the sovereignty. He, however, was punished for his ambition by Quinctilius Varus, the governor of Syria; and the nation, reduced to submission, were divided in three portions between the sons of Herod. During the reign of Tiberius things remained in a state of tranquillity. Afterwards, being ordered by Caligula to place his statue in the temple, the

Jews, rather than submit, had recourse to arms. This commotion the death of Caligula extinguished. Claudius, the Jewish kings being either dead, or their dominion reduced to narrow limits, committed the province of Judæa to Roman knights, or his freedmen. One of these, Antonius Felix, exercised the prerogatives of a king with the spirit of a slave, rioting in cruelty and licentiousness. He married Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, that he might be grandson-in-law of Mark Antony, who was the grandfather of Claudius.

10. The patience, however of the Jews held out to the time of Cassius Florus, the procurator. Under him a war broke out. Cestius Gallius, the governor of Syria, endeavoured to crush the revolt. He fought some obstinate battles, most of them unsuccessfully. After his death, which happened either by destiny or from disappointment and vexation, Vespasian, who was sent by Nero, succeeded to the command. By his character, the good fortune that attended his arms, and with the advantage of excellent officers, in two summer campaigns he overran the whole country, and made himself master of all the cities except Jerusalem. The following year, which was devoted to civil war, passed in tranquillity so far as concerned the Jews. The peace of Italy restored, the care of foreign affairs returned. It enflamed his resentment that the Jews were the only nation that had not submitted. At the same time it was deemed politic for Titus to remain at the head of the armies, with a view to any events or casualties that might arise under the new reign. Accordingly the prince, as already mentioned, encamped under the walls of Jerusalem, and displayed his legions in the face of the enemy.

11. The Jews formed in order of battle under the very walls, determined, if successful, to push forward; and, if obliged to give ground, secure of a retreat. The cavalry, with the light-armed cohorts, sent against them, fought with doubtful success. Soon the enemy gave way, and on the following days engaged in frequent skirmishes before the gates, till at length, after a series of losses, they were forced to retire within the walls. The Romans resolved now to carry the place by storm. To linger before it, till famine compelled a surrender, appeared indeed unworthy of them, and the soldiers demanded the post of danger, some from courage, many from hardihood and the hope of gaining rewards. Rome, her splendours and her pleasures, kept flitting before the eyes of Titus himself; and if Jerusalem did not fall at once, he looked

upon it as obstructing his enjoyments. But Jerusalem, standing upon an eminence, naturally difficult of approach, was rendered still more impregnable by redoubts and bulwarks, by which even places on a level plain would have been competently fortified. Two hills that rose to a prodigious height, were inclosed by walls constructed so as in some places to project in angles, in others to curve inwards. In consequence the flanks of the besiegers were exposed to the enemy's weapons. The extremities of the rock were abrupt and craggy. And the towers were built, upon the mountain, sixty feet high, in the low ground, a hundred and twenty feet. These works presented a spectacle altogether astonishing. To the distant eye they seemed to be of equal elevation. Within the city there were other fortifications inclosing the palace of the kings, and the tower of Antonia, with its conspicuous pinnacles, so called by Herod, in honour of Mark Antony.

12. The temple itself was in the nature of a citadel, inclosed in walls of its own, and more elaborate and massy than the rest. The very porticoes that surrounded it were a capital defence. A perennial spring supplied the place with water. Subterraneous caverns were scooped out in the mountains, and there were basins and tanks as reservoirs of rain-water. It was foreseen by the founders of the city, that the manners and institutions of the nation, so repugnant to the rest of mankind, would be productive of frequent wars; hence every kind of provision against a siege, howsoever protracted; and exposed as they had been to the successful assault of Pompey, their fears and experience had taught them many expedients. On the other hand, having purchased the privilege of raising fortifications through the venality of the Claudian times, they constructed such walls in a period of peace as showed they had an eye to war; while their numbers were augmented by a conflux of people from every quarter, and from the overthrow of other cities; for all the most indomitable spirits took refuge with them; and by consequence they lived in a state of greater dissension. They had three armies, and as many generals. The outward walls, which were of the widest extent, were defended by Simon: John, otherwise called Bargioras, guarded the middle precinct. The two former were strong in the number of men; the latter in situation. But battles, plots, and burnings occurred among themselves, and a large quantity of grain was consumed by fire. After a short time, John, sending a band of assassins under colour of performing a sacrifice, to cut off Eleazar and his party,



gained possession of the temple. From that time the citizens separated into two factions; and in this state they continued till the Romans approaching, an enemy without produced unanimity within.

13. Prodigies had occurred which that race, enslaved to superstition, but opposed to religion, held it unlawful, either by vows or victims, to expiate. Embattled armies were seen rushing to the encounter, with burnished arms, and the whole temple appeared to blaze with fire that flashed from the clouds. Suddenly the portals of the sanctuary were flung wide open, and a voice, in more than mortal accents, was heard to announce that the gods are going forth; at the same time a prodigious bustle, as of persons taking their departure. Occurrences which few interpreted as indicative of impending woe: the majority were deeply impressed with a persuasion that it was contained in the ancient writings of the priests, that it would come to pass at that very time, that the East would renew its strength, and they that should go forth from Judæa should be rulers of the world. Mysterious words, which foreshowed Vespasian and Titus: but the people, according to the usual course of human fondness, interpreting this consummation of destiny as referring to themselves, were not induced to abandon their error even by affliction. We learn that the number of the besieged of every age, male and female, was six hundred thousand; all that were capable bore arms, and more than could be expected out of that number had the fortitude to do so. The devotion of the women was equal to that of the men; and if they must needs move their seat, and quit the habitation of their fathers, they dreaded to live more than to die. Such was the city, such the nation, against which Titus Cæsar determined to act by means of mounds and mantelets, since the nature of the locality was adverse to assault and sudden attacks. The legions had each their several duties assigned them, and there was a cessation of fighting until all the engines and appliances for reducing cities, invented by ancient or modern genius, were prepared.

14. As for Civilis, after the check he had received in the country of the Treverians, having recruited his army by supplies in Germany, he fixed his station in the Old Camp, depending on the strength of the place, and that the recollection of the exploits already performed there might increase the confidence of the barbarians. Cerealis followed him thither, with an army doubled by the junction of the second, sixth, and fourteenth legions; and the cohorts and cavalry, which had some time before received

orders to come up to his assistance, had quickened their motions after the victory. Neither of the commanders was an advocate for slow operations; but the extent of the plains, naturally marshy, kept them apart; and Cerealis had increased their moisture by erecting a mole athwart the Rhine, by which obstruction the water was thrown back and spread over the adjacent regions. Such was the nature of the place, deceptive from the unknown variations in the depth, and unfavourable to us, inasmuch as the Roman soldiers wore heavy armour, and were fearful of getting out of their depth; the Germans, on the contrary, accustomed to rivers, were enabled to keep their heads above water from the lightness of their arms, and the height of their persons.

15. The Batavians therefore endeavouring to provoke a battle, the most forward of our men commenced an engagement. A scene of confusion followed, when arms and horses as well disappeared in the deeper parts of the marshes. The Germans, who knew the shallow places, skipped about with ease and safety, for the most part declining an attack in front, but wheeling round upon our flank and rear. Nor was the contest carried on at close quarters as in a regular engagement upon land, but as if it were a naval combat the men shifted about amidst the waters, or if any firm footing presented itself, there grappling with their whole bodies at liberty, the wounded with the unwounded, those who could swim with those who could not, were inextricably engaged in mutual destruction. The carnage however was not proportioned to the confusion, because the Romans not venturing to quit the marsh returned to their camp. The issue of this encounter stimulated both the generals, but with opposite motives, to expedite a decisive engagement; Civilis to follow up his good fortune, Cerealis to efface the stain of failure. The Germans were flushed with their success, the Romans were goaded on by a sense of shame. The night was spent by the barbarians in songs and shouting: by our men in rage and menaces.

16. Next day Cerealis formed his entire front with his cavalry and auxiliary cohorts; the legions were posted behind them. He reserved for himself a chosen band, to act as occasion might require. Civilis formed not in an extended line, but in platoons. On the right stood the Batavians and Gugerians; the left was occupied by the Germans, with the Rhine on their flank. No general harangue was made to either army; the commanders, on both sides, exhorting their men as they came up to them.

Cerealis called to mind the established renown of the Roman name, and their victories of ancient as well as modern date. "In order to extirpate for ever a faithless, dastard, vanquished enemy, it was necessary to go and inflict the punishment due to his guilt, rather than to fight with him. In the late engagement they were inferior in number, and yet the Germans, the bravest of the enemy's troops, fled before them. There remained some still who in their minds bore the memory of their flight, and on their backs the marks of wounds." He next applied to the legions the incitements peculiarly suited to each. The fourteenth he called the conquerors of Britain; the example of the sixth, he said, raised Galba to the imperial dignity. The soldiers of the second, in that battle for the first time, were to consecrate their new banners and their new eagle. From the legions he passed to the German army, and, with hands outstretched, called upon them to redeem, by the blood of the enemy, their own bank of the Rhine, their own camp." The acclamations were the heartier of all those, who either after a long peace were eager for war, or from weariness of war, longed for peace; and who anticipated rewards and tranquillity for the future.

17. Nor did Civilis, when he had formed his troops, omit to address them, appealing to the ground whereon they stood as the witness of their valour. The Batavians and the Germans," he said, "were standing on the monuments of their own fame, treading on the ashes and bones of legions. The Romans, whichever way they turned their eyes, had nothing before them but memorials of captivity and defeat. They ought not to be discouraged at the unfavourable turn of the battle in the Treverian territory; their own victory on that occasion stood in the way of the Germans, whilst neglecting to use their weapons, they encumbered their hands with plunder. From that moment they had met with nothing but success, while the Romans had had to struggle with every difficulty. Whatever provision ought to be made by the skill of a general, had been made—the fields were inundated, while they themselves were aware of their nature, and swamps formed which would prove fatal to their enemies. The Rhine and the gods of Germany were before their eyes, under whose protection he bid them apply themselves to the battle, mindful of their wives, their parents, and their country. That day would either rank them among the most renowned of their ancestors, or hand them down to posterity with infamy." When his words had been applauded by the clangour of arms and dancing

such is their custom, they commenced the battle by a discharge of stone balls and other missiles; but our men did not enter the fens, though the Germans annoyed them for the purpose of drawing them forward.

18. Their store of darts exhausted, and the battle kindling, the enemy charged with greater determination. With their long spears and towering persons, they were able at a distance to pierce the Romans, who were tossed to and fro, and could not keep their footing. A solid mass of the Bructerians, in the form of a wedge, swam across from the mole which, as I have stated, had been extended into the Rhine. In that quarter the Romans were thrown into disorder, and the auxiliary cohorts began to give way, when the legions advanced to sustain the fight; and checking the impetuous career of the enemy, the battle was restored to an equal footing. In that moment, a Batavian deserter came up to Cerealis, and assured him that the enemy might be attacked in the rear, if some cavalry were sent round the extremity of the fen. The ground, he said, was, in that part, firm, and the Gurgernians who guarded that quarter were not on the alert. Two squadrons of horse, sent with the deserter, surrounded the unsuspecting enemy; and the event being announced by a shout, the legions at the same time bore down in front. The barbarians gave way, and fled towards the Rhine. Had the fleet been diligent in pursuing them, that day would have closed the war. The approach of night, and a sudden storm of rain, hindered even the cavalry from following them up.

19. Next day, the fourteenth legion was sent into the upper province to Gallus Annius: Cerealis made up the deficiency thus occasioned in his army, by the tenth from Spain. Civilis was reinforced by the Chaucians; but without attempting to take active measures in defence of the Batavian cities. After carrying off whatever was portable, he set fire to the rest, and retired to the island; aware that the Romans could not follow him without constructing a bridge, and for that purpose they had no boats in readiness; nay, he even demolished the mole formed by Drusus Germanicus, and by dissipating the obstruction caused the river to pursue its rapid course towards Gaul. The river being thus as it were swept away, its diminished stream made the space between the island and Germany assume the form of an uninterrupted continent. Tutor also and Classicus passed over the Rhine, with a hundred and thirteen Treverian senators. Alpinus Montanus, the deputy sent, as above mentioned, from Cre-

mona by Antonius Primus to the states of Gaul, was one of the number. He was accompanied by his brother Decimus Alpinus. At the same time the rest of his adherents exerted themselves in collecting troops among those nations that delighted in dangerous enterprises, by exciting compassion, and by gifts.

20. And so great were the means of prosecuting the war still left, that Civilis, dividing his army into four parts, attacked on the same day the Roman cohorts, the cavalry, and the legions; the tenth legion at Arenacum; the second at Batavodurum; and the auxiliaries in their entrenchments at Grinnes and Vada. In this enterprise, Civilis headed one of the divisions; Verax, his sister's son, led the second; Classicus and Tutor had their separate commands: nor in all their attempts, did they act in confidence of success; but where much was hazarded, the issue in some quarter might be prosperous. They knew that Cerealis was not an officer of the strictest caution; and therefore hoped, that, while he was distracted by different tidings, hastening from one post to another, he might be intercepted on his march. The party, destined to storm the quarters of the tenth legion, judging it an enterprise of too much danger, were content with surprising such of the soldiers as had gone out of the camp and were occupied in hewing wood. In this attack, the præfect of the camp, five principal centurions, and a few soldiers, were cut to pieces. The rest took shelter within the entrenchments. Meanwhile at Batavodurum they exerted themselves to destroy a bridge which the Romans had in part constructed over the river; the troops engaged, but night parted them before the victory was decided.

21. The affairs at Grinnes and Vada were of a more critical character. Civilis led the assault on Grinnes, Classicus that on Vada: nor could they be checked, the bravest of the troops having fallen in the attempt, and amongst them Briganticus, at the head of a squadron of horse; a man, as already stated, distinguished by his fidelity to Rome, and his hostility to Civilis, his uncle. But when Cerealis, with a select body of cavalry, came up to their relief, the fortune of the day was changed, and the Germans were sent flying into the river. Civilis, while attempting to stop their flight, was recognised, and assailed with a shower of darts; but he quitted his horse, and swam across the river. Verax escaped in the same way: Tutor and Classicus were conveyed away in boats that were brought to the shore for the purpose. The Roman fleet, notwithstanding positive orders, failed again to

co-operate with the land forces; but they were restrained by fear, and the circumstance of the rowers being dispersed on various other duties. It must be admitted that Cerealis did not allow due time for the execution of his orders; hasty in taking his measures, but eminently successful in their issue. Where his conduct was liable to censure, fortune aided him; and, by consequence, discipline fell into neglect with himself and army. Only a few days after, though he had the luck to escape being made a prisoner, he fell under merited censure.

22. Going to Bonna and Novesium occasionally to inspect the camps erecting at those places for the winter-quarters of the legions, he was in the habit of returning with his fleet, his forces proceeding in a disorderly manner, and no attention paid to the watches. The Germans observed their negligence, and concerted a plan of surprising them. They chose a night overcast with clouds, and shooting down the river, entered the entrenchments without opposition. They began the carnage with a stratagem. They cut the cords of the tents, and butchered the men as they lay enveloped in their own dwellings. Another party, in the meantime, surprised the fleet; threw grappling instruments on the vessels, and hauled them away. And as they approach in silence to escape discovery, so, when the slaughter was begun, they raised a deafening shout to add to the alarm. Roused by the wounds inflicted on them, the Romans seek their arms, hurry through the avenues of the camp: a few of them properly armed, most of them with their vestments wrapped round their arms, and with their swords drawn. The general, half asleep and almost naked, was saved by a blunder of the enemy; for they carried off the prætorian ship in which a flag was hoisted, under an impression that the general was aboard. Cerealis had been passing the night elsewhere, as was generally believed; on account of an illicit amour with Claudia Sacrata, an Ubian woman. The sentinels made an excuse for their guilt that did no honour to the general; alleging that their orders were to observe silence, that they might not disturb his rest, and, by consequence, making no signal, and using no watch-word, they themselves were overpowered with sleep. It was broad day-light when the Germans sailed back, towing with them the captured vessels, and among them the prætorian galley, which they hauled up the river Lupia, as an offering to Velea.

23. Civilis conceived a vehement desire of exhibiting a naval armament: he manned all the vessels with two ranks

of oars, and even those which were impelled by one rank. To these he added a prodigious number of small craft, among which were thirty or forty fitted out like the Roman Liburnian galleys. The barks lately taken from the Romans were supplied, in lieu of sails, with mantles of various colours, which made no unbecoming appearance. The field, as it were, chosen for this naval exhibition was the vast bay, resembling a sea, where the Rhine discharges itself through the mouth of the Mosa into the ocean. The motives for fitting out this fleet, in addition to the inherent vanity of the Batavians, was to prevent the supplies on their way from Gaul, by the terror it would inspire. Cerealis, from the strangeness of the thing rather than apprehension, drew out against it a fleet inferior in number, but in the skill of the mariners, the experience of the pilots, and the size of the vessels, superior. The Romans sailed with the current; the enemy had the wind in their favour. Thus, brushing by each other, they parted after a faint discharge of light darts. Civilis, without attempting anything further, retired beyond the Rhine; Cerealis laid waste the isle of Batavia with determined hostility, leaving however the lands and houses of Civilis untouched; according to the known policy of military commanders. But during these proceedings, as it was now the latter end of autumn, and the rainy season had set in, the river, swelling above its banks, so completely inundated the naturally low and swampy island, that it presented the appearance of a lake. No ships were at hand; no means of getting provisions; and the tents, which stood on a flat, were carried away by the force of the waters.

24. Civilis pleaded it as a merit on his part, that the Roman army, in this juncture, might have been cut off, and that the Germans wished it, but were by his artifices diverted from the enterprise. The surrender by that chief, which followed soon after, made this account not improbable. For Cerealis, by secret agents, offered terms of peace to the Batavians, and a promise of pardon to Civilis; and at the same time suggested to Veleda and her family to change the fortune of the war, hitherto pregnant with disasters to them by conferring a well-timed favour upon the Romans. The Treverians were cut to pieces, the Ubians reduced, and the Batavians shorn of their country; nor did aught result from the friendship of Civilis, but wounds, banishment, and mourning. Civilis was now an exile and outcast from his country, a burthen to those who harboured him. Enough of error had they

committed in so often crossing the Rhine. If they carried their machinations further, iniquity and guilt would be on one side : on the other, a just retribution and the gods.

25. Menaces were mingled with his promises. The attachment of the nations beyond the Rhine giving way, the Batavians also began to express dissatisfaction. "It was unwise," they said, "to persist in a desperate cause ; nor was it possible that a single nation could deliver the world from bondage. By the slaughter of the legions, and the firing of the Roman camps, what end had been answered, except that of bringing into the field a greater number of legions and more efficient? If the war was waged for Vespasian, Vespasian was master of the empire. If they were challenging the Roman people to a trial of strength, what proportion did the Batavians bear to the whole human race. Let them turn their eyes to Rhætia, to Noricum, and the burthens borne by the other allies of Rome. From the Batavians Rome exacted no tribute : men and valour were all she enjoined. This was all but freedom ; and if they were to choose who should rule over them, it was more honourable to submit to the emperor of Rome, than the female rulers of the Germans." Such was the reasoning of the common people. The nobles complained that, exasperated themselves, they were hurried into the war by the more violent frenzy of Civilis ; that he had sought to avert the calamities of his house by the ruin of his country. Then it was that the gods were offended at the Batavians, when the legions were being besieged, commanders murdered, and a war undertaken which held out the only hope to one man, but was fatal to themselves. They were now on the brink of destruction, unless they set about retracing their steps, and demonstrating their contrition, by punishing the originator of their guilt."

26. Civilis perceived this turn in the sentiments of his countrymen, and resolved to be beforehand with them ; not only because he was weary of the calamities of war, but from the hope of saving his life, a feeling which often subdues noble minds. He desired a conference. The bridge over the Nabalia was broken through in the middle ; the two chiefs advanced to the extremities of the chasm, when Civilis thus began : "Were I pleading my cause before a commander of Vitellius, I should neither deserve pardon for what I have done, nor credit for what I state. Vitellius and I were mortal foes ; we acted with avowed hostility. The quarrel was begun by him ; it was inflamed by me. Towards Vespasian I have long behaved with re-



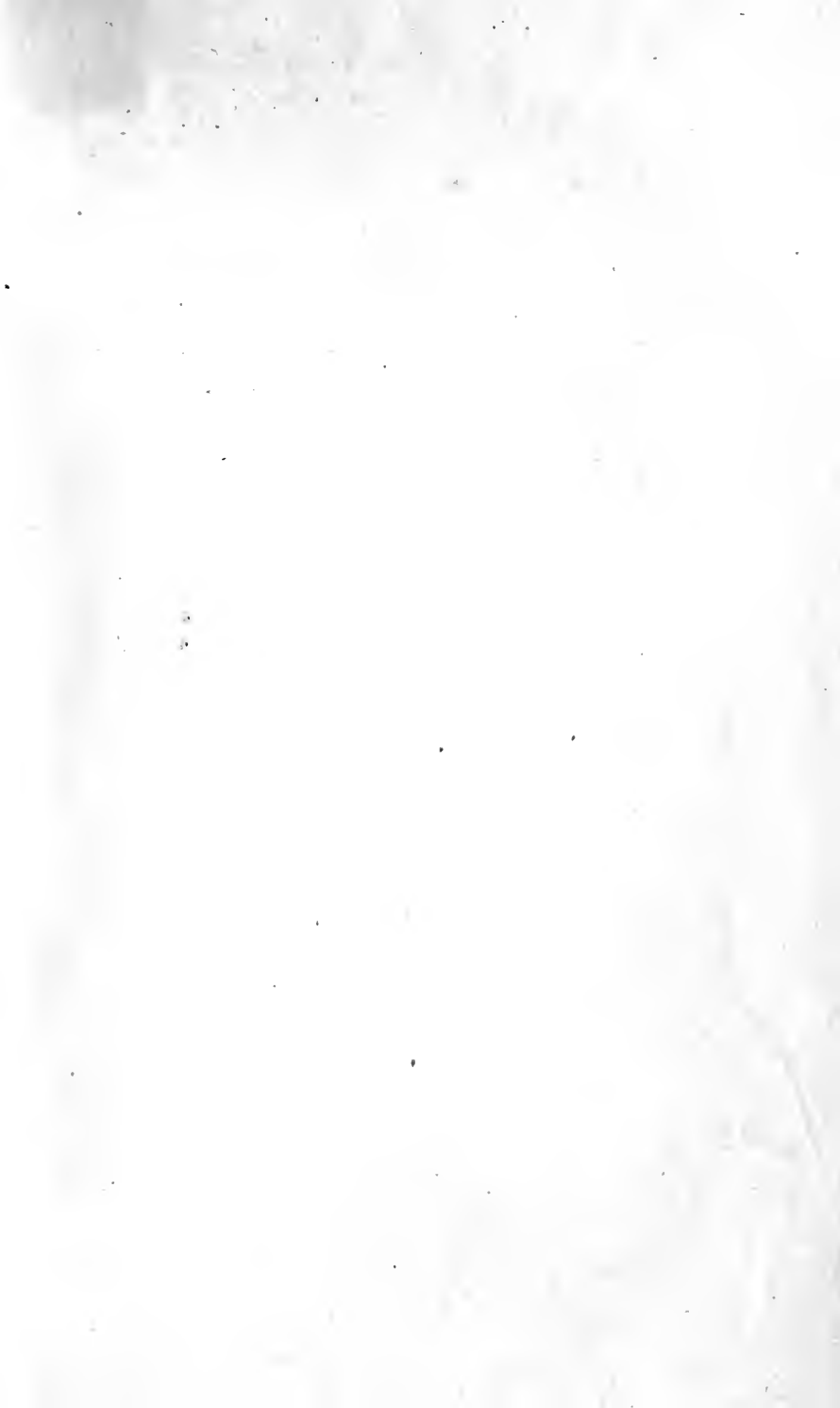
spect. While he was yet a private man, we were reputed friends. This was well understood by Antonius Primus; by whose letters I was urged to kindle the flame of war, lest the German legions and the youth of Gaul should pass over the Alps. The instructions Antonius communicated by letters, Hordeonius Flaccus gave in person. I stirred up a war in Germany in the same manner as Mucianus did in Syria, Aponius in Mæsia, and Flavianus in Pannonia." \* \* \* \*

THE END.

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