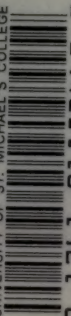
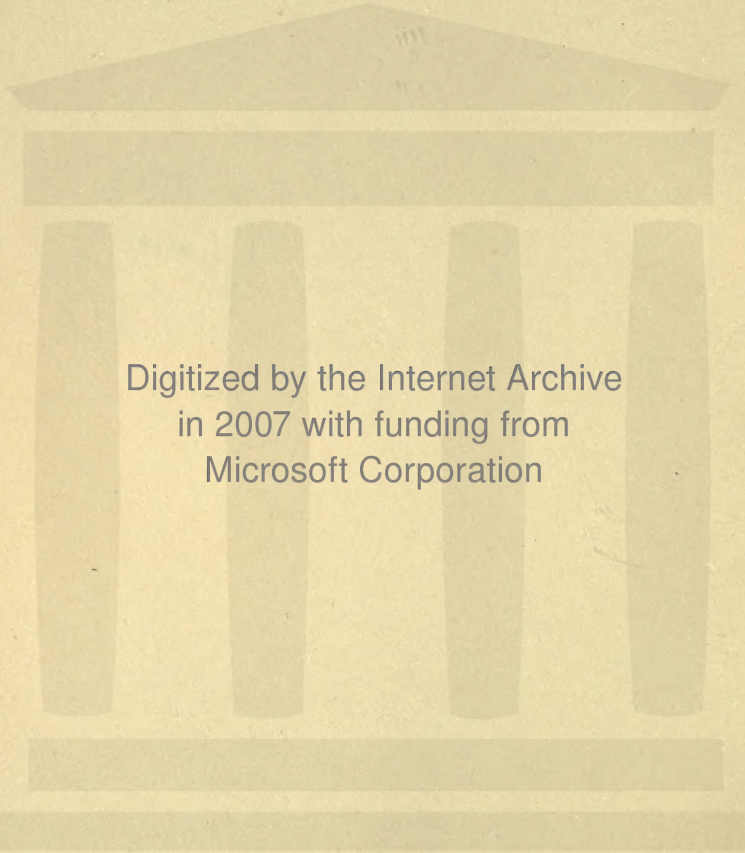


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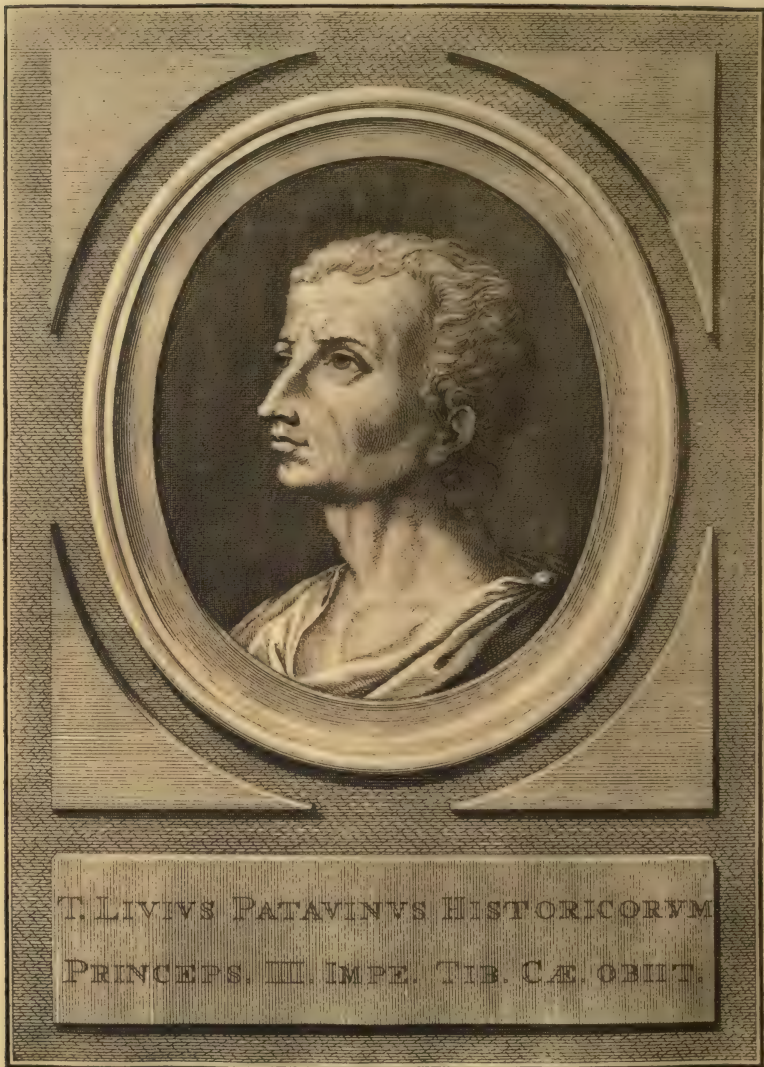
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*From an engraving in a Seventeenth-Century edition of Livy's
History*

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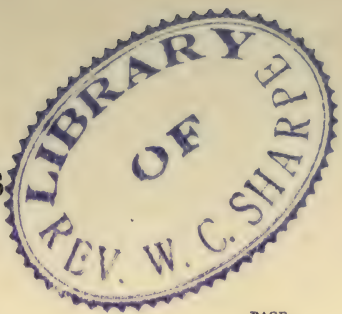


THE LATIN
CLASSICS

VOLUME FIVE

History

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JUN 27 1957

INTRODUCTION

THE ROMAN HISTORIANS



THE early quasi-historical writings of the Romans have already been discussed in the article entitled *The Beginnings of Latin Literature* which serves as an introduction to volume one. The first Roman historians proper were Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus, who lived in the time of the Second Punic War, and were undoubtedly inspired to write history by the memorable events of this the most crucial period in the life of the nation.

QUINTUS FABIVS PICTOR, called by Livy *scriptorum antiquissimus*, "most ancient of writers," was born about B.C. 254. The cognomen of Pictor, "Painter," came into the family from his grandfather, Caius Fabius, who was one of the earliest of Roman artists, having acquired a knowledge of the fine arts by residence among the Etruscans, who excelled all the Italian tribes in these matters. Quintus Fabius served in the Second Punic War, and was present at the battle of Lake Thrasimenus. After the defeat at Cannæ he was sent by the senate to inquire from the oracle at Delphi what would be the issue of the war, and to learn by what supplications the wrath of the gods might be appeased. After the war, he set about writing a history of Rome in Greek, beginning with Æneas and ending with the Second Punic War. He derived his materials from the archives of leading Roman families, and from the legends concerning Italy which he found in the writings of the Greeks. In particular, as we are told by Plutarch in his life of Romulus, Fabius followed an obscure Greek author, Diocles, in his account of the foundation of Rome, and from this source have flowed all the stories concerning Mars, the Vestal, the Wolf, Romulus and Remus, etc., which thereafter in Roman literature usurped the place of the

real history of the beginnings of the nation. He evidently intended to make this work more interesting than authentic. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has given many examples of Pictor's improbable narratives, his inconsistencies, his negligence in investigating the truth of what he relates as facts, and his inaccuracy in chronology.

Polybius, who flourished shortly after those times, and was at pains to inform himself accurately concerning all the events of the Second Punic War, apologizes on one occasion for quoting Fabius as an authority.

LUCIUS CINCIUS ALIMENTUS, an antiquary and jurist, who was prætor in Sicily B.C. 209, wrote in Greek certain Annals which contained an account of the Second Punic War. The author debased his work by repeating the mean and malicious gossip concerning Hannibal written by a Greek hanger-on of the great Carthaginian.

C. ACILIUS GLABRIO was another Roman historian who wrote in Greek, a language of which he was a thorough master, as indicated by the fact that he was interpreter for Carneades and the other Greek philosophers who came to Rome to introduce their schools of philosophy. He was quæstor about the year 200 B.C. He is an untrustworthy historian, giving an account of an interview between Hannibal and Scipio at Ephesus which could hardly have taken place, and exaggerating greatly losses in battle, amount of spoil taken, etc., for sensational effect. He was also fond of fanciful explanations, such as that the celebration of the Lupercalia was in commemoration of the manner in which the companions of Romulus ran about naked after supplication to the god Faunus to discover their lost cattle.

Another Roman historian who wrote in Greek remains to be noted. He was P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, the son of the elder Africanus. Prevented by ill health from taking part in public affairs he devoted himself to literature. Cicero says that, together with the greatness of his father's mind, he possessed a larger amount of learning, and wrote with great charm. His works were *oratiunculæ* (little orations) in Latin, and a history in Greek, the subject of which Cicero, our only authority for his literary works, did not record.

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO (for whose life see the biography by Nepos in volume eight) did not learn Greek until in middle life (Ennius was his teacher), and so wrote in rude and vigorous Latin. His agricultural treatises, *De Re Rustica*, "Of Country Thing(s)," and *De Agri Cultura*, "Of Agriculture," have come down to us, though in a mutilated state. They are note books of directions, rules, and recipes, suited to the severe manners and needs of that rude and practical age. For an account of his orations, see the Brutus of Cicero in volume six. He wrote a book on military discipline, much of which has been preserved by incorporation in the *Rei Militaris Instituta*, "The Laws of Military Affairs," by FLAVIUS RENATUS VEGETIUS, a writer of the fifth century A.D.

Cato's greatest work, however, *De Originibus*, "Of Origins," has been lost to us entirely. It was an inquiry into the history, antiquities, and language of the Roman people. He wrote it in his old age, being led to the task by his desire to counteract the influence of the Greek taste introduced by the Scipios. It consisted of seven books. The first book, we are informed by Nepos, contained the exploits of the kings of Rome. Cato was the first to set the date of the founding of Rome, which he fixed at the first year of the 7th Olympiad (751 B.C.), with which estimate the reliable Greek historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, agreed. The second and third books treated of the origins of the several Italian states. The fourth and fifth books gave the history of the First and Second Punic Wars, and the sixth and seventh discussed the other wars of the Romans down to the overthrow of the Lusitani-ans by Servius Galba. The loss of this work will never cease to be mourned by historians and antiquarians. Cato was also the first Roman to write on medicine; his work on the subject has not come down to us, but this is probably not a great loss, as the book undoubtedly consisted of recipes, similar to those in his agricultural treatises. Aulus Gellius mentions Cato's *Libri Quæstionum Epistolicarum*, "Books of Epistolary Questions," forming, it would seem, an ancient "Complete Letter Writer," and Cicero notes his *Apothegmata*, "Apothegms," which must have been a sort of "Poor Richard's Almanac."

The history of Cato was initiated by CASSIUS HEMINA, a writer of "Annals," who flourished about B.C. 145. In his fourth book he treated of other Italian towns besides Rome, and had much to say of the natural history of the country.

LUCIUS CALPURNIUS PISO was another annalist of Rome, bringing its history down to his own date. He received the surname of Frugi, the Upright, because of his integrity and conscientiousness. He was tribune of the plebs B.C. 149, in which year he proposed the first law for the punishment of extortion in the provinces by the prætors. He was consul in 133 B.C. and suppressed a servile insurrection in Sicily. He was also censor about 117 B.C. He belonged to the aristocratic party, and led the opposition to the democratic measures of Caius Gracchus. Judging by quotations from his history and by a comment by Cicero, his ideas were somewhat common-place, and his style unpolished through affectation of archaic simplicity.

The speeches and letters of Caius Gracchus were incorporated by his friend, C. FANNIUS, in a history of contemporaneous events. Fannius was eminent in the public service, holding such offices as quæstor and prætor.

C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS, a consul of the same period, wrote a history in the manner of Cato, telling of the foundation of Roman cities such as Caieta, and the origin of Roman institutions, such as the tribuneship. He is the oldest authority for the story of Regulus, the Roman who voluntarily returned to Carthage as a prisoner of war. According to his account the act was not so heroic as it was made to appear in the later legend. Regulus, said Sempronius, believed that he had been poisoned by the Carthaginians, and so was sure to die; therefore he exhorted the senate not to agree to an exchange of prisoners. Nevertheless, even to a doomed man the renunciation was a noble one, for, as Sempronius reports, he returned to be done to death by that most fiendish of tortures to a sick man, not being allowed to sleep. Sempronius was an original authority for the events in the life of Flaminius, the conqueror of Philip V of Macedon, as told by Plutarch.

Other annalists of this period were Servilianus and Antipater.

QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMVS SERVILIANVS was the proconsul who fought against Viriathus in Spain, a brave Lusitanian chief who escaped the treacherous massacre of his people by the proconsul Galba, and who organized a guerrilla warfare against the Romans which defeated army after army sent out against him. Viriathus hemmed in the troops of Servilianus in a mountain pass, and in B.C. 140 extorted from him honorable terms of peace, which Servilianus regarded, although his successor by bribery caused the brave patriot to be foully assassinated by his intimates. Servilianus was afterwards consul repeatedly, and also censor. He wrote annals which are quoted by Macrobius.

LUCIVS CÆLIUS ANTIPATER was a Roman historian and contemporary of Caius Gracchus, who wrote Annals, containing an account in seven books of the Second Punic War, the materials for which he secured largely from the Greek followers of Hannibal. He was regarded as authoritative by Plutarch and Livy, who drew upon him liberally, although Livy objected to Antipater's florid style.

We know very little besides their names of the annalists between the age of the Gracchi and that of the Civil Wars of Marius and Sulla.

The most important of these seems to have been CN. GELIVS, whose expansive history in thirty volumes was largely quoted by later writers, and probably formed the principal source of the account by Dionysius of Halicarnassus of the early history of Rome.

A history of Rome which partook of the nature of autobiography was written by PUBLIVS RUTILIVS RUFVS. He was military tribune under Scipio in the Numantine War, prætor B.C. 111, consul B.C. 105, and legate B.C. 95 under Q. Mucius Scævola, proconsul of Asia. While acting in this capacity he was so firm in repressing extortion that he created powerful enemies at Rome, who, on his return hither, had him impeached of malversation, and banished. He retired to Smyrna, where he wrote his history, apparently both in Greek and Latin.

MARCVS AURELIVS SCAVRVS (B.C. 163-89) a self-made man, who rose by ability, and, it must also be said, by corrup-

tion, to be probably the most influential man in the state (he was called *Princeps Senatus*), wrote what, from these circumstances, must have been an exceedingly interesting autobiography. Cicero, indeed, compared it to the writings of Xenophon.

QUINTUS LUTATIUS SCAURUS, the successor in office of Scaurus, and who as the colleague of Marius in the consulship shared in the triumph over the Cimbri, wrote an account of his victories which was highly praised by Quintilian. He also wrote four books of a *Communis Historia* (Profane History), which fact would imply that he had written as well a *Historia Sacra* (Sacred History). He was condemned to death by Marius during the autocracy of that tyrant, and suffocated himself in a newly plastered room by the steam caused by a large fire.

Other historians of this period may be dismissed briefly.

CN. AUFIDIUS, a blind man, was the last Roman historian who wrote in Greek.

Q. CLAUDIUS QUADRIGARIUS (B.C. 120-78) wrote a history of Rome which began with the capture of that city by the Gauls—really the point of separation between Latin legend and true history. He is often confounded with CLODIUS LICINUS, who, about the beginning of the first century A.D., wrote a history of Rome covering the same period. The caution displayed by Livy in using Claudius as authority indicates that he was prone to exaggeration.

Livy adopted the same attitude toward another historian from whom he was compelled to draw very largely, especially in regard to legendary history of Rome. This was QUINTUS VALERIUS ANTIAS, a most voluminous writer—he wrote at least seventy-five books, of which a few fragments remain.

Of the writers during the Civil Wars of Sulla and Marius none could be more eminent than LUCIUS SULLA, the dictator, himself. He wrote *Memorabilia*, a history of his own life and times, in twenty-two volumes, the last of which was finished a few days before his death in 78 B.C. He also wrote *Fabulæ Atellanæ* (farces), and Greek epigrams.

In the year when Sulla died L. CORNELIUS SISENNA was prætor of Sicily, where he rendered service to Verres, the

proprætor of the island whose extortions have become notorious through the orations of Cicero. During the war against the pirates (B.C. 67) he acted as the legate of Pompey. He took command of the army in Crete, dying in that island at the age of 52. He wrote a work in about twenty books called *Historiæ* (Histories), which dealt with contemporaneous events, and which Cicero pronounced superior to all its predecessors. Of this a few fragments remain. He had a taste for the salacious, and, as Ovid tells us, enlivened his history with improper stories. He also translated the Milesian Tales of Aristides, which are stories of the same order.

Another writer upon the Civil Wars was M. JUNIUS BRUTUS, the father of that Brutus who was one of the assassins of Julius Cæsar. He embraced the party of Marius, and was overcome by Pompey. After the death of Sulla, and the renewal of hostilities, he was besieged in Mutina by Pompey, who compelled him to surrender after a long resistance, and caused him to be put to death.

C. LICINIUS MACER, the orator who was impeached of extortion by Cicero, and, finding the verdict against him, committed suicide, was an historian of substantial, although not brilliant, qualities. Livy quoted him with respect because of his use of ancient public documents in preparing his work. He supplanted childish tradition, in a number of instances, by rational explanation. Thus he explains that Romulus instituted the festival of the Brumalia, at which he kept open house for the homeless, not, as the legend ran, because he had been taunted with having no house of his own in childhood, but simply as a necessary charity for the unemployed in winter. However, according to Livy, Macer was an untrustworthy authority where family pride was involved, making false statements in regard to his famous ancestor, the author of the Licinian Rogations, the laws in protection of the plebeians. But Livy could hardly be fair toward a man of democratic tendencies.

Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO was an historian who also referred to official documents. He began his historical labors in Asia in 60 B.C., when he was on the staff of the younger Cicero. His citations differed, however, from Macer's. Probably both

historians were influenced in their reading by their political opinions.

LUCIUS LUCCEIUS, another friend of Cicero, and a successful candidate for the consulship with Julius Cæsar in B.C. 60, wrote a contemporaneous history of Rome, commencing with the Social or Marsic War.

A marked advance in historical accuracy was made by T. POMPONIUS ATTICUS in his history (*Liber Annalis*). This work, dedicated to Cicero, his friend, consisted of chronological tables in which synchronous events down to B.C. 54 were set down with the greatest care. Every Roman magistrate was given, with the important events, especially wars and treaties, of his year of office. He also compiled from records histories of the great Roman families, at their request. Atticus's most important contribution to Latin literature was, however, his edition of the letters which he had received from Cicero. He also performed great service by having his numerous slaves copy the writings of his contemporaries. His own biography was written by CORNELIUS NEPOS, an account of whom and whose work is prefaced to several of his famous biographies which appear in volume eight.

M. TERENTIUS VARRO (REATINUS) (B.C. 116-28), whom Quintilian calls "the most learned of the Romans," was also the most voluminous of Latin writers. He is said to have written six hundred books. Of these only two have survived: *De Re Rustica*, "On Country Affairs," the most important of all agricultural treatises in Latin, and written at the age of eighty, and *De Lingua Latina*, a grammatical treatise on the Latin language, which is most valuable not only on account of its record of linguistic forms which otherwise would have been lost, but also because it contains much curious and valuable information concerning ancient civil and religious usages. Unfortunately of Varro's greatest work, that on "Antiquities," only a few fragments have been preserved. However, we know much of its contents, since St. Augustine drew largely from it in his *City of God*.

Varro also wrote a collection of biographies called *Imagines* (Images) or *Hebdomades* (Sevens) containing seven hundred lives of famous Greeks and Romans arranged in

groups of seven, and illustrated with portraits. He wrote treatises on philosophy, law, and all the liberal and fine arts. He also wrote satires in prose and verse which were in the manner of the Syro-Greek Cynic Menippus. However, for all his labors, he never attained distinction as an artist in any of these fields of literature.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR was the first and remained among the foremost of all the Roman historians. A study of his genius by Anthony Trollope will be found in the introduction to his Commentaries in the present volume, and it will suffice here only to enforce the point that he was a thoroughly original writer, following no models, either Greek or Roman, and thus himself becoming a model of a new school of historians, which includes the greatest of the ages.

Cæsar's commentaries on the Gallic War were completed by AULUS HIRTIUS, one of his right-hand men in both war and politics. He added an eighth book to the work, and intended to carry down Cæsar's account of the Civil War to Cæsar's death.

This intention he never carried out, as he fell in the battle of Mutina, April 27, B.C. 43, when he was consul. Of the three works, the *Bellum Alexandrinum*, *Bellum Africanum*, and *Bellum Hispaniense* (respectively the Alexandrine, African, and Spanish Wars), which have come down to us with Cæsar's Commentaries, the first may have been written by him. Of the other two it has been conjectured that they were composed at his request, in preparation for his intended work on military commanders, and that having been found at his death among his papers, they were added, with his own writings, to the works of Cæsar himself. He is known to have written, at Cæsar's instigation, an answer to Cicero's panegyric on Cato. The style of Hirtius is very like Cæsar's own, being marked by direct logical arrangement, rhetorical reserve, and impartial spirit.

In view of the death of Hirtius that deprived us of a history of the last Civil War of the republic, it is all the more unfortunate that there has not been preserved to us a work written on the same subject by CAIUS ASINIUS POLLIO (B.C. 75-A.D. 4), the versatile literary genius (for he was a poet

and orator as well as an historian) who fought on Cæsar's side at Pharsalia and in Africa and Spain. After the murder of Cæsar he at first inclined to the republicans, but in B.C. 43 he joined Antony, and on the breaking up of the Triumvirate obtained Gallia Transpadana for his province. In the redistribution of lands there he saved the poet Virgil's paternal estate for him. After negotiating the Peace of Brundisium between Antony and Octavius, B.C. 41, he became consul in 40 B.C., conquering the Pathini in Dalmatia in 39 B.C. He then retired from political life, and devoted himself to the advancement of learning. He served the cause of literature not only by his own writings, but by setting up the first public library at Rome, and by introducing the custom of reading new works aloud to a circle of experts before publication. His own works have not survived, but from the writings of others we know that he was a stern critic of others, such as Cicero, Sallust and Livy, though not above criticism himself. His history of the Civil Wars was in seventeen books covering the period from the First Triumvirate to the battle of Philippi. Pollio was especially celebrated as an orator; yet his speeches, in spite of careful preparation, were devoid of elegance, and, as Quintilian remarks, might be supposed to have been a century earlier than Cicero's. He wrote tragedies also, in which the same stiffness and dryness are complained of.

In SALLUST brevity, a merit in Cæsar, is employed to faulty extreme. Neither is he as original as Cæsar, for he imitates Thucydides, especially in the invention of speeches, and that not successfully, and Cato, in archaic diction. Yet he had great merits as an historian, as the reader will find in a sympathetic study of the man and his work prefixed to the translation of one of his masterpieces, *The Conspiracy of Catiline*.

In marked contrast to the studied condensation of Sallust, which strains the reader's attention while it rewards it, we find in LIVY a pleasing discursiveness, which gained for him the title of "the Roman Herodotus." He is far and away the most readable of the Roman historians, and therefore the most popular. A study of the man and his work will be found in this volume, prefixed to the excellent translation by George

Baker, Esq., of his account of the victorious career of Hannibal in Spain, Gaul and Italy, ending with his overwhelming triumph over the Romans at the battle of Cannæ.

POMPEIUS TROGUS, a contemporary of Livy, was the first Roman to write a general history. He was of Gallic origin; his grandfather received the Roman citizenship from Pompeius in the Sertorian War, and his father served under Cæsar, and discharged at the same time the offices of secretary, an ambassador, and a keeper of the seals. His history was an extensive work in forty-four books entitled *Historiæ Philippicæ*, because the history of the various peoples was grouped round the Macedonian Empire founded by Philip. It began with Ninus, and reached down to his own time, and was drawn chiefly from Greek sources. With the historical narrative there were interwoven interesting descriptions relating to geography, ethnography, and natural science. He also composed zoological and botanical works, derived largely from Aristotle and Theophrastus. Of the histories we now possess only lists of the contents of the several books and the epitome of Justinus.

Another historian of this age whose historical writings have unfortunately been lost, was the father of the philosopher Seneca, LUCIUS ANNÆUS SENECA (B.C. 60-A.D. 37), usually called Seneca Rhetor, to distinguish him from his more celebrated son who had the same name. His character, as revealed in his writings and described by his son, was marked by sobriety, industry and sternness. We know little of his life except that he was born of a family of equestrian rank in Corduba in Spain, that he resided for several years in Rome, where he practised as a speaker and professor of rhetoric without, however, attaining any very high distinction, and that he retired to his estate in Spain, where, when well advanced in middle age, he married Helvia, a lady of good lineage and ancient virtue, by whom he had three sons, all of whom attained distinction—Novatus, better known as the Gallio of the Acts of the Apostles; Lucius Annæus, the philosopher; and Mela, father of the brilliant poet Lucan.

Seneca's history extended from the commencement of the Civil Wars to the close of the reign of Tiberius. From Lac-

tantius we learn that, like Tacitus, he commenced his history by a brief generalizing retrospect of Rome's entire past, in which he compared the various epochs of her development to those of human life. Lucius Seneca, in a fragment of a lost biography of his father, claims for it a place among the literary monuments of the age; but with some diffidence, as if conscious that his filial piety overpowered his critical judgment. At all events, we hear nothing of it from any other source. His other work, a series of reminiscences of contemporary rhetoricians, written in his old age, has, to a great extent, survived. It consists of ten books of *Controversiæ*, or discussions of legal cases, and one book of *Suasoriæ*, or themes for rhetorical declamation. The *Suasoriæ* were written last but come first in order of publication from grounds of educational convenience. They are school exercises, the subjects of which are of the kind ridiculed by Juvenal: "Shall Alexander cross the ocean to find a new world to conquer?" "Shall Cicero plead with Antony for his life?" "Shall Leonidas withdraw from Thermopylæ?" etc. The prefaces to these works are by far the more interesting portions, containing, besides pleasant common-places and sallies of general humor, many valuable criticisms of the different speakers quoted. It is remarkable that Seneca himself displays a purer taste and literary style than any of the rhetoricians he quotes, in most of whom the characteristics of the coming Silver Age of Latin Literature are already prominent.

The first of the historians of the Silver Age was CAIUS VELLEIUS PATERCULUS. He was born about B.C. 19 of a distinguished Campanian family. Entering the army, he accompanied Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, on an expedition to the East (A.D. 2). Two years later he served with Tiberius in Germany, attaining the successive ranks of military tribune, legate and quæstor (A.D. 7). In A.D. 12 he returned to Rome and took part in the triumph of Tiberius. In A.D. 15 he and his brother, Magius Celer, were prætors.

In the year 30 A.D. he wrote his history at the request of the consul M. Vinicius, and probably died in the following year. It is believed that he was executed because of his connection with Sejanus. The history is in two books, of which

only one MS. survived to modern times, and this was lost in the seventeenth century. In this MS. the opening and a portion after the eighth section of the first book were missing. It is a succinct compendium of universal history (with especial reference to the history of Rome), beginning with the settlement of Magna Græcia and extending to his own times. The latter portion of the narrative is more diffuse than the first part. His method is to seize upon the striking points of his subject and to dwell upon them, leaving less important events in abeyance. His treatment is, therefore, rather that of an annalist than an historian, and his style is unfinished. His facts are in the main trustworthy, but his fulsome praise of Tiberius detracts from the value of the narrative of his own times.

Another gross flatterer of the Emperor Tiberius was MAXIMUS VALERIUS, a Roman historian of whose life we know only that he accompanied the proconsul Sextus Pompeius to Asia in A.D. 27. On his return he composed, between A.D. 29 and 32, a collection of historical anecdotes in nine books, called Books of Memorable Deeds and Sayings, which he dedicated with fulsome praise to Tiberius. The work is extant. It consists of an uncritical collection of extracts from Livy, Cicero, Sallust, Pompeius Trogus, and others, mostly descriptive of moral qualities. The style, though bad, is declamatory, and this, together with the convenient selection of anecdotes which the book offered to orators and authors, caused it to be much quoted in the succeeding generations down to the Middle Ages.

An historian of nobler spirit was AULUS CREMUTIUS CORDUS, who, under Tiberius in A.D. 25, was accused of treason for having praised Brutus, the slayer of Cæsar, and for styling Cassius "the last of the Romans," though the real cause of the prosecution is to be found in some expressions that gave offence to Sejanus, the emperor's powerful minister. Besides his history he appears to have written a work on prodigies (*Admiranda*), and was favorably known as a pleader.

AUFIDIUS BASSUS, another historian in the time of Tiberius, treated of the expiration of the Republic and the

founding of the Empire, as we know from quotations from it by Seneca the philosopher. His narrative was continued by Pliny the Elder, and appears to have been used by Dio Cassius and Suetonius.

The emperor TIBERIUS wrote a brief commentary of his own life, which was the only book that the emperor Domitian studied. This has been lost, as well as the other writings of Tiberius, which, Suetonius tells us, were Greek poems, and a Latin lyric on the death of L. Cæsar.

Later in the first century A.D., QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS wrote a history of Alexander the Great in ten volumes, of which the first two and portions of the remaining volumes have been lost. No particulars of the life of the author are known. He has little historical insight, though his style is highly rhetorical, the life of the great Greek conqueror being treated as a series of romantic adventures, and a number of carefully elaborated speeches being introduced, with much sententious reflection. These characteristics made the work very popular in the Middle Ages.

CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, who flourished in the reign of Trajan, was the greatest of Latin biographers. An account of his life and works will be found in volume eight, prefixed to a translation by Philemon Holland (1606) of Suetonius's Lives of the Cæsars from Caius Julius to Nero.

A writer of the same period who was less of an historian than an orator was L. ANNÆUS FLORUS. Almost nothing is known of his life. He left an abridgment in two books of Roman history beginning with the origin of Rome, and extending to A.U.C 725, when Augustus closed the Temple of Janus, a ceremony which had not taken place for 206 years previous. This work is based not merely upon Livy, but upon many earlier historians, no part of whose works any longer remains. It is in an elegant though somewhat affected oratorical style. Florus often omits important events or passes over them with a flourish of rhetoric. He likewise commits many errors in geography and chronology. His text has reached us in a very corrupt state, and abounds with interpolations.

We will close this roll of Latin historical writers with a

mention of PUBLIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, the last of the great Roman historians, whose biography will be found prefixed to the translation by Arthur Murphy, Esq., of what is to modern readers the most interesting and pertinent of Tacitus's works, the *Germania*, an account of the manners and customs of the ancient Germans. The historians and biographers which followed him, such as JUSTIN, VICTOR, AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, and EUTROPIUS, were either imitators of the earlier historians, or dry epitomizers of the facts derived from them. The power freshly and brilliantly to record great deeds and picture great characters dwindled away with the dying Empire and the passing of the mighty men who, created by the spirit of the elder Republic, had builded and enlarged and sustained that magnificent rule.

THE COMMENTARIES
OF
JULIUS CÆSAR

THE INVASION OF BRITAIN
CUSTOMS OF THE GAULS AND GERMANS
THE SUBJUGATION OF VERCINGETORIX

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION UPON
CÆSAR AND HIS COMMENTARIES
BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE

INTRODUCTION

CÆSAR AND HIS COMMENTARIES

BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE

IT may perhaps be fairly said that the Commentaries of Cæsar are the beginning of modern history. He wrote, indeed, nearly two thousand years ago; but he wrote, not of times then long past, but of things which were done under his own eyes, and of his own deeds. And he wrote of countries with which we are familiar,—of our Britain, for instance, which he twice invaded, of peoples not so far remote but that we can identify them with our neighbours and ourselves; and he so wrote as to make us feel that we are reading actual history, and not romance. The simplicity of the narratives which he has left is their chief characteristic, if not their greatest charm. We feel sure that the circumstances which he tells us did occur, and that they occurred very nearly as he tells them. He deals with those great movements in Europe from which have sprung, and to which we can trace, the present political condition of the nations.

It must be remembered from the beginning that Cæsar wrote only of what he did or of what he caused to be done himself. At least he only so wrote in the two works of his which remain to us. We are told that he produced much besides his Commentaries,—among other works, a poem,—but the two Commentaries are all of his that we have. The former, in seven books, relates the facts of his seven first campaigns in Gaul for seven consecutive years; those campaigns in which he reduced the nations living between the Rhine, the Rhone, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees and the sea which we now call the British Channel. The latter Commentary relates the circumstances of the civil war in which he contended for power against Pompey, his former colleague, with Crassus, in the first triumvirate, and established that empire

to which Augustus succeeded after a second short-lived triumvirate between himself and Lepidus and Antony.

It may be well to say something, in a few introductory lines, of the life and character of our author. Julius Cæsar was born just one hundred years before Christ, and came of an old noble Roman family, of which Julius and not Cæsar was the distinctive name. Whence came the name of Cæsar has been a matter of doubt and of legend. Some say that it arose from the thick hair of one of the Julian tribe; others that a certain scion of the family, like Macduff, "was from his mother's womb untimely ripped," for which derivations Latin words are found to be opportune. Again we are told that one of the family once kept an elephant,—and we are referred to some eastern language in which the word elephant has a sound like Cæsar. Another legend also rose from Cæsar's name, which, in the Gallic language of those days,—very luckily for Cæsar,—sounded as though one should say, "Send him back." Cæsar's horse once ran away with him, and carried him over to the enemy. An insolent Gaul, who knew him, called out, "Cæsar, Cæsar!" and so the other Gauls, obeying the order supposed to be given, allowed the illustrious one to escape. It must be acknowledged, however, that the learned German who tells us this story expresses a contemptuous conviction that it cannot be true.

Whatever may have produced the word, its significance, derived from the doings and writings of Caius Julius, has been very great. It has come to mean in various languages the holder of despotic power; and though it is said that, as a fact, the Russian title Czar has no connection with the Roman word, so great is the prestige of the name, that in the minds of men the popular appellation of the Russian Emperor will always be connected with that of the line of the Roman Emperor.

It is to be presumed that most of our readers know how the Roman Republic fell, and the Roman Empire became established as the result of the civil wars which began with the contest of Marius, the darling of the army and the populace, and Sulla, the representative of the patricians, for supreme power in the republic, and ended with the imperial crowning

of that "young Octavius" whom we better recognise as Augustus Cæsar. Julius Cæsar was the nephew by marriage of Marius, and succeeded him in leadership of the popular party, and Augustus was the great-nephew and heir of Julius. By means of conscriptions and murders, worse in their nature, though less probably in number, than those which disgraced the French Revolution, the power which Marius achieved almost without foresight, for which the great Cæsar strove from his youth upwards with constant foresight, was confirmed in the hands of Augustus, and bequeathed by him to the emperors.

In looking at the lives of the three men—Marius, Cæsar, and Augustus, who followed each other, and all worked to the same end, the destruction of that oligarchy which was called a Republic in Rome—we find that the one was a man, while the others were beasts of prey. The cruelties of Marius as an old man, and of Augustus as a young one, were so astounding as, even at this distance, to horrify the reader, though he remembers that Christianity had not yet softened men's hearts. Marius, the old man, almost swam in the blood of his enemies, as also did his rival Sulla; but the young Octavius, he whom the gods favoured so long as the almost divine Augustus, cemented his throne with the blood of his friends. Between these monsters of cruelty Cæsar has become famous for clemency. And yet the hair of the reader almost stands on end with horror as Cæsar recounts in page after page the stories of cities burned to the ground, and whole communities slaughtered in cold blood. Of the destruction of the women and children of an entire tribe, Cæsar will leave the unimpassioned record in one line. But this at least may be said of Cæsar, that he took no delight in slaughter. When it became in his sight expedient that a people should suffer, so that others might learn to yield and to obey, he could give the order apparently without an effort. And we hear of no regrets, or of any remorse which followed the execution of it. But bloodshed in itself was not sweet to him. He was a discreet, far-seeing man, and could do without a scruple what discretion and caution demanded of him.

And it may be said of Cæsar that he was in some sort

guided in his life by sense of duty and love of country; as it may also be said of his great contemporaries, Pompey and Cicero. With those who went before him, Marius and Sulla, as also with those who followed him, Antony and Augustus, it does not seem that any such motives actuated them. Love of power and greed, hatred of their enemies and personal ambition, a feeling that they were urged on by their fates to seek for high place, and a resolve that it was better to kill than be killed, impelled them to their courses. These feelings were strong, too, with Cæsar, as they are strong to this day with statesmen and with generals; but mingled with them in Cæsar's breast there was a noble idea, that he would be true to the greatness of Rome, and that he would grasp at power chiefly in order that the mighty Roman Empire might be well governed.

Early in life Cæsar lifted himself to high position, though he did so in the midst of dangers. It was the wonder of those around him that Sulla did not murder him when he was young,—crush him while he was yet, as it were, in his shell; but Sulla spared him, and he rose apace. We are told that he became priest of Jupiter at seventeen, and he was then already a married man. He early trained himself as a public orator, and amidst every danger espoused the popular cause in Rome. He served his country in the East,—in Bithynia, probably,—escaping, by doing so, the perils of a residence in the city. He became Quæstor and then Ædile, assisted by all the Marian party, as that party would assist the rising man whom they regarded as their future leader. He attacked and was attacked, and was indefatigable in harassing the aristocracy, who strove, but strove in vain, to crush him. Though young, and addicted to all the pleasures of youth,—a trifler, as Sulla once called him,—he omitted to learn nothing that was necessary for him to know as a chief of a great party and a leader of great armies. When he was thirty-seven he was made Pontifex Maximus, the official chief of the priesthood of Rome, the office greatest in honour of any in the city, although opposed by the whole weight of the aristocracy, and although Catulus was a candidate, who, of all that party, was the highest not only in renown but in vir-

tue. Cæsar became Prætor the next year, though again he was opposed by all the influence of those who feared him. And, after his twelve months of office, he assumed the government of Spain,—the province allotted to him as Proprætor, in accordance with the usage of the Republic,—in the teeth of a decree of the Senate ordering him to remain in Rome. Here he gained his first great military success, first made himself known to his soldiery, and came back to Rome entitled to the honour of a triumph.

But there was still another step on the ladder of the State before he could assume the position which no doubt he already saw before him. He must be Consul before he could be the master of many legions, and in order that he might sue in proper form for the consulship, it was necessary that he should abandon his Triumph. He could only triumph as holding the office of General of the Republic's forces, and as General or Imperator he could not enter the city. He abandoned the Triumph, sued for his office in the common fashion, and enabled the citizens to say that he preferred their services to his personal honours. At the age of forty-one he became Consul.

It was during the struggle for the consulship that the triumvirate was formed, of which subsequent ages have heard so much, and of which Romans at the time heard probably so little. Pompey, who had been the political child of Sulla, and had been the hope of the patricians to whom he belonged, had returned to Rome after various victories which he had achieved as Proconsul in the East, had triumphed,—and had ventured to recline on his honours, disbanding his army and taking himself the credit of subsiding into privacy. The times were too rough for such honest duty, and Pompey found himself for a while slighted by his party. Though he had thought himself able to abandon power, he could not bear the loss of it. It may be that he had conceived himself able to rule the city by his influence without the aid of his legions. Cæsar tempted him, and they two with Crassus, who was wanted for his wealth, formed the first triumvirate. By such pact among themselves they were to rule all Rome and all Rome's provinces; but doubtless, by resolves within himself

of which no one knew, Cæsar intended even then to grasp the dominion of the whole in his own hands.

During the years that followed,—the years in which Cæsar was engaged in his Gallic wars,—Pompey remained at Rome, not indeed as Cæsar's friend—for that hollow friendship was brought to an end by the death of Julia, Cæsar's daughter, whom Pompey, though five years Cæsar's elder, had married—but in undecided rivalry to the active man who in foreign wars was preparing legions by which to win the Empire. Afterwards, when Cæsar, as we shall hear, had crossed the Rubicon, their enmity was declared. It was natural that they should be enemies. In middle life, Pompey, as we have seen, had married Cæsar's daughter, and Cæsar's second wife had been a Pompeia.¹ But when they were young, and each was anxious to attach himself to the politics of his own party, Pompey had married the daughter-in-law of Sulla, and Cæsar had married the daughter of Cinna, who had almost been joined with Marius in leading the popular party. Such having been the connection they had made in their early lives, it was natural that Pompey and Cæsar should be enemies, and that the union of those two with any other third in a triumvirate should be but a hollow compromise, planned and carried out only that time might be gained.

Cæsar was now Consul, and from his consular chair

¹ She was that wife who was false with Clodius, and whom Cæsar divorced, declaring that Cæsar's wife must not even be suspected. He would not keep the false wife; neither would he at that moment take part in the accusation against Clodius, who was of his party, and against whom such accusation backed by Cæsar would have been fatal. The intrusion of the demagogue into Cæsar's house in the pursuit of Cæsar's wife during the mysteries of the Bona Dea became the subject of a trial in Rome. The offence was terrible and notorious. Clodius, who was hated and feared by the patricians, was a favourite with the popular party. The offender was at last brought to trial, and was acquitted by venal judges. A word spoken by the injured husband would have insured his condemnation, but that word Cæsar would not speak. His wife he could divorce, but he would not jeopardise his power with his own party by demanding the punishment of him who had debauched her.

laughed to scorn the Senate and the aristocratic colleague with whom he was joined,—Bibulus. During his year of office he seems to have ruled almost supreme and almost alone. The Senate was forced to do his bidding, and Pompey, at any rate for this year, was his ally. We already know that to prætors and to consuls, after their year of office in the city, were confided the government of the great provinces of the Republic, and that these officers while so governing were called *proprætors* and *proconsuls*. After his prætorship Cæsar had gone for a year to southern Spain, the province which had been assigned to him, whence he came back triumphant,—but not to enjoy his Triumph.

At the expiration of his consulship the joint provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum were assigned to him, not for one year, but for five years; and to these was added Transalpine Gaul, by which grant dominion was given to him over all that country which we now know as Northern Italy, over Illyria to the east, and to the west across the Alps, over the Roman province already established in the south of France. This province, bounded on the north by Lake Lemane and the Swiss mountains, ran south to the Mediterranean, and to the west half across the great neck of land which joins Spain to the continent of Europe. This province of Transalpine Gaul was already Roman, and to Cæsar was intrusted the task of defending this, and of defending Rome itself, from the terrible valour of the Gauls. That he might do this it was necessary that he should collect his legions in that other Gaul which we now know as the north of Italy.

It does not seem that there was any preconceived idea that Cæsar should reduce all Gallia beneath the Roman yoke. Hitherto Rome had feared the Gauls, and had been subject to their inroads. The Gauls in former years had even made their way as invaders into the very city, and had been bought out with a ransom. They had spread themselves over Northern Italy, and hence, when Northern Italy was conquered by Roman arms, it became a province under the name of Cisalpine Gaul. Then, during the hundred years which preceded Cæsar's wars, a province was gradually founded and extended in the south of France, of which Marseilles was the kernel.

Massilia had been a colony of Greek merchants, and was supported by the alliance of Rome. Whither such alliance leads is known to all readers of history. The Greek colony became a Roman town, and the Roman province stretched itself around the town. It was Cæsar's duty, as governor of Transalpine Gaul, to see that the poor province was not hurt by those ravaging Gauls. How he performed that duty he tells us in his first Commentary.

During the fourth year of his office, while Pompey and Crassus, his colleagues in the then existing triumvirate, were consuls, his term of dominion over the three provinces was prolonged by the addition of five other years. But he did not see the end of the ten years in that scene of action. Julia, his daughter, had died, and his great rival was estranged from him. The Senate had clamoured for his recall, and Pompey, with doubtful words, had assented. A portion of his army was demanded from him, was sent by him into Italy in obedience to the Senate, and shortly afterwards was placed under the command of Pompey. Then Cæsar found that the Italian side of the Alps was the more convenient for his purposes, that the Hither or Cisalpine Gaul demanded his services, and that it would be well for him to be near the Rubicon. The second Commentary, in three books, "De Bello Civili," giving us his record of the civil war, tells us of his deeds and fortunes for the next two years,—the years B.C. 49 and 48. The continuation of his career as a general is related in three other Commentaries, not by his own hand, to which, as being beyond the scope of this volume, only short allusion will be made. Then came one year of power, full of glory, and, upon the whole, well used; and after that there came the end, of which the tale has been so often told, when he fell, stabbed by friend and foe, at the foot of Pompey's pillar in the Capitol.

It is only further necessary that a few words should be added as to the character of Cæsar's writings. The word which our author has chosen as a name for his work means, in Cæsar's sense, a Memoir. Cæsar's "Commentaries" are memoirs written by himself, descriptive of his different campaigns, in which he treats of himself in the third person, and

tells his story as it might have been told by some accompanying scribe or secretary. This being so, we are of course driven to inquire whether some accompanying scribe or secretary may not in truth have done the work. The amount of work which Cæsar had on hand, not only in regard to his campaigns, but in the conduct of his political career, was so great as to have overtaken any brain without the addition of literary labour. Cæsar was not only a general; he was also an engineer, an astronomer, an orator, a poet, a high priest—to whom, as such, (though he himself, as we are told, was a disbeliever in the gods of Olympus), the intricate and complicated system of Roman worship was a necessary knowledge. And he was a politician, of whom it may be said that, though he was intimately acquainted with the ferocity of opposition, he knew nothing of its comparative leisure. From the beginning of the Gallic War, Cæsar was fighting in person every year but one till he died. It was only by personal fighting that he could obtain success. And he had to make his army as well as to lead it. Legion by legion, he had to collect it as he needed it, and to collect it by the force of his own character and of his own name. The abnormal plunder with which it was necessary that his soldiers should be allured to abnormal valour and toil had to be given as though from his own hand. For every detail of the soldiers' work he was responsible; and at the same time it was incumbent on him so to manipulate his Roman enemies at Rome,—and, harder still than that, his Roman friends,—that confusion and destruction should not fall upon him as a politician. Thus weighted, could he write his own Commentaries?

There is reason to believe that there was collected by him, no doubt with the aid of his secretaries, a large body of notes which were known as the *Ephemerides* of Cæsar,—jottings down, as we may say, taken from day to day.

These notes were probably collected under Cæsar's immediate eyes by his secretaries; but there is ample evidence that the Commentaries themselves are Cæsar's own work. They seem to have become known at once to the learned Romans of the day; and Cicero, who was probably the most learned, and certainly the best critic of the time, speaks of them with-

out any doubt as to their authorship. It was at once known that the first seven books of the Gallic War were written by Cæsar, and that the eighth was not. This seems to be conclusive.

It seems that the Commentaries were written as the wars were carried on, and that each was published at once. Had it not been so, we could not understand that Cæsar should have begun the second Commentary before he had finished the first. It seems that he was hindered by the urgency of the Civil War from writing what with him would have been the two last books of the Gallic War, and therefore put the completion of that work into the hands of his friend Hirtius, who wrote the memoir of the two years in one book.

Caesar's style was at once recognized by the great literary critic of the day as being excellent for its intended purpose. Cicero, the great critic, thus speaks of the Commentaries: "I pronounce them, indeed, to be very commendable, for they are simple, straightforward, agreeable, with all rhetorical ornament stripped from them, as a garment is stripped." And again, speaking of Cæsar's language, Cicero says that Cæsar spoke with more finished choice of words than almost any other orator of the day. And if he so spoke, he certainly so wrote, for the great speeches of the Romans were all written compositions. Montaigne says of Cæsar: "I read this author with somewhat more reverence and respect than is usually allowed to human writings, one while considering him in his person, by his actions and miraculous greatness, and another in the purity and inimitable polish of his language and style, wherein he not only excels all other historians, as Cicero confesses, but peradventure even Cicero himself." Cicero, however, confesses nothing of the kind, and Montaigne is so far wrong. Cæsar was a great favourite with Montaigne, who always speaks of his hero with glowing enthusiasm.

CÆSAR'S COMMENTARIES

THE INVASION OF BRITAIN¹

[THE GALLIC WAR, BOOK IV., CHAPS. XX-XXXVI.]

DURING the short part of summer which remained, Cæsar, although in these countries, as all Gaul lies towards the north, the winters are early, nevertheless resolved to proceed into Britain,² because he discovered that in almost all the wars with the Gauls succours had been furnished to our enemy from that country; and even if the time of year should be insufficient for carrying on the war, yet he thought it would be of great service to him if he only entered the island, and saw into the character of the people, and got knowledge of their localities, harbours, and landing-places, all which were for the most part unknown to the Gauls. For neither does any one except merchants generally go thither, nor even to them was any portion of it known, except the sea-coast and those parts which are opposite to Gaul. Therefore, after having called up to him the merchants from all parts, he could learn neither what was the size of the island, nor what or how numerous were the nations which inhabited it, nor what system of war they followed, nor what customs they used, nor what harbours were convenient for a great number of large ships.

¹ This is the earliest accredited account of the ancient Britons.

² Dion Cassius asserts that Cæsar's expedition against Britain tended to the advantage neither of the general nor of Rome, beyond the mere extension of the empire. Plutarch assented to this opinion. Suetonius assigns as Cæsar's motive for the expedition, the very strange one of his wishing to obtain pearls, in which he had heard the island abounded. Pliny relates that Cæsar dedicated to Venus, from whom he boasted his descent, a breast-plate formed, as he wished it to be believed, of British pearls.

He sends before him Caius Volusenus with a ship of war, to acquire a knowledge of these particulars before he in person should make a descent into the island, as he was convinced that this was a judicious measure. He commissioned him to thoroughly examine into all matters, and then return to him as soon as possible. He himself proceeds to the Morini with all his forces. He orders ships from all parts of the neighbouring countries, and the fleet which the preceding summer he had built for the war with the Veneti, to assemble in this place. In the meantime, his purpose having been discovered, and reported to the Britons by merchants, ambassadors come to him from several states of the island, to promise that they will give hostages, and submit to the government of the Roman people. Having given them an audience, he, after promising liberally, and exhorting them to continue in that purpose, sends them back to their own country, and despatches with them Commius, whom, upon subduing the Atrebates, he had created king there, a man whose courage and conduct he esteemed, and who he thought would be faithful to him, and whose influence ranked highly in those countries. He orders him to visit as many states as he could, and persuade them to embrace the protection of the Roman people, and apprise them that he would shortly come thither. Volusenus, having viewed the localities as far as means could be afforded one who dared not leave his ship and trust himself to barbarians, returns to Cæsar on the fifth day, and reports what he had there observed.

While Cæsar remains in these parts for the purpose of procuring ships, ambassadors come to him from a great portion of the Morini, to plead their excuse respecting their conduct on the late occasion; alleging that it was as men uncivilized, and as those who were unacquainted with our custom, that they had made war upon the Roman people, and promising to perform what he should command. Cæsar, thinking that this had happened fortunately enough for him, because he neither wished to leave an enemy behind him, nor had an opportunity for carrying on a war, by reason of the time of year, nor considered that employment in such trifling matters was to be preferred to his enterprise on Britain, im-

poses a large number of hostages; and when these were brought, he received them to his protection. Having collected together, and provided about eighty transport ships, as many as he thought necessary for conveying over two legions, he assigned such ships of war as he had besides to the quæstor, his lieutenants, and officers of cavalry. There were in addition to these eighteen ships of burden which were prevented, eight miles from that place, by winds, from being able to reach the same port. These he distributed amongst the horse; the rest of the army he delivered to Q. Titurius Sabinus and L. Aurunculeius Cotta, his lieutenants, to lead into the territories of the Menapii and those cantons of the Morini from which ambassadors had not come to him. He ordered P. Sulpicius Rufus, his lieutenant, to hold possession of the harbour, with such a garrison as he thought sufficient.

These matters being arranged, finding the weather favourable for his voyage, he set sail about the third watch, and ordered the horse to march forward to the farther port, and there embark and follow him. As this was performed rather tardily by them, he himself reached Britain with the first squadron of ships, about the fourth hour of the day, and there saw the forces of the enemy drawn up in arms on all the hills. The nature of the place was this: the sea was confined by mountains so close to it that a dart could be thrown from their summit upon the shore. Considering this by no means a fit place for disembarking, he remained at anchor till the ninth hour, for the other ships to arrive there. Having in the meantime assembled the lieutenants and military tribunes, he told them both what he had learnt from Volusenus, and what he wished to be done; and enjoined them (as the principle of military matters, and especially as maritime affairs, which have a precipitate and uncertain action, required) that all things should be performed by them at a nod and at the instant. Having dismissed them, meeting both with wind and tide favourable at the same time, the signal being given and the anchor weighed, he advanced about seven miles from that place, and stationed his fleet over against an open and level shore.

But the barbarians, upon perceiving the design of the

Romans, sent forward their cavalry and charioteers, a class of warriors of whom it is their practice to make great use in their battles, and following with the rest of their forces, endeavoured to prevent our men landing. In this was the greatest difficulty, for the following reasons, namely, because our ships, on account of their great size, could be stationed only in deep water; and our soldiers, in places unknown to them, with their hands embarrassed, oppressed with a large and heavy weight of armour, had at the same time to leap from the ships, stand amidst the waves, and encounter the enemy; whereas they, either on dry ground, or advancing a little way into the water, free in all their limbs, in places thoroughly known to them, could confidently throw their weapons and spur on their horses, which were accustomed to this kind of service. Dismayed by these circumstances and altogether untrained in this mode of battle, our men did not all exert the same vigour and eagerness which they had been wont to exert in engagements on dry ground.

When Cæsar observed this, he ordered the ships of war, the appearance of which was somewhat strange to the barbarians and the motion more ready for service, to be withdrawn a little from the transport vessels, and to be propelled by their oars, and be stationed towards the open flank of the enemy, and the enemy to be beaten off and driven away, with slings, arrows, and engines: which plan was of great service to our men; for the barbarians being startled by the form of our ships and the motions of our oars and the nature of our engines, which was strange to them, stopped, and shortly after retreated a little. And while our men were hesitating whether they should advance to the shore, chiefly on account of the depth of the sea, he who carried the eagle of the tenth legion, after supplicating the gods that the matter might turn out favourably to the legion, exclaimed, "Leap, fellow soldiers, unless you wish to betray your eagle to the enemy. I, for my part, will perform my duty to the commonwealth and my general." When he had said this with a loud voice, he leaped from the ship and proceeded to bear the eagle toward the enemy. Then our men, exhorting one another that so great a disgrace should not be incurred, all leaped from

the ship. When those in the nearest vessels saw them, they speedily followed and approached the enemy.

The battle was maintained vigorously on both sides. Our men, however, as they could neither keep their ranks, nor get firm footing, nor follow their standards, and as one from one ship and another from another assembled around whatever standards they met, were thrown into great confusion. But the enemy, who were acquainted with all the shallows, when from the shore they saw any coming from a ship one by one spurred on their horses, and attacked them while embarrassed, many surrounded a few, others threw their weapons upon our collected forces on their exposed flank. When Cæsar observed this, he ordered the boats of the ships of war and the spy sloops to be filled with soldiers, and sent them up to the succour of those whom he had observed in distress. Our men, as soon as they made good their footing on dry ground, and all their comrades had joined them, made an attack upon the enemy, and put them to flight, but could not pursue them very far, because the horse had not been able to maintain their course at sea and reach the island. This alone was wanting to Cæsar's accustomed success.

The enemy being thus vanquished in battle, as soon as they recovered after their flight, instantly sent ambassadors to Cæsar to negotiate about peace. They promised to give hostages and perform what he should command. Together with these ambassadors came Commius the Altrebatian, who, as I have above said, had been sent by Cæsar into Britain. Him they had seized upon when leaving his ship, although in the character of ambassador he bore the general's commission to them, and thrown into chains: then after the battle was fought, they sent him back, and in suing for peace cast the blame of that act upon the common people, and entreated that it might be pardoned on account of their indiscretion. Cæsar, complaining, that after they had sued for peace, and had voluntarily sent ambassadors into the continent for that purpose, they had made war without a reason, said that he would pardon their indiscretion, and imposed hostages, a part of whom they gave immediately; the rest they said they would give in a few days, since they were sent for from remote

places. In the meantime they ordered their people to return to the country parts, and the chiefs assembled from all quarters, and proceeded to surrender themselves and their states to Cæsar.

A peace being established by these proceedings four days after we had come into Britain, the eighteen ships, to which reference has been made above, and which conveyed the cavalry, set sail from the upper port with a gentle gale, when, however, they were approaching Britain and were seen from the camp, so great a storm suddenly arose that none of them could maintain their course at sea; and some were taken back to the same port from which they had started—others, to their great danger, were driven to the lower part of the island, nearer to the west; which, however, after having cast anchor, as they were getting filled with water, put out to sea through necessity in a stormy night, and made for the continent.

It happened that night to be full moon, which usually occasions very high tides in that ocean; and that circumstance was unknown to our men. Thus, at the same time, the tide began to fill the ships of war which Cæsar had provided to convey over his army, and which he had drawn up on the strand; and the storm began to dash the ships of burden which were riding at anchor against each other; nor was any means afforded our men of either managing them or of rendering any service. A great many ships having been wrecked, inasmuch as the rest, having lost their cables, anchors, and other tackling, were unfit for sailing, a great confusion, as would necessarily happen, arose throughout the army; for there were no other ships in which they could be conveyed back, and all things which are of service in repairing vessels were wanting, and, corn for the winter had not been provided in those places, because it was understood by all that they would certainly winter in Gaul.

On discovering these things the chiefs of Britain, who had come up after the battle was fought to perform those conditions which Cæsar had imposed, held a conference, when they perceived that cavalry, and ships, and corn were wanting to the Romans, and discovered the small number of our soldiers from the small extent of the camp (which, too, was on this

account more limited than ordinary, because Cæsar had conveyed over his legions without baggage), and thought that the best plan was to renew the war, and cut off our men from corn and provisions and protract the affair till winter; because they felt confident, that, if they were vanquished or cut off from a return, no one would afterwards pass over into Britain for the purpose of making war. Therefore, again entering into a conspiracy, they began to depart from the camp by degrees and secretly bring up their people from the country parts.

But Cæsar, although he had not as yet discovered their measures, yet, both from what had occurred to his ships, and from the circumstance that they had neglected to give the promised hostages, suspected that the thing would come to pass which really did happen. He therefore provided remedies against all contingencies; for he daily conveyed corn from the country parts into the camp, used the timber and brass of such ships as were most seriously damaged for repairing the rest, and ordered whatever things besides were necessary for this object to be brought to him from the continent. And thus, since that business was executed by the soldiers with the greatest energy, he affected that, after the loss of twelve ships, a voyage could be made well enough in the rest.

While these things are being transacted one legion had been sent to forage, according to custom, and no suspicion of war had arisen as yet, and some of the people¹ remained in the country parts, others went backwards and forwards to the camp; they who were on duty at the gates of the camp reported to Cæsar that a greater dust than was usual was seen in that direction in which the legion had marched. Cæsar, suspecting that which was really the case,—that some new enterprise was undertaken by the barbarians, ordered the two cohorts which were on duty, to march into that quarter with him, and two other cohorts to relieve them on duty; the rest

¹ This refers, not to the Romans, but the Britons, contrary to the probable meaning of the text and the testimony of commentators; some translators, however, have referred it to the former.

to be armed and follow him immediately. When he had advanced some little way from the camp, he saw that his men were overpowered by the enemy and scarcely able to stand their ground, and that, the legion being crowded together, weapons were being cast on them from all sides. For as all the corn was reaped in every part with the exception of one, the enemy, suspecting that our men would repair to that, had concealed themselves in the woods during the night. Then when our men had laid aside their arms, and were engaged in reaping, the enemy, attacking them suddenly, scattered as they were, killed a small number, threw the rest into confusion, and surrounded them with their cavalry and chariots.

Their mode of fighting with their chariots is this: firstly, they drive about in all directions and throw their weapons and generally break the ranks of the enemy with the very dread of their horses and the noise of their wheels; and when they have worked themselves in between the troops of horse, leap from their chariots and engage on foot. The charioteers in the meantime withdraw some little distance from the battle, and so place themselves with the chariots that, if their masters are overpowered by the number of the enemy, they may have a ready retreat to their own troops. Thus they display in battle the speed of horse, together with the firmness of infantry; and by daily practice and exercise attain to such expertness that they are accustomed, even on a declining and steep place, to check their horses at full speed, and manage and turn them in an instant and run along the pole, and stand on the yoke, and thence betake themselves with the greatest celerity to their chariots again.¹

Under these circumstances, our men being dismayed by the novelty of this mode of battle, Cæsar most seasonably brought assistance; for upon his arrival the enemy paused, and our men recovered from their fear; upon which, thinking

¹ Though common among the ancient nations of the east, the mode of fighting with chariots seems to have been confined in Europe to the Britons. This serves the early historian, Geoffry of Monmouth, as an argument in his attempt to prove that the Britons were of Trojan origin.

the time unfavourable for provoking the enemy and coming to an action, he kept himself in his own quarter, and, a short time having intervened, drew back the legions into the camp. While these things are going on, and all our men engaged, the rest of the Britons, who were in the fields, departed. Storms then set in for several successive days, which both confined our men to camp and hindered the enemy from attacking us. In the meantime the barbarians despatched messengers to all parts, and reported to their people the small number of our soldiers, and how good an opportunity was given for obtaining spoil and for liberating themselves for ever, if they should only drive the Romans from their camp. Having by these means speedily got together a large force of infantry and of cavalry they came up to the camp.

Although Cæsar anticipated that the same thing which had happened on former occasions would then occur—that, if the enemy were routed, they would escape from danger by their speed; still, having got about thirty horse, which Cummius the Atrebatian, of whom mention has been made, had brought over with him from Gaul, he drew up the legions in order of battle before the camp. When the action commenced, the enemy were unable to sustain the attack of our men long, and turned their backs; our men pursued them as far as their speed and strength permitted, and slew a great number of them; then, having destroyed and burnt everything far and wide, they retreated to their camp.

The same day, ambassadors sent by the enemy came to Cæsar to negotiate peace. Cæsar doubled the number of hostages which he had before demanded; and ordered that they should be brought over to the continent, because, since the time of the equinox was near, he did not consider that, with his ships out of repair, the voyage ought to be deferred till winter. Having met with favourable weather, he set sail a little after midnight, and all his fleet arrived safe at the continent, except two of the ships of burden which could not make the same port which the other ships did, and were carried a little lower down.

CUSTOMS OF THE GAULS AND GERMANS

[THE GALLIC WAR, BOOK VI., CHAPS. XI-XXVIII.]

SINCE we have come to this place, it does not appear to be foreign to our subject to lay before the reader an account of the manners of Gaul and Germany, and wherein these nations differ from each other. In Gaul there are factions not only in all the states, and in all the cantons and their divisions, but almost in each family, and of these factions those are the leaders who are considered according to their judgment to possess the greatest influence, upon whose will and determination the management of all affairs and measures depends. And that seems to have been instituted in ancient times with this view, that no one of the common people should be in want of support against one more powerful; for none of those leaders suffers his party to be oppressed and defrauded, and if he do otherwise, he has no influence among his party. This same policy exists throughout the whole of Gaul; for all the states are divided into two factions.

When Cæsar arrived in Gaul, the Ædui were the leaders of one faction, the Sequāni of the other. Since the latter were less powerful by themselves, inasmuch as the chief influence was from of old among the Ædui, and their dependencies were great, they had united to themselves the Germans and Ariovistus, and had brought them over to their party by great sacrifices and promises. And having fought several successful battles and slain all the nobility of the Ædui, they had so far surpassed them in power, that they brought over, from the Ædui to themselves, a large portion of their dependants and received from them the sons of their leading men as hostages, and compelled them to swear in their public character that they would enter into no design against them; and held a portion of the neighbouring land, seized on by force, and possessed the sovereignty of the whole of Gaul. Divitiacus urged by this necessity, had proceeded to Rome to the

senate, for the purpose of entreating assistance, and had returned without accomplishing his object. A change of affairs ensued on the arrival of Cæsar, the hostages were returned to the Ædui, their old dependencies restored, and new acquired through Cæsar (because those who had attached themselves to their alliance saw that they enjoyed a better state and a milder government), their other interests, their influence, their reputation were likewise increased, and in consequence, the Sequāni lost the sovereignty. The Remi succeeded to their place, and, as it was perceived that they equalled the Ædui in favour with Cæsar,¹ those, who on account of their old animosities could by no means coalesce with the Ædui, consigned themselves in clientship to the Remi. The latter carefully protected them. Thus they possessed both a new and suddenly acquired influence. Affairs were then in that position, that the Ædui were considered by far the leading people, and the Remi held the second post of honour.

Throughout all Gaul there are two orders of those men who are of any rank and dignity: for the commonality is held almost in the condition of slaves, and dares to undertake nothing of itself and is admitted to no deliberation. The greater part, when they are pressed either by debt, or the large amount of their tributes, or the oppression of the more powerful, give themselves up in vassalage to the nobles, who possess over them the same rights without exception as masters over their slaves.² But of these two orders, one is that of the Druids, the other that of the knights. The former are engaged in things sacred, conduct the public and the private sacrifices, and interpret all matters of religion. To these a large number of the young men resort for the purpose of instruction, and they [the Druids] are in great honour among them. For they determine respecting almost all con-

¹ *i. e.*, that the Remi stood as high in Cæsar's favour as did the Ædui.

² As far as we can discover from remaining testimonies, the condition of vassalage, or the state of the feudal retainer, among the ancient Gauls was not so hard as that of a corresponding relation among some more polished people.

roversies, public and private; and if any crime has been perpetrated, if murder has been committed, if there be any dispute about an inheritance, if any about boundaries, these same persons decide it; they decree rewards and punishments; if any one, either in a private or public capacity, has not submitted to their decision, they interdict him from the sacrifices.¹ This among them is the most heavy punishment. Those who have been thus interdicted are esteemed in the number of the impious and the criminal: all shun them, and avoid their society and conversation, lest they receive some evil from their contact; nor is justice administered to them when seeking it, nor is any dignity bestowed on them. Over all these Druids one presides, who possesses supreme authority among them. Upon his death, if any individual among the rest is pre-eminent in dignity, he succeeds; but, if there are many equal, the election is made by the suffrages of the Druids; sometimes they even contend for the presidency with arms. These assemble at a fixed period of the year in a consecrated place in the territories of the Carnutes, which is reckoned the central region of the whole of Gaul. Hither all, who have disputes, assemble from every part, and submit to their decrees and determinations. This institution is supposed to have been devised in Britain, and to have been brought over from it into Gaul; and now those who desire to gain a more accurate knowledge of that system generally proceed thither for the purpose of studying it.²

¹ The Druids possessed unbounded influence, being judges in the most important civil causes, and invested with the administration of capital justice; being priests among a people given (as the Gauls were in a remarkable degree) to religious rites and ceremonies; and having the instruction of the sons of the great not only in the mysteries of religion, but also in the theories of government and the physical sciences. "They," says Chrysostom, "in truth, reigned; for kings, though sitting on thrones of gold, and dwelling in gorgeous palaces, and partaking of sumptuous banquets, were subservient to them."

² The Delphin commentator supposes it more likely that this institution passed into Britain from Gaul. When it declined in Gaul it flourished in Britain. He illustrates his position by saying, that,



The Druids do not go to war, nor pay tribute together with the rest; they have an exemption from military service and a dispensation in all matters. Induced by such great advantages, many embrace this profession of their own accord, and many are sent to it by their parents and relations. They are said there to learn by heart a great number of verses; accordingly some remain in the course of training twenty years. Nor do they regard it lawful to commit these to writing, though in almost all other matters, in their public and private transactions, they use Greek characters. That practice they seem to me to have adopted for two reasons; because they neither desire their doctrines to be divulged among the mass of the people, nor those who learn, to devote themselves the less to the efforts of memory, relying on writing: since it generally occurs to most men, that, in their dependence on writing, they relax their diligence in learning thoroughly, and their employment of the memory. They wish to inculcate this as one of their leading tenets, that souls do not become extinct, but pass after death from one body to another,¹ and they think that men by this tenet are in a great degree excited to valour, the fear of death being disregarded. They likewise discuss and impart to the youth many things respecting the stars and their motion, respecting the extent of the world and of our earth, respecting the nature of things, respecting the power and the majesty of the immortal gods.

though Judea was the fountain of Christianity, the faith is nearly extinct there, while it shines in those regions which derived it thence; and asks who would go to Jerusalem rather than to Rome or Paris to study Christian divinity. He also observes that Cæsar does not assert the British origin of the institution on his own authority.

¹ Because Pythagoras is said by Diogenes Laertius to have visited not only the Greek, but likewise the *Barbarian* schools in pursuing his study of *Sacred Mysteries*, it has been thought that he derived his *Metempsychosis* from the Druids. This view is hardly tenable, for between the Druidical and the Pythagorean *Metempsychosis* there was this important difference, that the latter maintained the migration of the soul into irrational animals, while the former restricted the dogma to the passage of the soul from man to man.

The other order is that of the knights. These, when there is occasion and any war occurs (which before Cæsar's arrival was for the most part wont to happen every year, as either they on their part were inflicting injuries or repelling those which others inflicted on them), are all engaged in war. And those of them most distinguished by birth and resources, have the greatest number of vassals and dependants about them. They acknowledge this sort of influence and power only.

The nation of all the Gauls is extremely devoted to superstitious rites; and on that account they who are troubled with unusually severe diseases and they who are engaged in battles and dangers, either sacrifice men as victims, or vow that they will sacrifice them, and employ the Druids as the performers of those sacrifices; because they think that unless the life of a man be offered for the life of a man, the mind of the immortal gods cannot be rendered propitious, and they have sacrifices of that kind ordained for national purposes. Others have figures of vast size, the limbs of which (formed of osiers) they fill with living men, and, setting the figures on fire, cause the men to perish enveloped in the flames. They consider that the oblation of such as have been taken in theft, or in robbery, or any other offence, is more acceptable to the immortal gods; but when a supply of that class is wanting, they have recourse to the oblation of even the innocent.

They worship as their divinity, Mercury¹ in particular, and have many images of him, and regard him as the inventor of all arts, they consider him, the guide of their journeys and marches, and believe him to have very great influence over the acquisition of gain and mercantile transactions. Next to him they worship Apollo, and Mars, and Jupiter, and Minerva; respecting these deities they have for the most part the same belief as other nations: that Apollo averts diseases, that Minerva imparts the invention of manufactures, that Jupiter possesses the sovereignty of the heavenly powers; that Mars presides over wars. To him, when they have determined to

¹ Cæsar, of course, applies to the divinities of the Gauls the names of those gods in the Roman mythology whose attributes generally correspond with them severally.

engage in battle, they commonly vow those things which they shall take in war. When they have conquered, they sacrifice whatever captured animals may have survived the conflict, and collect the other things into one place. In many states you may see piles of these things heaped up in their consecrated spots; nor does it often happen that any one, disregarding the sanctity of the case, dares either to secrete in his house things captured, or take away those deposited; and the most severe punishment, with torture, has been established for such a deed.

All the Gauls assert that they are descended from the god Dis, and say that this tradition has been handed down by the Druids. For that reason they compute the divisions of every season, not by the number of days, but of nights; they keep birth-days and the beginnings of months and years in such an order that the day follows the night. Among the other usages of their life, they differ in this from almost all other nations, that they do not permit their children to approach them openly until they are grown up so as to be able to bear the service of war; and they regard it as indecorous for a son of boyish age to stand in public in the presence of his father.

Whatever sums of money the husbands have received in the name of dowry from their wives, making an estimate of it, they add the same amount out of their own estates. An account is kept of all this money conjointly, and the profits are laid by; whichever of them shall have survived the other, to that one the portion of both reverts together with the profits of the previous time. Husbands have power of life and death over their wives as well as over their children: and when the father of a family, born in a more than commonly distinguished rank, has died, his relations assemble, and, if the circumstances of his death are suspicious, hold an investigation upon the wives in the manner adopted towards slaves; and, if proof be obtained, put them to severe torture, and kill them. Their funerals, considering the state of civilization among the Gauls, are magnificent and costly; and they cast into the fire all things, including living creatures, which they suppose to have been dear to them when alive; and, a little before this period, slaves and dependants, who were ascer-

tained to have been beloved by them, were, after the regular funeral rites were completed, burnt together with them.

Those states which are considered to conduct their commonwealth more judiciously, have it ordained by their laws, that, if any person shall have heard by rumour and report from his neighbours anything concerning the commonwealth, he shall convey it to the magistrate and not impart it to any other; because it has been discovered that inconsiderate and inexperienced men were often alarmed by false reports and driven to some rash act, or else took hasty measures in affairs of the highest importance. The magistrates conceal those things which require to be kept unknown; and they disclose to the people whatever they determine to be expedient. It is not lawful to speak of the commonwealth except in council.

The Germans differ much from these usages, for they have neither Druids to preside over sacred offices, nor do they pay great regard to sacrifices. They rank in the number of the gods those alone whom they behold, and by whose instrumentality they are obviously benefited, namely, the sun, fire, and the moon; they have not heard of the other deities even by report. Their whole life is occupied in hunting and in the pursuits of the military art; from childhood they devote themselves to fatigue and hardships. Those who have remained chaste for the longest time, receive the greatest commendation among their people: they think that by this the growth is promoted, by this the physical powers are increased and the sinews are strengthened. And to have had knowledge of a woman before the twentieth year they reckon among the most disgraceful acts; of which matter there is no concealment, because they bathe promiscuously in the rivers and only use skins or small cloaks of deers' hides, a large portion of the body being in consequence naked.

They do not pay much attention to agriculture, and a large portion of their food consists in milk, cheese, and flesh; nor has any one a fixed quantity of land or his own individual limits; but the magistrates and the leading men each year apportion to the tribes and families, who have united together, as much land as, and in the place in which, they think proper, and the year after compel them to remove elsewhere. For this enactment they advance many reasons—lest seduced by

long-continued custom, they may exchange their ardour in the waging of war for agriculture; lest they may be anxious to acquire extensive estates, and the more powerful drive the weaker from their possessions; lest they construct their houses with too great a desire to avoid cold and heat; lest the desire of wealth spring up, from which cause divisions and discords arise; and that they may keep the common people in a contented state of mind, when each sees his own means placed on an equality with those of the most powerful.

It is the greatest glory to the several states to have as wide deserts as possible around them, their frontiers having been laid waste. They consider this the real evidence of their prowess, that their neighbours shall be driven out of their lands and abandon them, and that no one dare settle near them; at the same time they think that they shall be on that account the more secure, because they have removed the apprehension of a sudden incursion. When a state either repels war waged against it, or wages it against another, magistrates are chosen to preside over that war with such authority, that they have power of life and death. In peace there is no common magistrate, but the chiefs of provinces and cantons administer justice and determine controversies among their own people. Robberies which are committed beyond the boundaries of each state bear no infamy, and they avow that these are committed for the purpose of disciplining their youth and of preventing sloth. And when any of their chiefs has said in an assembly "that he will be their leader, let those who are willing to follow, give in their names;" they who approve of both the enterprise and the man arise and promise their assistance and are applauded by the people; such of them as have not followed him are accounted in the number of deserters and traitors, and confidence in all matters is afterwards refused them. To injure guests they regard as impious; they defend from wrong those who have come to them for any purpose whatever, and esteem them inviolable; to them the houses of all are open and maintenance is freely supplied.¹

¹ "No nation," says Tacitus, speaking of them in his *Germania*, "more freely exercises entertainment and hospitality. To drive any one whomsoever from their houses, they consider a crime."

And there was formerly a time when the Gauls excelled the Germans in prowess, and waged war on them offensively, and, on account of the great number of their people and the insufficiency of their land, sent colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly, the Volcæ Tectosages¹ seized on those parts of Germany which are the most fruitful and lie around the Hercynian forests² (which, I perceive, was known by report to Eratosthenes and some other Greeks, and which they call Orcynia) and settled there. Which nation to this time retains its position in those settlements, and has a very high character for justice and military merit: now also they continue in the same scarcity, indulgence, hardihood, as the Germans, and use the same food and dress; but their proximity to the Province and knowledge of commodities from countries beyond the sea supplies to the Gauls³ many things tending to luxury as well as civilization. Accustomed by degrees to be overmatched and worsted in many engagements, they do not even compare themselves to the Germans in prowess.

The breadth of this Hercynian forest, which has been referred to above, is to a quick traveller, a journey of nine days. For it cannot be otherwise computed, nor are they acquainted with the measures of roads. It begins at the frontiers of the Helvetii, Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extends in a right line along the river Danube to the territories of the Daci and the

¹ The Volcæ were a large and powerful nation in the southwest of Gaul, and were divided into two great tribes. First, the Volcæ Arecomici, who inhabited the eastern part of the Province, whose chief city was Nimausus [now Nismes]. Second, the Volcæ Tectosages, who inhabited the western part of the Province, whose chief city was Narbo [now Narbonne]. It is highly probable that the migration to which Cæsar alludes here, is the same recorded by Livy, in the 34th chapter of the 5th book, and that the Volcæ Tectosages were the Gauls that followed Sigovesus into the wilds of the Hercynian forest.

² The Hercynian forest is supposed to have derived its name from the German word *hartz*, "resin." Traces of the name are still preserved in the Harz and Erz mountains.

³ Meaning such of the Volcæ Tectosages as had not migrated into Germany.

Anartes: it bends thence to the left in a different direction from the river, and owing to its extent touches the confines of many nations; nor is there any person belonging to this part of Germany who says that he either has gone to the extremity of that forest, though he had advanced a journey of sixty days, or has heard in what place it begins. It is certain that many kinds of wild beasts are produced in it which have not been seen in other parts; of which the following are such as differ principally from other animals, and appear worthy of being committed to record.

There is an ox of the shape of a stag, between whose ears a horn rises from the middle of the forehead, higher and straighter than those horns which are known to us. From the top of this, branches, like palms, stretch out a considerable distance. The shape of the female and of the male is the same; the appearance and the size of the horns is the same.

There are also animals which are called elks. The shape of these, and the varied colour of their skins, is much like roes, but in size they surpass them a little and are destitute of horns, and have legs without joints and ligatures; nor do they lie down for the purpose of rest, nor, if they have been thrown down by any accident, can they raise or lift themselves up. Trees serve as beds to them; they lean themselves against them, and thus reclining only slightly, they take their rest; when the huntsmen have discovered from the footsteps of these animals whither they are accustomed to betake themselves, they either undermine all the trees at the roots, or cut into them so far that the upper part of the trees may appear to be left standing. When they have leant upon them, according to their habit, they knock down by their weight the unsupported trees, and fall down themselves along with them.

There is a third kind, consisting of those animals which are called uri. These are a little below the elephant in size, and of the appearance, colour, and shape of a bull. Their strength and speed are extraordinary; they spare neither man nor wild beast which they have espied. These the Germans take with much pains in pits and kill them. The young men harden themselves with this exercise, and practise themselves in this kind of hunting, and those who have slain the greatest

number of them, having produced the horns in public, to serve as evidence, receive great praise. But not even when taken very young can they be rendered familiar to men and tamed. The size, shape, and appearance of their horns differ much from the horns of our oxen. These they anxiously seek after, and bind at the tips with silver, and use as cups at their most sumptuous entertainments.

THE SUBJUGATION OF VERGINGETORIX

[THE GALLIC WAR, BOOK VII.]

GAUL being tranquil, Cæsar, as he had determined, sets out for Italy to hold the provincial assizes. There he receives intelligence of the death of Clodius;¹ and, being informed of the decree of the senate, to the effect that all the youth of Italy should take the military oath, he determined to hold a levy throughout the entire province. Report of these events is rapidly borne into Transalpine Gaul. The Gauls themselves add to the report, and invent, what the case seemed to require, namely, that Cæsar was detained by commotions in the city, and could not, amidst so violent dissensions, come to his army.² Animated by this opportunity, they who al-

¹ A licentious noble, who acted a prominent part in the scenes of anarchy and violence which disgraced, at this time, the Roman republic. He bore a bitter hatred to Cicero and became a ready tool in the hands of Pompey and others, who beheld, in the eloquence of Cicero, the greatest bulwark of the constitution. He succeeded in expelling the father of his country, who was, however, speedily recalled. Clodius met a death worthy of his life, being slain by a gladiator in the service of Milo, one of his most hated political opponents. It was on the occasion of Milo's trial for the death of Clodius that Cicero pronounced his famous oration, "Pro Milone," which has attracted the admiration of all ages for the eloquence of the language and beauty of the diction.

² Plutarch well remarks, that had Vercingetorix waited a little longer until Cæsar had actually engaged in the civil war, the rising of the Gauls would have appeared as formidable to the Romans as the inroad of the Cimbri and Teutones.

ready, previously to this occurrence, were indignant that they were reduced beneath the dominion of Rome, begin to organize their plans for war more openly and daringly. The leading men of Gaul, having convened councils among themselves in the woods, and retired places, complain of the death of Acco: they point out that this fate may fall in turn on themselves: they bewail the unhappy fate of Gaul; and by every sort of promises and rewards, they earnestly solicit some to begin the war, and assert the freedom of Gaul at the hazard of their lives. They say that special care should be paid to this, that Cæsar should be cut off from his army, before their secret plans should be divulged. That this was easy, because neither would the legions, in the absence of their general, dare to leave their winter quarters, nor could the general reach his army without a guard: finally, that it was better to be slain in battle, than not to recover their ancient glory in war, and that freedom which they had received from their forefathers.

Whilst these things are in agitation, the Carnutes declare "that they would decline no danger for the sake of the general safety, "and promise" that they would be the first of all to begin the war; and since they cannot at present take precautions, by giving and receiving hostages, that the affair shall not be divulged they require that a solemn assurance be given them by oath and plighted honour, their military standards being brought together (in which manner their most sacred obligations are made binding), that they should not be deserted by the rest of the Gauls on commencing the war.

When the appointed day came, the Carnutes, under the command of Cotuatus and Conetodunus, desperate men, meet together at Genabum, and slay the Roman citizens who had settled there for the purpose of trading, (among the rest, Caius Fusius Cita, a distinguished Roman knight, who by Cæsar's orders had presided over the provision department,) and plunder their property. The report is quickly spread among all the states of Gaul; for, whenever a more important and remarkable event takes place they transmit the intelli-

gence through their lands and districts by a shout;¹ the others take it up in succession and pass it to their neighbours, as happened on this occasion; for the things which were done at Genabum at sunrise, were heard in the territories of the Arverni before the end of the first watch, which is an extent of more than a hundred and sixty miles.

There in like manner, Vercingetorix,² the son of Celtillus the Arvernian, a young man of the highest power (whose father had held the supremacy of entire Gaul, and had been put to death by his fellow citizens, for this reason, because he aimed at sovereign power), summoned together his dependents, and easily excited them. On his design being made known, they rush to arms: he is expelled from the town of Gergovia,³ by his uncle Gobanitio and the rest of the nobles, who were of opinion, that such an enterprise ought not to be hazarded: he did not however desist, but held in the country a levy of the needy and desperate. Having collected such a body of troops, he brings over to his sentiments such of his fellow citizens as he has access to: he exhorts them to take up arms in behalf of the general freedom, and having assembled great forces he drives from the state his opponents, by whom he had been expelled a short time previously. He is saluted king by his partizans; he sends ambassadors in every direc-

¹ Men were posted on heights to convey the intelligence from one to the other by shouts.

² Vercingetorix appears to have been by far the most talented of the Gallic chieftains that ever entered the lists against Cæsar; he certainly raised the most powerful combination against Rome which has been yet mentioned; and it was under him that the warrior Gauls made their last great effort to crush the overwhelming power of Rome, which is detailed in the present book. Celtic scholars derive the name Vercingetorix from *Ver-cim-cedo-righ*, which means "chieftain of a hundred heads," or, in other words, "a great captain."

³ Gergovia, a very strong town and fortress of the Arverni, built on a very high mountain, which was almost inaccessible: it lay to the west of the Albi, and is remarkable as being the only place in Gaul that foiled the arms of Cæsar. It is considered to be the modern *Mount Gergoie*.

tion, he conjures them to adhere firmly to their promise. He quickly attaches to his interests the Senones, Parisii, Pictones, Cadurci, Turones, Aulerci, Lemovice, and all the others who border on the ocean; the supreme command is conferred on him by unanimous consent. On obtaining this authority, he demands hostages from all these states, he orders a fixed number of soldiers to be sent to him immediately; he determines what quantity of arms each state shall prepare at home, and before what time; he pays particular attention to the cavalry. To the utmost vigilance he adds the utmost rigour of authority; and by the severity of his punishments brings over the wavering: for on the commission of a greater crime¹ he puts the perpetrators to death by fire and every sort of tortures; for a slighter cause, he sends home the offenders with their ears cut off, or one of their eyes put out, that they may be an example to the rest, and frighten others by the severity of their punishment.

Having quickly collected an army by their punishments, he sends Lucterius, one of the Cadurci, a man of the utmost daring, with part of his forces, into the territory of the Ruteni; and marches in person into the country of the Bituriges. On his arrival, the Bituriges send ambassadors to the Ædui, under whose protection they were, to solicit aid in order that they might more easily resist the forces of the enemy. The Ædui, by the advice of the lieutenants whom Cæsar had left with the army, send supplies of horse and foot to succour the Bituriges. When they came to the river Loire, which separates the Bituriges from the Ædui, they delayed a few days there, and, not daring to pass the river, return home, and send back word to the lieutenants that they had returned through fear of the treachery of the Bituriges, who, they ascertained, had formed this design, that if the Ædui should cross the river, the Bituriges on the one side, and the Arverni on the other, should surround them. Whether they did this for the reason which they alleged to the lieutenants, or influenced by treachery, we think that we ought not to state as certain, because we have no proof. On their de-

¹ Than being lukewarm in the Gallic cause.

parture, the Bituriges immediately unite themselves to the Arverni.

These affairs being announced to Cæsar in Italy, at the time when he understood that matters in the city had been reduced to a more tranquil state by the energy of Cneius Pompey, he set out for Transalpine Gaul. After he had arrived there, he was greatly at a loss to know by what means he could reach his army. For if he should summon the legions into the province, he was aware that on their march they would have to fight in his absence; he foresaw too, that if he himself should endeavour to reach the army, he would act injudiciously, in trusting his safety even to those who seemed to be tranquillized.

In the meantime Lucterius the Cadurcan, having been sent into the country of the Ruteni, gains over that state to the Arverni. Having advanced into the country of the Nitio-briges, and Gabali, he receives hostages from both nations, and, assembling a numerous force, marches to make a descent on the province in the direction of Narbo. Cæsar, when this circumstance was announced to him, thought that the march to Narbo ought to take the precedence of all his other plans. When he arrived there, he encourages the timid, and stations garrisons among the Ruteni,¹ in the province of the Volcæ Arecomici, and the country around Narbo which was in the vicinity of the enemy; he orders a portion of the forces from the province, and the recruits which he had brought from Italy, to rendezvous among the Helvii who border on the territories of the Arverni.

These matters being arranged, and Lucterius now checked and forced to retreat, because he thought it dangerous to enter the line of Roman garrisons, Cæsar marches into the country of the Helvii; although mount Cevennes,² which separates the Arverni from the Helvii, blocked up the way

¹ Cæsar calls them the Ruteni of the province, to distinguish them from the Ruteni of Aquitania.

² Mount Cevenna, or Cebenna, the Cevennes, a lofty chain of mountains which separated Aquitania from Gallia Narbonensis, and joins Mount Jura.

with very deep snow, as it was the severest season of the year; yet having cleared away the snow to the depth of six feet, and having opened the roads, he reaches the territories of the Arverni, with infinite labour to his soldiers. This people being surprised, because they considered themselves defended by the Cevennes as by a wall, and the paths at this season of the year had never before been passable even to individuals, he orders the cavalry to extend themselves as far as they could, and strike as great a panic as possible into the enemy. These proceedings are speedily announced to Vercingetorix by rumour and his messengers. Around him all the Arverni crowd in alarm, and solemnly entreat him to protect their property, and not to suffer them to be plundered by the enemy, especially as he saw that all the war was transferred into their country. Being prevailed upon by their entreaties he moves his camp from the country of the Bituriges in the direction of the Arverni.

Cæsar, having delayed two days in that place, because he had anticipated that, in the natural course of events, such would be the conduct of Vercingetorix, leaves the army under pretence of raising recruits and cavalry: he places Brutus, a young man, in command of these forces; he gives him instructions that the cavalry should range as extensively as possible in all directions; that he would exert himself not to be absent from the camp longer than three days. Having arranged these matters, he marches to Vienna¹ by as long journeys as he can, when his own soldiers did not expect him.

Finding there a fresh body of cavalry, which he had sent on to that place several days before, marching incessantly night and day, he advanced rapidly through the territory of the Ædui into that of the Lingones, in which two legions were wintering, that, if any plan affecting his own safety should have been organized by the Ædui, he might defeat it by the rapidity of his movements. When he arrived there, he sends information to the rest of the legions, and gathers all his army

¹ The chief town of the Allobroges, situated on the eastern bank of the Rhone. Now *Vienne*.

into one place before intelligence of his arrival could be announced to the Arverni.

Vercingetorix, on hearing this circumstance, leads back his army into the country of the Bituriges; and after marching from it to Gergovia, a town of the Boii, whom Cæsar had settled there after defeating them in the Helvetian war, and had rendered tributary to the Ædui, he determined to attack it.

This action caused great perplexity to Cæsar in the selection of his plans; he feared lest, if he should confine his legions in one place for the remaining portion of the winter, all Gaul should revolt when the tributaries of the Ædui were subdued, because it would appear that there was in him no protection for his friends; but if he should draw them too soon out of their winter quarters, he might be distressed by the want of provisions, in consequence of the difficulty of conveyance. It seemed better, however, to endure every hardship than to alienate the affections of all his allies, by submitting to such an insult. Having, therefore, impressed on the Ædui the necessity of supplying him with provisions, he sends forward messengers to the Boii to inform them of his arrival, and encourage them to remain firm in their allegiance, and resist the attack of the enemy with great resolution. Having left two legions and the luggage of the entire army at Argenticum,¹ he marches to the Boii.

On the second day, when he came to Vellaunodunum,² a town of the Senones, he determined to attack it, in order that he might not leave an enemy in his rear, and might the more easily procure supplies of provisions, and draw a line of circumvallation around it in two days; on the third day, ambassadors being sent from the town to treat of a capitulation, he orders their arms to be brought together, their cattle to be brought forth, and six hundred hostages to be given. He leaves Caius Trebonius his lieutenant, to complete these arrangements; he himself sets out with the intention of marching as soon as possible, to Genabum, a town of the Carnutes,

¹ The chief city of the Senones. Now *Sens*.

² A town of the Senones. Now *Beauns*.

who having then for the first time received information of the siege of Vellaunodunum, as they thought that it would be protracted to a longer time, were preparing a garrison to send to Genabum for the defence of that town. Cæsar arrived here in two days; after pitching his camp before the town, being prevented by the time of the day, he defers the attack to the next day, and orders his soldiers to prepare whatever was necessary for that enterprize; and as a bridge over the Loire connected the town of Genabum¹ with the opposite bank, fearing lest the inhabitants should escape by night from the town, he orders two legions to keep watch under arms. The people of Genabum came forth silently from the city before midnight, and began to cross the river. When this circumstance was announced by scouts, Cæsar, having set fire to the gates, sends in the legions which he had ordered to be ready, and obtains possession of the town so completely, that very few of the whole number of the enemy escaped being taken alive, because the narrowness of the bridge and the roads prevented the multitude from escaping. He pillages and burns the town, gives the booty to the soldiers, then leads his army over the Loire, and marches into the territories of the Bituriges.

Vercingetorix, when he ascertained the arrival of Cæsar, desisted from the siege of Gergovia, and marched to meet Cæsar. The latter had commenced to besiege Noviodunum; and when ambassadors came from this town to beg that he would pardon them and spare their lives, in order that he might execute the rest of his designs with the rapidity by which he had accomplished most of them, he orders their arms to be collected, their horses to be brought forth, and hostages to be given. A part of the hostages being now delivered up, when the rest of the terms were being performed, a few centurions and soldiers being sent into the town to collect the arms and horses, the enemy's cavalry which had outstripped the main body of Vercingetorix's army, was seen

¹ A town of the Aureliani, situated on the Loire. It was subsequently called by the inhabitants Aurelianum, which by a slight change became the modern *Orleans*.

at a distance; as soon as the townsmen beheld them, and entertained hopes of assistance, raising a shout, they began to take up arms, shut the gates, and line the walls. When the centurions in the town understood from the signal-making of the Gauls that they were forming some new design, they drew their swords and seized the gates, and recovered all their men safe.

Cæsar orders the horse to be drawn out of the camp, and commences a cavalry action. His men being now distressed, Cæsar sends to their aid about four hundred German horse, which he had determined, at the beginning, to keep with himself. The Gauls could not withstand their attack, but were put to flight, and retreated to their main body, after losing a great number of men. When they were routed, the townsmen, again intimidated, arrested those persons by whose exertions they thought that the mob had been roused, and brought them to Cæsar, and surrendered themselves to him. When these affairs were accomplished, Cæsar marched to the Avaricum,¹ which was the largest and best fortified town in the territories of the Bituriges, and situated in a most fertile tract of country; because he confidently expected that on taking that town, he would reduce beneath his dominion the state of the Bituriges.

Vercingetorix, after sustaining such a series of losses at Vellaunodunum, Genabum, and Noviodunum, summons his men to a council. He impresses on them "that the war must be prosecuted on a very different system from that which had been previously adopted; but they should by all means aim at this object, that the Romans should be prevented from foraging and procuring provisions; that this was easy, because they themselves were well supplied with cavalry, and were likewise assisted by the season of the year; that forage could not be cut; that the enemy must necessarily disperse, and look for it in the houses, that all these might be daily destroyed by

¹ It derived its appellation from the river Avara, the modern Euse, one of the southern branches of the Loire. It was the largest and best fortified town of the Bituriges, whose name it subsequently bore. Now *Bourges*.

the horse. Besides that the interests of private property must be neglected for the sake of the general safety; that the villages and houses ought to be fired, over such an extent of country in every direction from Boia, as the Romans appeared capable of scouring in their search for forage. That an abundance of these necessaries could be supplied to them, because they would be assisted by the resources of those in whose territories the war would be waged: that the Romans either would not bear the privation, or else would advance to any distance from the camp with considerable danger; and that it made no difference whether they slew them or stripped them of their baggage, since, if it was lost, they could not carry on the war. Besides that, the towns ought to be burnt which were not secured against every danger by their fortifications or natural advantages; that there should not be places of retreat for their own countrymen for declining military service, nor be exposed to the Romans as inducements to carry off abundance of provisions and plunder. If these sacrifices should appear heavy or galling, that they ought to consider it much more distressing that their wives and children should be dragged off to slavery, and themselves slain; the evils which must necessarily befall the conquered.

This opinion having been approved of by unanimous consent, more than twenty towns of the Bituriges are burnt in one day. Conflagrations are beheld in every quarter; and although all bore this with great regret, yet they laid before themselves this consolation, that, as the victory was certain, they could quickly recover their losses. There is a debate concerning Avaricum in the general council, whether they should decide, that it should be burnt or defended. The Bituriges threw themselves at the feet of all the Gauls, and entreat that they should not be compelled to set fire with their own hands to the fairest city of almost the whole of Gaul, which was both a protection and ornament to the state; they say that "they could easily defend it, owing to the nature of the ground, for, being enclosed almost on every side by a river and a marsh, it had only one entrance, and that very narrow." Permission being granted to them at their earnest request, Vercingetorix at first dissuades them from it, but afterwards

concedes the point, owing to their entreaties and the compassion of the soldiers. A proper garrison is selected for the town.

Vercingetorix follows closely upon Cæsar by shorter marches, and selects for his camp a place defended by woods and marshes, at the distance of fifteen miles from Avaricum. There he received intelligence by trusty scouts, every hour in the day, of what was going on at Avaricum, and ordered whatever he wished to be done; he closely watched all our expeditions for corn and forage, and whenever they were compelled to go to a greater distance, he attacked them when dispersed, and inflicted severe loss upon them; although the evil was remedied by our men, as far as precautions could be taken, by going forth at irregular times, and by different ways.

Cæsar, pitching his camp at that side of the town which was not defended by the river and marsh, and had a very narrow approach, as we have mentioned, began to raise the vineæ and erect two towers; for the nature of the place prevented him from drawing a line of circumvallation. He never ceased to importune the Boii and Ædui for supplies of corn; of whom the one [the Ædui], because they were acting with no zeal, did not aid him much; the others [the Boii], as their resources were not great, quickly consumed what they had. Although the army was distressed by the greatest want of corn, through the poverty of the Boii, the apathy of the Ædui, and the burning of the houses, to such a degree, that for several days the soldiers were without corn, and satisfied their extreme hunger with cattle driven from the remote villages; yet no language was heard from them unworthy of the majesty of the Roman people and their former victories. Moreover, when Cæsar addressed the legions, one by one, when at work, and said that he would raise the siege, if they felt the scarcity too severely, they unanimously begged him "not to do so; that they had served for several years under his command in such a manner, that they never submitted to insult, and never abandoned an enterprise without accomplishing it; that they should consider it a disgrace if they abandoned the siege after commencing it; that it was better

to endure every hardship than not to avenge the manes of the Roman citizens who perished at Genabum by the perfidy of the Gauls." They entrusted the same declarations to the centurions and military tribunes, that through them they might be communicated to Cæsar.

When the towers had now approached the walls, Cæsar ascertained from the captives that Vercingetorix, after destroying the forage, had pitched his camp nearer Avaricum, and that he himself with the cavalry and light-armed infantry, who generally fought among the horse, had gone to lay an ambuscade in that quarter, to which he thought that our troops would come the next day to forage. On learning these facts, he set out from the camp secretly at midnight, and reached the camp of the enemy early in the morning. They having quickly learned the arrival of Cæsar by scouts, hid their cars and baggage in the thickest parts of the woods, and drew up all their forces in a lofty and open space; which circumstance being announced, Cæsar immediately ordered the baggage to be piled, and the arms to be got ready.

There was a hill of a gentle ascent from the bottom; a dangerous and impassable marsh, not more than fifty feet broad, begirt it on almost every side. The Gauls, having broken down the bridges, posted themselves on this hill, in confidence of their position, and being drawn up in tribes according to their respective states, held all the fords and passages of that marsh with trusty guards, thus determined that if the Romans should attempt to force the marsh, they would overpower them from the higher ground while sticking in it, so that whoever saw the nearness of the position, would imagine that the two armies were prepared to fight on almost equal terms; but whoever should view accurately the disadvantage of position, would discover that they were showing off an empty affectation of courage. Cæsar clearly points out to his soldiers, who were indignant that the enemy could bear the sight of them at the distance of so short a space, and were earnestly demanding the signal for action, "with how great loss and the death of how many gallant men the victory would necessarily be purchased: and when he saw them so determined to decline no danger for his renown, that he ought

to be considered guilty of the utmost injustice if he did not hold their life dearer than his personal safety." Having thus consoled his soldiers, he leads them back on the same day to the camp, and determined to prepare the other things which were necessary for the siege of the town.

Vercingetorix, when he had returned to his men, was accused of treason, in that he had moved his camp nearer the Romans, in that he had gone away with all the cavalry, in that he had left so great forces without a commander, in that, on his departure, the Romans had come at such a favourable season, and with such despatch; that all these circumstances could not have happened accidentally or without design; that he preferred holding the sovereignty of Gaul by the grant of Cæsar, to acquiring it by their favour. Being accused in such a manner, he made the following reply to these charges:— "That his moving his camp had been caused by want of forage, and had been done even by their advice; that his approaching near the Romans had been a measure dictated by the favourable nature of the ground, which would defend him by its natural strength; that the service of the cavalry could not have been requisite in marshy ground, and was useful in that place to which they had gone; that he, on his departure, had given the supreme command to no one intentionally, lest he should be induced by the eagerness of the multitude to hazard an engagement, to which he perceived that all were inclined, owing to their want of energy, because they were unable to endure fatigue any longer. That, if the Romans in the meantime came up by chance, they [the Gauls] should feel grateful to fortune; if invited by the information of some one they should feel grateful to him, because they were enabled to see distinctly from the higher ground the smallness of the number of their enemy, and despise the courage of those who, not daring to fight, retreated disgracefully into their camp. That he desired no power from Cæsar by treachery, since he could have it by victory, which was now assured to himself and to all the Gauls; nay, that he would even give them back the command, if they thought that they conferred honour on him, rather than received safety from him. That you may be assured," said he, "that I speak these words with

truth;—listen to these Roman soldiers!” He produces some camp-followers whom he had surprised on a foraging expedition some days before, and had tortured by famine and confinement. They being previously instructed in what answers they should make when examined, say, “That they were legionary soldiers, that, urged by famine and want, they had recently gone forth from the camp, to see if they could find any corn or cattle in the fields; that the whole army was distressed by a similar scarcity, nor had any one now sufficient strength, nor could bear the labour of the work; and therefore that the general was determined, if he made no progress in the siege, to draw off his army in three days.” “These benefits,” says Vercingetorix, “you receive from me, whom you accuse of treason—me, by whose exertions you see so powerful and victorious an army almost destroyed by famine, without shedding one drop of your blood; and I have taken precautions that no state shall admit within its territories this army in its ignominious flight from this place.”

The whole multitude raise a shout and clash their arms, according to their custom, as they usually do in the case of him of whose speech they approve; they exclaim that Vercingetorix was a consummate general, and that they had no doubt of his honour; that the war could not be conducted with greater prudence. They determine that ten thousand men should be picked out of the entire army and sent into the town, and decide that the general safety should not be entrusted to the Bituriges alone, because they were aware that the glory of the victory must rest with the Bituriges, if they made good the defence of the town.

To the extraordinary valour of our soldiers, devices of every sort were opposed by the Gauls; since they are a nation of consummate ingenuity, and most skilful in imitating and making those things which are imparted by any one; for they turned aside the hooks¹ with nooses, and when they had

¹ These are the *falces murales*. When they were struck against the walls to tear out the stones, the Gauls standing on the top caught them by a sort of snares and prevented their blows, and drew them over the walls into the town. They also undermined the embankments of the Romans and rendered them useless.

caught hold of them firmly, drew them on by means of engines, and undermined the mound the more skilfully on this account, because there are in their territories extensive iron mines, and consequently every description of mining operations is known and practised by them. They had furnished, moreover, the whole wall on every side with turrets, and had covered them with skins. Besides, in their frequent sallies by day and night, they attempted either to set fire to the mound, or attack our soldiers when engaged in the works; and, moreover, by splicing the upright timbers of their own towers, they equalled the height of ours, as fast as the mound had daily raised them, and countermined our mines, and impeded the working of them by stakes bent and sharpened at the ends, and boiling pitch, and stones of very great weight, and prevented them from approaching the walls.

But this is usually the form of all the Gallic walls. Straight beams, connected lengthwise and two feet distant from each other at equal intervals, are placed together on the ground; these are mortised on the inside, and covered with plenty of earth. But the intervals which we have mentioned, are closed up in front by large stones. These being thus laid and cemented together, another row is added above, in such a manner, that the same interval may be observed, and that the beams may not touch one another, but equal spaces intervening, each row of beams is kept firmly in its place by a row of stones. In this manner the whole wall is consolidated, until the regular height of the wall be completed. This work, with respect to appearance and variety, is not unsightly, owing to the alternate rows of beams and stones, which preserve their order in right lines; and, besides, it possesses great advantages as regards utility and the defence of cities; for the stone protects it from fire, and the wood from the battering ram, since it [the wood] being mortised in the inside with rows of beams, generally forty feet each in length, can neither be broken through nor torn asunder.

The siege having been impeded by so many disadvantages, the soldiers, although they were retarded during the whole time, by the mud, cold, and constant showers, yet by their incessant labour overcame all these obstacles, and in twenty-five

days raised a mound three hundred and thirty feet broad and eighty feet high. When it almost touched the enemy's walls, and Cæsar, according to his usual custom, kept watch at the work, and encouraged the soldiers not to discontinue the work for a moment: a little before the third watch they discovered that the mound was sinking, since the enemy had set it on fire by a mine; and at the same time a shout was raised along the entire wall, and a sally was made from two gates on each side of the turrets. Some at a distance were casting torches and dry wood from the wall on the mound, others were pouring on it pitch, and other materials, by which the flame might be excited, so that a plan could hardly be formed, as to where they should first run to the defence, or to what part aid should be brought. However, as two legions always kept guard before the camp by Cæsar's orders, and several of them were at stated times at the work, measures were promptly taken, that some should oppose the sallying party, others draw back the towers and make a cut in the rampart; and moreover, that the whole army should hasten from the camp to extinguish the flames.

When the battle was going on in every direction, the rest of the night being now spent, and fresh hopes of victory always arose before the enemy: the more so on this account because they saw the coverings of our towers burnt away, and perceived, that we, being exposed, could not easily go to give assistance, and they themselves were always relieving the weary with fresh men, and considered that all the safety of Gaul rested on this crisis; there happened in my own view a circumstance which, having appeared to be worthy of record, we thought it ought not to be omitted. A certain Gaul before the gate of the town, who was casting into the fire opposite the turret balls of tallow and fire which were passed along to him, was pierced with a dart on the right side and fell dead.¹ One of those next him stepped over him as he lay, and discharged the same office: when the second man was slain in the same

¹ These balls were passed from hand to hand until they came to him, and he was in the act of throwing them into the fire when he was struck by the arrow from the cross-bow.

manner by a wound from a cross-bow, a third succeeded him, and a fourth succeeded the third: nor was this post left vacant by the besieged, until, the fire of the mound having been extinguished, and the enemy repulsed in every direction, an end was put to the fighting.

The Gauls having tried every expedient, as nothing had succeeded, adopted the design of fleeing from the town the next day, by the advice and order of Vercingetorix. They hoped that, by attempting it at the dead of night, they would effect it without any great loss of men, because the camp of Vercingetorix was not far distant from the town, and the extensive marsh which intervened, was likely to retard the Romans in the pursuit. And they were now preparing to execute this by night, when the matrons suddenly ran out into the streets, and weeping cast themselves at the feet of their husbands, and requested of them, with every entreaty, that they should not abandon themselves and their common children to the enemy for punishment, because the weakness of their nature and physical powers prevented them from taking to flight. When they saw that they (as fear does not generally admit of mercy in extreme danger) persisted in their resolution, they began to shout aloud, and give intelligence of their flight to the Romans. The Gauls being intimidated by fear of this, lest the passes should be pre-occupied by the Roman cavalry, desisted from their design.

The next day Cæsar, the tower being advanced, and the works which he had determined to raise being arranged, a violent storm arising, thought this no bad time for executing his designs, because he observed the guards arranged on the walls a little too negligently, and therefore ordered his own men to engage in their work more remissly, and pointed out what he wished to be done. He drew up his soldiers in a secret position within the vineæ, and exhorts them to reap, at least, the harvest of victory proportionate to their exertions. He proposed a reward for those who should first scale the walls, and gave the signal to the soldiers. They suddenly flew out from all quarters and quickly filled the wall.

The enemy being alarmed by the suddenness of the attack, were dislodged from the wall and towers and drew up in

form of a wedge, in the market-place and the open streets, with this intention that, if an attack should be made on any side, they should fight with their line drawn up to receive it. When they saw no one descending to the level ground, and the enemy extending themselves along the entire wall in every direction, fearing lest every hope of flight should be cut off, they cast away their arms, and sought, without stopping, the most remote parts of the town. A part was then slain by the infantry when they were crowding upon one another in the narrow passage of the gates; and a part having got within the gates, were cut to pieces by the cavalry: nor was there one who was anxious for the plunder. Thus, being excited by the massacre at Genabum and the fatigue of the siege, they spared neither those worn out with years, women, or children. Finally, out of all that number, which amounted to about forty thousand, scarcely eight hundred, who fled from the town when they heard the first alarm, reached Vercingetorix in safety: and he, the night being now far spent, received them in silence after their flight (fearing that any sedition should arise in the camp from their entrance in a body and the compassion of the soldiers), so that, having arranged his friends and the chiefs of the states at a distance on the road, he took precautions that they should be separated and conducted to their fellow countrymen, to whatever part of the camp had been assigned to each state from the beginning.

Vercingetorix having convened an assembly on the following day, consoled and encouraged his soldiers in the following words:—"That they should not be too much depressed in spirit, nor alarmed at their loss; that the Romans did not conquer by valour nor in the field, but by a kind of art and skill in assault, with which they themselves were unacquainted; that whoever expected every event in the war to be favourable, erred; that it never was his opinion that Avaricum should be defended, of the truth of which statement he had themselves as witnesses, but that it was owing to the imprudence of the Bituriges, and the too ready compliance of the rest, that this loss was sustained; that, however, he would soon compensate it by superior advantages; for that he would, by his exertions, bring over those states which severed them-

selves from the rest of the Gauls, and would create a general unanimity throughout the whole of Gaul, the union of which not even the whole earth could withstand, and that he had it already almost effected; that in the meantime it was reasonable that he should prevail on them, for the sake of the general safety, to begin to fortify their camp, in order that they might the more easily sustain the sudden attacks of the enemy."

This speech was not disagreeable to the Gauls, principally, because he himself was not disheartened by receiving so severe a loss, and had not concealed himself, nor shunned the eyes of the people: and he was believed to possess greater foresight and sounder judgment than the rest, because, when the affair was undecided, he had at first been of opinion that Avaricum should be burnt, and afterwards that it should be abandoned. Accordingly, as ill success weakens the authority of other generals, so, on the contrary, his dignity increased daily, although a loss was sustained: at the same time they began to entertain hopes, on his assertion, of uniting the rest of the states to themselves, and on this occasion, for the first time, the Gauls¹ began to fortify their camps, and were so alarmed that although they were men unaccustomed to toil, yet they were of opinion that they ought to endure and suffer everything which should be imposed upon them.

Nor did Vercingetorix use less efforts than he had promised, to gain over the other states, and in consequence endeavoured to entice their leaders by gifts and promises. For this object he selected fitting emissaries, by whose subtle pleading or private friendship, each of the nobles could be most easily influenced. He takes care that those who fled to him on the storming of Avaricum should be provided with arms and clothes. At the same time that his diminished forces should be recruited, he levies a fixed quota of soldiers from each state, and defines the number and day before which he should wish them brought to the camp, and orders all the archers, of whom there was a very great number in Gaul, to be collected

¹ The Nervii did so in the war with Cicero, but it now became a general custom.

and sent to him. By these means, the troops which were lost at Avaricum are speedily replaced. In the meantime Teutomarus, the son of Ollovicon, the king of the Nitiobriges,¹ whose father had received the appellation of friend from our senate, came to him with a great number of his own horse and those whom he had hired from Aquitania.

Cæsar, after delaying several days at Avaricum, and, finding there the greatest plenty of corn and other provisions, refreshed his army after their fatigue and privation. The winter being almost ended, when he was invited by the favourable season of the year to prosecute the war and march against the enemy, and try whether he could draw them from the marshes and woods, or else press them by a blockade; some noblemen of the Ædui came to him as ambassadors to entreat "that in an extreme emergency he should succour their state; that their affairs were in the utmost danger, because, whereas single magistrates had been usually appointed in ancient times and held the power of king for a single year, two persons now exercised this office, and each asserted that he was appointed according to their laws. That one of them was Convictolitanis, a powerful and illustrious youth; the other Cotus, sprung from a most ancient family, and personally a man of very great influence and extensive connexions. His brother Valetiacus had borne the same office during the last year: that the whole state was up in arms; the senate divided, the people divided; that each of them had his own adherents; and that, if the animosity would be fomented any longer, the result would be that one part of the state would come to a collision with the other; that it rested with his activity and influence to prevent it."

Although Cæsar considered it ruinous to leave the war and the enemy, yet, being well aware what great evils generally arise from internal dissensions, lest a state so powerful and so closely connected with the Roman people, which he himself had always fostered and honoured in every respect, should have recourse to violence and arms, and that the party

¹ A people of Gallia, whose country was situated on both sides of the Garrone, where it receives the Olt.

which had less confidence in its own power should summon aid from Vercingetorix, he determined to anticipate this movement; and because, by the laws of the Ædui, it was not permitted those who held the supreme authority to leave the country, he determined to go in person to the Ædui, lest he should appear to infringe upon their government and laws, and summoned all the senate, and those between whom the dispute was, to meet him at Decetia.¹ When almost all the state had assembled there, and he was informed that one brother had been declared magistrate by the other, when only a few persons were privately summoned for the purpose, at a different time and place from what he ought, whereas the laws not only forbade two belonging to one family to be elected magistrates while each was alive, but even deterred them from being in the senate, he compelled Cotus to resign his office; he ordered Convictolitanis, who had been elected by the priests, according to the usage of the state, in the presence of the magistrates, to hold the supreme authority.

Having pronounced this decree between the contending parties, he exhorted the Ædui to bury in oblivion their disputes and dissensions, and, laying aside all these things, devote themselves to the war, and expect from him, on the conquest of Gaul, those rewards which they should have earned, and send speedily to him all their cavalry and ten thousand infantry, which he might place in different garrisons to protect his convoys of provisions, and then divided his army into two parts: he gave Labienus four legions to lead into the country of the Senones and Parisii; and led in person six into the country of the Arverni, in the direction of the town of Gergovia, along the banks of the Allier. He gave part of the cavalry to Labienus, and kept part to himself. Vercingetorix, on learning this circumstance, broke down all the bridges over the river and began to march on the other bank of the Allier.

When each army was in sight of the other, and was pitching their camp almost opposite that of the enemy, scouts be-

¹ A town of the Ædui, situated in a rocky island in the Loire. Now *Decize*.

ing distributed in every quarter, lest the Romans should build a bridge and bring over their troops; it was to Cæsar a matter attended with great difficulties, lest he should be hindered from passing the river during the greater part of the summer, as the Allier cannot generally be forded before the autumn. Therefore, that this might not happen, having pitched his camp in a woody place opposite to one of those bridges which Vercingetorix had taken care should be broken down, the next day he stopped behind with two legions in a secret place: he sent on the rest of the forces as usual, with all the baggage, after having selected some cohorts, that the number of the legion might appear to be complete. Having ordered these to advance as far as they could, when now, from the time of day, he conjectured they had come to an encampment, he began to rebuild the bridge on the same piles, the lower part of which remained entire. Having quickly finished the work and led his legions across, he selected a fit place for a camp, and recalled the rest of his troops. Vercingetorix, on ascertaining this fact, went before him by forced marches, in order that he might not be compelled to come to an action against his will.

Cæsar, in five days' march, went from that place to Gergovia, and after engaging in a slight cavalry skirmish that day, on viewing the situation of the city, which, being built on a very high mountain, was very difficult of access, he despaired of taking it by storm, and determined to take no measures with regard to besieging it before he should secure a supply of provisions. But Vercingetorix, having pitched his camp on the mountain near the town, placed the forces of each state separately and at small intervals around himself, and having occupied all the hills of that range as far as they commanded a view of the Roman encampment, he presented a formidable appearance; he ordered the rulers of the states, whom he had selected as his council of war, to come to him daily at the dawn, whether any measure seemed to require deliberation or execution. Nor did he allow almost any day to pass without testing in a cavalry action, the archers being intermixed, what spirit and valour there was in each of his own men. There was a hill opposite the town, at the very

foot of that mountain, strongly fortified and precipitous on every side (which if our men could gain, they seemed likely to exclude the enemy from a great share of their supply of water, and from free foraging; but this place was occupied by them with a weak garrison): however, Cæsar set out from the camp in the silence of night, and dislodging the garrison before succour could come from the town, he got possession of the place and posted two legions there, and drew from the greater camp to the less a double trench twelve feet broad, so that the soldiers could even singly pass secure from any sudden attack of the enemy.

Whilst these affairs were going on at Gergovia, Convictolitanis, the Æduan, to whom we have observed the magistracy was adjudged by Cæsar, being bribed by the Arverni, holds a conference with certain young men, the chief of whom were Litavicus and his brothers, who were born of a most noble family. He shares the bribe with them, and exhorts them to "remember that they were free and born for empire; that the state of the Ædui was the only one which retarded the most certain victory of the Gauls; that the rest were held in check by its authority; and, if it was brought over, the Romans would not have room to stand on in Gaul; that he had received some kindness from Cæsar, only so far, however, as gaining a most just cause by his decision; but that he assigned more weight to the general freedom; for, why should the Ædui go to Cæsar to decide concerning their rights and laws, rather than the Romans come to the Ædui?" The young men being easily won over by the speech of the magistrate and the bribe, when they declared that they would even be leaders in the plot, a plan for accomplishing it was considered, because they were confident their state could not be induced to undertake the war on slight grounds. It was resolved that Litavicus should have the command of the ten thousand, which were being sent to Cæsar for the war, and should have charge of them on their march, and that his brother should go before him to Cæsar. They arrange the other measures, and the manner in which they should have them done.

Litavicus, having received the command of the army, suddenly convened the soldiers, when he was about thirty miles

distant from Gergovia, and, weeping, said, "Soldiers, whither are we going? All our knights and all our nobles have perished. Eporedirix and Viridomarus, the principal men of the state, being accused of treason, have been slain by the Romans without even permission to plead their cause. Learn this intelligence from those who have escaped from the massacre; for I, since my brothers and all my relations have been slain, am prevented by grief from declaring what has taken place. Persons are brought forward whom he had instructed in what he would have them say, and make the same statements to the soldiery as Litavicus had made: that all the knights of the Ædui were slain because they were said to have held conferences with the Arverni; that they had concealed themselves among the multitude of soldiers, and had escaped from the midst of the slaughter. The Ædui shout aloud and conjure Litavicus to provide for their safety. As if, said he, it were a matter of deliberation, and not of necessity, for us to go to Gergovia and unite ourselves to the Arverni. Or have we any reasons to doubt that the Romans, after perpetrating the atrocious crime, are now hastening to slay us? Therefore, if there be any spirit in us, let us avenge the death of those who have perished in a most unworthy manner, and let us slay these robbers." He points to the Roman citizens, who had accompanied them, in reliance on his protection. He immediately seizes a great quantity of corn and provisions, cruelly tortures them, and then puts them to death, sends messengers throughout the entire state of the Ædui, and rouses them completely by the same falsehood concerning the slaughter of their knights and nobles; he earnestly advises them to avenge, in the same manner as he did, the wrongs, which they had received.

Eporedirix, the Æduan, a young man born in the highest rank and possessing very great influence at home, and, along with Viridomarus, of equal age and influence, but of inferior birth, whom Cæsar had raised from a humble position to the highest rank, on being recommended to him by Divitiacus, had come in the number of horse, being summoned by Cæsar by name. These had a dispute with each other for precedence, and in the struggle between the magistrates they had

contended with their utmost efforts, the one for Convictolitanis, the other for Cotus. Of these Eporedirix, on learning the design of Litavicus, lays the matter before Cæsar almost at midnight; he entreats that Cæsar should not suffer their state to swerve from the alliance with the Roman people, owing to the depraved counsels of a few young men, which he foresaw would be the consequence if so many thousand men should unite themselves to the enemy, as their relations could not neglect their safety, nor the state regard it as a matter of slight importance.

Cæsar felt great anxiety on this intelligence, because he had always especially indulged the state of the Ædui, and, without any hesitation, draws out from the camp four light-armed legions and all the cavalry: nor had he time, at such a crisis, to contract the camp, because the affair seemed to depend upon despatch. He leaves Caius Fabius, his lieutenant, with two legions to guard the camp. When he ordered the brothers of Litavicus to be arrested, he discovers that they had fled a short time before to the camp of the enemy. He encouraged his soldiers "not to be disheartened by the labour of the journey on such a necessary occasion," and, after advancing twenty-five miles, all being most eager, he came in sight of the army of the Ædui, and, by sending on his cavalry, retards and impedes their march; he then issues strict orders to all his soldiers to kill no one. He commands Eporedirix and Viridomarus, who they thought were killed, to move among the cavalry and address their friends. When they were recognized and the treachery of Litavicus discovered, the Ædui began to extend their hands to intimate submission, and, laying down their arms, to deprecate death. Litavicus, with his clansmen, who after the custom of the Gauls consider it a crime to desert their patrons, even in extreme misfortune, flees forth to Gergovia.

Cæsar, after sending messengers to the state of the Ædui, to inform them that they whom he could have put to death by the right of war were spared through his kindness, and after giving three hours of the night to his army for his repose, directed his march to Gergovia. Almost in the middle of the journey, a party of horse that were sent by Fabius

stated in how great danger matters were; they inform him that the camp was attacked by a very powerful army, while fresh men were frequently relieving the wearied, and exhausting our soldiers by the incessant toil, since, on account of the size of the camp, they had constantly to remain on the rampart; that many had been wounded by the immense number of arrows and all kinds of missiles; that the engines were of great service in withstanding them; that Fabius, at their departure, leaving only two gates open, was blocking up the rest, and was adding breast-works to the ramparts, and was preparing himself for a similar casualty on the following day. Cæsar, after receiving this information, reached the camp before sunrise owing to the very great zeal of his soldiers.

Whilst these things are going on at Gergovia, the Ædui, on receiving the first announcements from Litavicus, leave themselves no time to ascertain the truth of these statements. Some are stimulated by avarice, others by revenge and credulity, which is an innate propensity in that race of men to such a degree that they consider a slight rumour as an ascertained fact. They plunder the property of the Roman citizens, and either massacre them or drag them away to slavery. Convictolitanis increases the evil state of affairs, and goads on the people to fury, that by the commission of some outrage they may be ashamed to return to propriety. They entice from the town of Cabillonus, by a promise of safety, Marcus Aristius, a military tribune, who was on his march to his legion; they compel those who had settled there for the purpose of trading to do the same. By constantly attacking them on their march they strip them of all their baggage; they besiege day and night those that resisted; when many were slain on both sides, they excite a greater number to arms.

In the meantime, when intelligence was brought that all their soldiers were in Cæsar's power, they run in a body to Aristius; they assure him that nothing had been done by public authority; they order an inquiry to be made about the plundered property; they confiscate the property of Litavicus and his brothers; they send ambassadors to Cæsar for the purpose of clearing themselves. They do all this with a view to recover their soldiers; but being contaminated by guilt, and

charmed by the gains arising from the plundered property, as that act was shared in by many, and being tempted by the fear of punishment, they began to form plans of war and stir up the other states by embassies. Although Cæsar was aware of this proceeding, yet he addresses the ambassadors with as much mildness as he can: "That he did not think worse of the state on account of the ignorance and fickleness of the mob, nor would diminish his regard for the Ædui." He himself, fearing a greater commotion in Gaul, in order to prevent his being surrounded by all the states, began to form plans as to the manner in which he should return from Ger-govia and again concentrate his forces, lest a departure arising from the fear of a revolt should seem like a flight.

Whilst he was considering these things an opportunity of acting successfully seemed to offer. For, when he had come into the smaller camp for the purpose of securing the works, he noticed that the hill in the possession of the enemy was stript of men, although, on the former days, it could scarcely be seen on account of the numbers on it. Being astonished, he inquires the reason of it from the deserters, a great number of whom flocked to him daily. They all concurred in asserting, what Cæsar himself had already ascertained by his scouts, that the back of that hill was almost level; but likewise woody and narrow, by which there was a pass to the other side of the town; that they had serious apprehensions for this place, and had no other idea, on the occupation of one hill by the Romans, than that, if they should lose the other, they would be almost surrounded, and cut off from all egress and foraging; that they were all summoned by Vercingetorix to fortify this place.

Cæsar, on being informed of this circumstance, sends several troops of horse to the place immediately after midnight; he orders them to range in every quarter with more tumult than usual. At dawn he orders a large quantity of baggage to be drawn out of the camp, and the muleteers with helmets, in the appearance and guise of horsemen, to ride round the hills. To these he adds a few cavalry, with instructions to range more widely to make a show. He orders them all to

seek the same quarter by a long circuit; these proceedings were seen at a distance from the town, as Gergovia commanded a view of the camp, nor could the Gauls ascertain at so great a distance, what certainly there was in the manœuvre. He sends one legion to the same hill, and after it had marched a little, stations it in the lower ground, and conceals it in the woods. The suspicions of the Gauls are increased, and all their forces are marched to that place to defend it. Cæsar, having perceived the camp of the enemy deserted, covers the military insignia of his men, conceals the standards, and transfers his soldiers in small bodies from the greater to the less camp, and points out to the lieutenants whom he had placed in command over the respective legions, what he should wish to be done; he particularly advises them to restrain their men from advancing too far, through their desire of fighting, or their hope of plunder; he sets before them what disadvantages the unfavourable nature of the ground carries with it; that they could be assisted by despatch alone, that success depended on a surprise, and not on a battle. After stating these particulars, he gives the signal for action, and detaches the Ædui at the same time by another ascent on the right.

The town wall was 1200 paces distant from the plain and foot of the ascent, in a straight line, if no gap intervened; whatever circuit was added to this ascent, to make the hill easy, increased the length of the route. But almost in the middle of the hill, the Gauls had previously built a wall six feet high, made of large stones, and extending in length as far as the nature of the ground permitted, as a barrier to retard the advance of our men; and leaving all the lower space empty, they had filled the upper part of the hill, as far as the wall of the town, with their camps very close to one another. The soldiers, on the signal being given, quickly advance to this fortification, and passing over it, make themselves masters of the separate camps. And so great was their activity in taking the camps, that Teutomarus, the king of the Nitobriges, being suddenly surprised in his tent, as he had gone to rest at noon, with difficulty escaped from the hands of the plunderers, with the upper part of his person naked, and his horse wounded.

Cæsar, having accomplished the object which he had in view, ordered the signal to be sounded for a retreat; and the soldiers of the tenth legion, by which he was then accompanied, halted. But the soldiers of the other legions, not hearing the sound of the trumpet, because there was a very large valley between them, were however kept back by the tribunes of the soldiers and the lieutenants, according to Cæsar's orders; but being animated by the prospect of speedy victory, and the flight of the enemy, and the favourable battles of former periods, they thought nothing so difficult that their bravery could not accomplish it; nor did they put an end to the pursuit, until they drew nigh to the wall of the town and the gates. But then, when a shout arose in every quarter of the city, those who were at distance being alarmed by the sudden tumult, fled hastily from the town, since they thought that the enemy were within the gates. The matrons begin to cast their clothes and silver over the wall, and bending over as far as the lower part of the bosom, with outstretched hands beseech the Romans to spare them, and not to sacrifice to their resentment even women and children, as they had done at Avaricum. Some of them let themselves down from the walls by their hands, and surrendered to our soldiers. Lucius Fabius, a centurion of the eighth legion, who, it was ascertained, had said that day among his fellow soldiers that he was excited by the plunder of Avaricum, and would not allow any one to mount the wall before him, finding three men of his own company, and being raised up by them, scaled the wall. He himself, in turn, taking hold of them one by one drew them up to the wall.

In the meantime those who had gone to the other part of the town to defend it, as we have mentioned above, at first, aroused by hearing the shouts, and, afterwards, by frequent accounts, that the town was in possession of the Romans, sent forward their cavalry, and hastened in larger numbers to that quarter. As each first came he stood beneath the wall, and increased the number of his countrymen engaged in action. When a great multitude of them had assembled, the matrons, who a little before were stretching their hands from the walls to the Romans, began to beseech their countrymen, and after

the Gallic fashion to show their dishevelled hair, and bring their children into public view. Neither in position nor in numbers was the contest an equal one to the Romans, at the same time, being exhausted by running and the long continuation of the fight, they could not easily withstand fresh and vigorous troops.

Cæsar, when he perceived that his soldiers were fighting on unfavourable ground, and that the enemy's forces were increasing, being alarmed for the safety of his troops, sent orders to Titus Sextius, one of his lieutenants, whom he had left to guard the smaller camp, to lead out his cohorts quickly from the camp, and post them at the foot of the hill, on the right of the enemy; that if she should see our men driven from the ground, he should deter the enemy from following too closely. He himself, advancing with the legion a little from that place where he had taken his post, awaited the issue of the battle.

While the fight was going on most vigorously, hand to hand, and the enemy depended on their position and numbers, our men on their bravery, the Ædui suddenly appeared on our exposed flank, as Cæsar had sent them by another ascent on the right, for the sake of creating a diversion. These, from the similarity of their arms, greatly terrified our men; and although they were discovered to have their right shoulders bare,¹ which was usually the sign of those reduced to peace, yet the soldiers suspected that this very thing was done by the enemy to deceive them. At the same time Lucius Fabius the centurion, and those who had scaled the wall with him, being surrounded and slain, were cast from the wall. Marcus Petreius, a centurion of the same legion, after attempting to hew down the gates, was overpowered by numbers, and despairing of his safety, having already received

¹ It is more than probable that Cæsar had entered into a compact with such of the Gallic states as he had brought under the sway and alliance of Rome, that when engaging in battle against their countrymen they should leave their right shoulders bare, in order that the Roman soldiers might be able to distinguish between friend and foe.

many wounds, said to the soldiers of his own company who followed him: "Since I cannot save you as well as myself, I shall at least provide for your safety, since I, allured by the love of glory, led you into this danger, do you save yourselves when an opportunity is given." At the same time he rushed into the midst of the enemy, and slaying two of them, drove back the rest a little from the gate. When his men attempted to aid him, "In vain," he says, "you endeavour to procure my safety, since blood and strength are now failing me, therefore leave this, while you have the opportunity, and retreat to the legion." Thus he fell fighting a few moments after, and saved his men by his own death.

Our soldiers, being hard pressed on every side, were dislodged from their position, with the loss of forty-six centurions; but the tenth legion, which had been posted in reserve on ground a little more level, checked the Gauls in their eager pursuit. It was supported by the cohorts of the thirteenth legion, which, being led from the smaller camp, had, under the command of Titus Sextius, occupied the higher ground. The legions, as soon as they reached the plain, halted and faced the enemy. Vercingetorix led back his men from the part of the hill within the fortifications. On that day little less than seven hundred¹ of the soldiers were missing.

On the next day, Cæsar, having called a meeting, censured the rashness and avarice of his soldiers, "In that they had judged for themselves how far they ought to proceed, or what they ought to do, and could not be kept back by the tribunes of the soldiers and the lieutenants;" and stated, "what the disadvantage of the ground could effect, what opinion he himself had entertained at Avaricum, when having surprised the enemy without either general or cavalry, he had given up a certain victory, lest even a trifling loss should occur in the

¹ We might naturally infer from the number of officers that perished a much greater loss among the soldiers; however, it is by no means improbable that, as the rashness of the centurions contributed largely to the defeat of the troops, so they endeavoured, by the reckless exposure of their lives, to atone for their misconduct.

contest owing to the disadvantage of position. That as much as he admired the greatness of their courage, since neither the fortifications of the camp, nor the height of the mountain, nor the wall of the town could retard them; in the same degree he censured their licentiousness and arrogance, because they thought that they knew more than their general concerning victory, and the issue of actions: and that he required in his soldiers forbearance and self-command, not less than valour and magnanimity."

Having held this assembly, and having encouraged the soldiers at the conclusion of his speech, "That they should not be dispirited on this account, nor attribute to the valour of the enemy, what the disadvantage of position had caused;" entertaining the same views of his departure that he had previously had, he led forth the legions from the camp, and he drew up his army in order of battle in a suitable place.

When Vercingetorix, nevertheless, would not descend to the level ground, a slight cavalry action, and that a successful one, having taken place, he led back his army into the camp. When he had done this, the next day, thinking that he had done enough to lower the pride of the Gauls, and to encourage the minds of his soldiers, he moved his camp in the direction of the *Ædui*. The enemy not even then pursuing us, on the third day he repaired the bridge over the river Allier, and led over his whole army.

Having then held an interview with Viridomarus and Eporedorix the *Æduans*, he learns that Litavicus had set out with all the cavalry to raise the *Ædui*; that it was necessary that they too should go before him to confirm the state of their allegiance. Although he now saw distinctly the treachery of the *Ædui* in many things, and was of opinion that the revolt of the entire state would be hastened by their departure; yet he thought that they should not be detained, lest he should appear either to offer an insult, or betray some suspicion of fear. He briefly states to them when departing his services towards the *Ædui*; in what a state and how humbled he had found them, driven into their towns, deprived of their lands, stripped of all their forces, a tribute imposed on them, and

hostages wrested from them with the utmost insult; and to what condition and to what greatness¹ he had raised them, so much so that they had not only recovered their former position, but seemed to surpass the dignity and influence of all the previous eras of their history. After giving these admonitions he dismissed them.

Noviodunum was a town of the Æudi, advantageously situated on the banks of the Loire. Cæsar had conveyed hither all the hostages of Gaul, the corn, public money, a great part of his own baggage and that of his army; he had sent hither a great number of horses, which he had purchased in Italy and Spain on account of this war. When Eporodrix and Viridomarus came to this place, and received information of the disposition of the state, that Litavicus had been admitted by the Ædui into Bibracte, which is a town of the greatest importance among them, that Convictolitanis the chief magistrate and a great part of the senate had gone to meet him, that ambassadors had been publicly sent to Vercingetorix to negotiate a peace and alliance; they thought that so great an opportunity ought not to be neglected. Therefore, having put to the sword the garrison of Noviodunum, and those who had assembled there for the purpose of trading or were on their march, they divided the money and horses among themselves; they took care that the hostages of the different states should be brought to Bibracte, to the chief magistrate; they burnt the town to prevent its being of any service to the Romans, as they were of opinion that they could not hold it; they carried away in their vessels whatever corn they could in the hurry; they destroyed the remainder, by throwing it into the river or setting it on fire; they themselves began to collect forces from the neighbouring country, to place guards and garrisons in different positions along the banks of the Loire, and to display the cavalry on all sides to strike terror into the Romans, to try if they could cut them off from a supply of provisions. In which expectation they

¹ The Ædui at this time numbered among their dependents the Segusiani, Ambivareti, Boii, and Aulerci Brannovices.

were much aided, from the circumstance that the Loire had swollen to such a degree from the melting of the snows, that it did not seem capable of being forded at all.

Cæsar on being informed of these movements was of opinion that he ought to make haste, even if he should run some risk in completing the bridges, in order that he might engage before greater forces of the enemy should be collected in that place. For no one even then considered it an absolutely necessary act, that changing his design he should direct his march into the Province, both because the infamy and disgrace of the thing, and the intervening mount Cevennes, and the difficulty of the roads prevented him; and especially because he had serious apprehensions for the safety of Labienus whom he had detached, and those legions whom he had sent with him. Therefore, having made very long marches by day and night, he came to the river Loire, contrary to the expectation of all; and having by means of the cavalry, found out a ford, suitable enough considering the emergency, of such depth that their arms and shoulders could be above water for supporting their accoutrements, he dispersed his cavalry in such a manner as to break the force of the current, and having confounded the enemy at the first sight, led his army across the river in safety; and finding corn and cattle in the fields, after refreshing his army with them, he determined to march into the country of the Senones.

Whilst these things are being done by Cæsar, Labienus, leaving at Agendicum the recruits who had lately arrived from Italy, to guard the baggage, marches with four legions to Lutetia (which is a town of the Parisii, situated on an island of the river Seine), whose arrival being discovered by the enemy, numerous forces arrived from the neighbouring states. The supreme command is entrusted to Camalugenus, one of the Auleri, who, although almost worn out with age, was called to that honour, on account of his extraordinary knowledge of military tactics. He, when he observed that there was a large marsh¹ which communicated with the Seine, and

¹ The part of Paris known by the name of Le Marais.

rendered all that country impassable, encamped there, and determined to prevent our troops from passing it.

Labienus at first attempted to raise Vineæ, fill up the marsh with hurdles and clay, and secure a road. After he perceived that this was too difficult to accomplish, he issued in silence from his camp at the third watch, and reached Melodunum by the same route by which he came. This is a town of the Senones, situated on an island in the Seine, as we have just before observed of Lutetia. Having seized upon about fifty ships and quickly joined them together, and having placed soldiers in them, he intimidated by his unexpected arrival the inhabitants, of whom a great number had been called out to the war, and obtains possession of the town without a contest. Having repaired the bridge, which the enemy had broken down during the preceding days, he led over his army, and began to march along the banks of the river to Lutetia. The enemy, on learning the circumstance from those who had escaped from Melodunum, set fire to Lutetia, and order the bridges of that town to be broken down: they themselves set out from the marsh, and take their position on the banks of the Seine, over against Lutetia and opposite the camp of Labienus.

Cæsar was now reported to have departed from Gergovia; intelligence was likewise brought to them concerning the revolt of the Ædui, and a successful rising in Gaul; and that Cæsar, having been prevented from prosecuting his journey and crossing the Loire, and having been compelled by the want of corn, had marched hastily to the province. But the Bellovaci, who had been previously disaffected of themselves, on learning the revolt of the Ædui, began to assemble forces and openly to prepare for war. Then Labienus, as the change in affairs was so great, thought that he must adopt a very different system from what he had previously intended, and he did not now think of making any new acquisitions, or of provoking the enemy to an action; but that he might bring back his army safe to Agendicum. For, on one side, the Bellovaci, a state which held the highest reputation for prowess in Gaul, were pressing on him; and Camulogenus, with a disciplined and well-equipped army, held the other side;

moreover, a very great river separated and cut off the legions from the garrison and baggage.¹ He saw that, in consequence of such great difficulties being thrown in his way, he must seek aid from his own energy of disposition.

Having, therefore, called a council of war a little before evening, he exhorted his soldiers to execute with diligence and energy such commands as he should give; he assigns the ships which he had brought from Melodunum to Roman knights, one to each, and orders them to fall down the river silently for four miles, at the end of the fourth watch, and there wait for him. He leaves the five cohorts, which he considered to be the most steady in action, to guard the camp; he orders the five remaining cohorts of the same legion to proceed a little after midnight up the river with all their baggage, in a great tumult. He collects also some small boats; and sends them in the same direction, with orders to make a loud noise in rowing. He himself, a little after, marched out in silence, and, at the head of three legions, seeks that place to which he had ordered the ships to be brought.

When he had arrived there, the enemy's scouts, as they were stationed along every part of the river, not expecting an attack; because a great storm had suddenly arisen, were surprised by our soldiers: the infantry and cavalry are quickly transported, under the superintendence of the Roman knights, whom he had appointed to that office. Almost at the same time, a little before daylight, intelligence was given to the enemy that there was an unusual tumult in the camp of the Romans, and that a strong force was marching up the river, and that the sound of oars was distinctly heard in the same quarter, and that soldiers were being conveyed across in ships a little below. On hearing these things, because they were of opinion that the legions were passing in three different places, and that the entire army, being terrified by the revolt of the Ædui, were preparing for flight, they divided their forces also into three divisions. For leaving a guard opposite to the camp and sending a small body in the direction of Metiose-

¹ He refers to the garrison which he left at Agendicum to guard the baggage.

dum,¹ with orders to advance as far as the ships would proceed, they led the rest of their troops against Labienus.

By day-break all our soldiers were brought across and the army of the enemy was in sight. Labienus, having encouraged his soldiers "to retain the memory of their ancient valour, and so many most successful actions, and imagine Cæsar himself, under whose command they had so often routed the enemy, to be present," gives the signal for action. At the first onset the enemy are beaten and put to flight in the right wing, where the seventh legion stood: on the left wing, which position the twelfth legion held, although the first ranks fell transfixed by the javelins of the Romans, yet the rest resisted most bravely; nor did any one of them show the slightest intention of flying. Camulogenus, the general of the enemy, was present and encouraged his troops. But when the issue of the victory was still uncertain, and the circumstances which were taking place on the left wing were announced to the tribunes of the seventh legion, they faced about their legion to the enemy's rear and attacked it: not even then did any one retreat, but all were surrounded and slain. Camulogenus met the same fate. But those who were left as a guard opposite the camp of Labienus, when they heard that the battle was commenced, marched to aid their countrymen and take possession of a hill, but were unable to withstand the attack of the victorious soldiers. In this manner, mixed with their own fugitives, such as the woods and mountains did not shelter were cut to pieces by our cavalry. When this battle was finished, Labienus returns to Agendicum, where the baggage of the whole army had been left: from it he marched with all his forces to Cæsar.

The revolt of the Ædui being known, the war grows more dangerous. Embassies are sent by them in all directions: as far as they can prevail by influence, authority, or money, they strive to excite the state to revolt. Having got possession of the hostages whom Cæsar had deposited with them, they terrify the hesitating by putting them to death. The Ædui request Vercingetorix to come to them and communicate his

¹ Now *Meudon*.

plans of conducting the war. On obtaining this request they insist that the chief command should be assigned to them; and when the affair became a disputed question, a council of all Gaul is summoned to Bibracte. They come together in great numbers and from every quarter to the same place. The decision is left to the votes of the mass: all to a man approve of Vercingetorix as their general. The Remi, Lingones, and Treviri were absent from this meeting; the two former because they attached themselves to the alliance of Rome; the Treviri because they were very remote and were hard pressed by the Germans; which was also the reason of their being absent during the whole war, and their sending auxiliaries to neither party. The Ædui are highly indignant at being deprived of the chief command; they lament the change of fortune, and miss Cæsar's indulgence towards them; however, after engaging in the war, they do not dare to pursue their own measures apart from the rest. Eporedorix and Viridomarus, youths of the greatest promise, submit reluctantly to Vercingetorix.

The latter demands hostages from the remaining states: nay, more, appointed a day for this proceeding; he orders all the cavalry, fifteen thousand in number, to quickly assemble here; he says that he will be content with the infantry which he had before, and would not tempt fortune nor come to a regular engagement; but since he had abundance of cavalry, it would be very easy for him to prevent the Romans from obtaining forage or corn, provided that they themselves should resolutely destroy their corn and set fire to their houses; by which sacrifice of private property they would evidently obtain perpetual dominion and freedom. After arranging these matters he levies ten thousand infantry on the Ædui and Segusiani,¹ who border on our province: to these he adds eight hundred horse. He sets over them the brother of Eporedirix, and orders him to wage war against the Allobroges. On the other side he sends the Gabali and the near-

¹ Segusiani, a people of Gallia Celtica, to the west of the Rhine. Their country was traversed by the Loire, near the source of that river.

est cantons of the Arverni against the Helvii; he likewise sends the Ruteni and Cadurci to lay waste the territories of the Volcæ Arecomici. Besides, by secret messages and embassies, he tampers with the Allobroges, whose minds, he hopes, had not yet settled down after the excitement of the late war. To their nobles he promises money, and to their state the dominion of the whole province.

The only guards provided against all these contingencies were twenty-two cohorts, which were collected from the entire province by Lucius Cæsar, the lieutenant, and opposed to the enemy in every quarter. The Helvii, voluntarily engaging in battle with their neighbours, are defeated, and Caius Valerius Donotaurus, the son of Caburus, the principal man of the state, and several others, being slain, they are forced to retire within their towns and fortifications. The Allobroges, placing guards along the course of the Rhine, defend their frontiers with great vigilance and energy. Cæsar, as he perceived that the enemy were superior in cavalry, and he himself could receive no aid from the Province or Italy, while all communication was cut off, sends across the Rhine into Germany to those states which he had subdued in the preceding campaigns, and summons from them cavalry and the light-armed infantry, who were accustomed to engage among them. On their arrival, as they were mounted on unserviceable horses, he takes horses from the military tribunes and the rest, nay, even from the Roman knights and veterans, and distributes them among the Germans.

In the mean time, whilst these things are going on, the forces of the enemy from the Arverni, and the cavalry which had been demanded from all Gaul, meet together. A great number of these having been collected, when Cæsar was marching into the country of the Sequani, through the confines of the Lingones, in order that he might the more easily render aid to the province, Vercingetorix encamped in three camps, about ten miles from the Romans; and having summoned the commanders of the cavalry to a council, he shows that the time of victory was come; that the Romans were fleeing into the province and leaving Gaul; that this was sufficient for obtaining immediate freedom; but was of little mo-

ment in acquiring peace and tranquillity for the future; for the Romans would return after assembling greater forces, and would not put an end to the war. Therefore they should attack them on their march, when encumbered. If the infantry should be obliged to relieve their cavalry, and be retarded by doing so, the march could not be accomplished: if, abandoning their baggage they should provide for their safety (a result which, he trusted, was more likely to ensue), they would lose both property and character. For as to the enemy's horse, they ought not to entertain a doubt that none of them would dare to advance beyond the main body. In order that they [the Gauls] may do so with greater spirit, he would marshal all their forces before the camp, and intimidate the enemy. The cavalry unanimously shout out, "That they ought to bind themselves by a most sacred oath, that he should not be received under a roof, nor have access to his children, parents, or wife, who shall not twice have ridden through the enemy's army."

This proposal receiving general approbation, and all being forced to take the oath, on the next day the cavalry were divided into three parts, and two of these divisions made a demonstration on our two flanks; while one in front began to obstruct our march. On this circumstance being announced, Cæsar orders his cavalry also to form three divisions and charge the enemy. Then the action commences simultaneously in every part: the main body halts; the baggage is received within the ranks of the legions. If our men seemed to be distressed, or hard pressed in any quarter, Cæsar usually ordered troops to advance, and the army to wheel round in that quarter; which conduct retarded the enemy in the pursuit, and encouraged our men by the hope of support. At length the Germans, on the right wing, having gained the top of the hill, dislodge the enemy from their position and pursue them even as far as the river at which Vercingetorix with the infantry was stationed, and slay several of them. The rest, on observing this action, fearing lest they should be surrounded, betake themselves to flight. A slaughter ensues in every direction, and three of the noblest of the Ædui are taken and brought to Cæsar: Cotus, the commander of the

cavalry, who had been engaged in the contest with Convictolitanis the last election, Cavarillus, who had held the command of the infantry after the revolt of Litavicus, and Eporedorix, under whose command the Ædui had engaged in war against the Sequani, before the arrival of Cæsar.

All his cavalry being routed, Vercingetorix led back his troops in the same order as he had arranged them before the camp, and immediately began to march to Alesia,¹ which is a town of the Mandubii, and ordered the baggage to be speedily brought forth from the camp, and follow him closely. Cæsar, having conveyed his baggage to the nearest hill, and having left two legions to guard it, pursued as far as the time of day would permit, and after slaying about three thousand of the rear of the enemy, encamped at Alesia on the next day. On reconnoitring the situation of the city, finding that the enemy were panic-stricken, because the cavalry in which they placed their chief reliance, were beaten, he encouraged his men to endure the toil, and began to draw a line of circumvallation round Alesia.

The town itself was situated on the top of a hill, in a very lofty position, so that it did not appear likely to be taken, except by a regular siege. Two rivers, on two different sides, washed the foot of the hill. Before the town lay a plain of about three miles in length; on every other side hills at a moderate distance, and of an equal degree of height, surrounded the town. The army of the Gauls had filled all the space under the wall, comprising the part of the hill which looked to the rising sun, and had drawn in front a trench and a stone wall six feet high. The circuit of that forti-

¹ A strongly fortified town, near the sources of the Seine, and situated on the summit of a mountain now mount Auxois. It was washed on two sides by the small rivers Lutosa and Osera, now Oze and Ozerain. Alesia is famous for the siege it stood against Cæsar. It was taken and destroyed by him, but was afterwards rebuilt and became a place of considerable consequence under the Roman emperors. At the foot of mount Auxois is a village still called Alise. According to tradition, Alesia was founded by Hercules on his wanderings [*alai*], which would imply that the place had been originally a Phœnician stronghold for purposes of inland traffic.

fication, which was commenced by the Romans, comprised eleven miles. The camp was pitched in a strong position, and twenty-three redoubts were raised in it, in which sentinels were placed by day, lest any sally should be made suddenly; and by night the same were occupied by watches and strong guards.

The work having been begun, a cavalry action ensues in that plain, which we have already described as broken by hills, and extending three miles in length. The contest is maintained on both sides with the utmost vigour; Cæsar sends the Germans to aid our troops when distressed, and draws up the legions in front of the camp, lest any sally should be suddenly made by the enemy's infantry. The courage of our men is increased by the additional support of the legions; the enemy being put to flight, hinder one another by their numbers, and as only the narrower gates were left open, are crowded together in them; then the Germans pursue them with vigour even to the fortifications. A great slaughter ensues; some leave their horses, and endeavour to cross the ditch and climb the wall. Cæsar orders the legions which he had drawn up in front of the rampart to advance a little. The Gauls, who were within the fortifications, were no less panic-stricken, thinking that the enemy were coming that moment against them, and unanimously shout "to arms;" some in their alarm rush into the town; Vercingetorix orders the gates to be shut, lest the camp should be left undefended. The Germans retreat, after slaying many and taking several horses.

Vercingetorix adopts the design of sending away all his cavalry by night, before the fortifications should be completed by the Romans. He charges them when departing "that each of them should go to his respective state, and press for the war all who were old enough to bear arms; he states his own merits, and conjures them to consider his safety, and not surrender him who had deserved so well of the general freedom, to the enemy for torture; he points out to them that, if they should be remiss, eighty thousand chosen men would perish with him; that, upon making a calculation, he had barley corn for thirty days, but could hold out a little longer by economy." After giving these instructions he silently

dismisses the cavalry in the second watch, on that side where our works were not completed; he orders all the corn to be brought to himself; he ordains capital punishment to such as should not obey; he distributes among them, man by man, the cattle, great quantities of which had been driven there by the Mandubii; he began to measure out the corn sparingly, and by little and little; he receives into the town all the forces which he had posted in front of it. In this manner he prepares to await the succours from Gaul, and to carry on the war.

Cæsar, on learning these proceedings from the deserters and captives, adopted the following system of fortification: he dug a trench twenty feet deep, with perpendicular sides, in such a manner that the base of this trench should extend so far as the edges were apart at the top. He raised all his other works at a distance of four hundred feet from that ditch; he did that with this intention, lest (since he necessarily embraced so extensive an area, and the whole works could not be easily surrounded by a line of soldiers) a large number of the enemy should suddenly, or by night, sally against the fortifications; or lest they should by day cast weapons against our men while occupied with the works. Having left this interval, he drew two trenches fifteen feet broad, and of the same depth; the innermost of them, being in low and level ground, he filled with water conveyed from the river. Behind these he raised a rampart and wall twelve feet high; to this he added a parapet and battlements, with large stakes cut like stags' horns, projecting from the junction of the parapet and battlements, to prevent the enemy from scaling it, and surrounded the entire work with turrets, which were eighty feet distant from one another.

It was necessary, at one and the same time, to procure timber for the rampart, lay in supplies of corn, and raise also extensive fortifications, and the available troops were in consequence of this reduced in number, since they used to advance to some distance from the camp, and sometimes the Gauls endeavoured to attack our works, and to make a sally from the town by several gates and in great force. On which Cæsar thought that further additions should be made to these

works, in order that the fortifications might be defensible by a small number of soldiers. Having, therefore, cut down the trunks of trees or very thick branches, and having stripped their tops of the bark, sharpened them into a point, he drew a continued trench everywhere five feet deep. These stakes being sunk into this trench, and fastened firmly at the bottom, to prevent the possibility of their being torn up, had their branches only projecting from the ground. There were five rows in connection with, and intersecting each other; and whoever entered within them were likely to impale themselves on very sharp stakes. The soldiers called these "cippi." Before these, which were arranged in oblique rows in the form of a quincunx, pits three feet deep were dug, which gradually diminished in depth to the bottom. In these pits tapering stakes, of the thickness of a man's thigh, sharpened at the top and hardened in the fire, were sunk in such a manner as to project from the ground not more than four inches; at the same time for the purpose of giving them strength and stability, they were each filled with trampled clay to the height of one foot from the bottom: the rest of the pit was covered over with osiers and twigs, to conceal the deceit. Eight rows of this kind were dug, and were three feet distant from each other. They called this a lily from its resemblance to that flower. Stakes a foot long, with iron hooks attached to them, were entirely sunk in the ground before these, and were planted in every place at small intervals; these they called spurs.

After completing these works, having selected as level ground as he could, considering the nature of the country, and having enclosed an area of fourteen miles, he constructed, against an external enemy, fortifications of the same kind in every respect, and separate from these, so that the guards of the fortifications could not be surrounded even by immense numbers, if such a circumstance should take place owing to the departure of the enemy's cavalry; and in order that the Roman soldiers might not be compelled to go out of the camp with great risk, he orders all to provide forage and corn for thirty days.

Whilst those things are carried on at Alesia, the Gauls,

having convened a council of their chief nobility, determine that all who could bear arms should not be called out, which was the opinion of Vercingetorix, but that a fixed number should be levied from each state; lest, when so great a multitude assembled together, they could neither govern nor distinguish their men, nor have the means of supplying them with corn. They demand thirty-five thousand men from the Ædui and their dependents, the Segusiani, Ambivareti, and Aulerci Brannovices; an equal number from the Arveni in conjunction with the Eleuteti Cadurci, Gabali, and Velauni, who were accustomed to be under the command of the Arverni; twelve thousand each from the Senones, Sequani, Bituriges, Santones, Ruteni, and Carnutes; ten thousand from the Bellovaci; the same number from the Lemovici; eight thousand each from the Pictones, and Turoni, and Parisii, and Helvii; five thousand each from the Suessiones, Ambiani, Mediomatrici, Petrocorii, Nervii, Morini, and Nitiobriges; the same number from the Aulerci Cenomani; four thousand from the Atrebatas; three thousand each from the Bellocassi, Lexovii, and Aulerci Ebuovices; thirty thousand from the Rauraci, and Boii; six thousand from all the states together, which border on the Atlantic, and which in their dialect are called *Armoricæ*,¹ (in which number are comprehended the Curisolites, Rhedones, Ambibari, Caltes, Osismii, Lemovices, Veneti, and Unelli). Of these the Bellovaci did not contribute their number, as they said that they would wage war against the Romans on their own account, and at their own discretion, and would not obey the order of any one: however, at the request of Commius, they sent two thousand men, in consideration of a tie of hospitality which subsisted between him and them.

Cæsar had, as we have previously narrated, availed himself of the faithful and valuable services of this Commius, in Britain, in former years; in consideration of which merits

¹ A Celtic term applied in strictness to all parts of Gaul lying along the ocean. Cæsar, however, confines the appellation merely to the tract of country which corresponds to Normandy and Brittany. The name is derived from the Celtic *Ar Moer*, "on the sea."

he had exempted from taxes his [Commius's] state, and had conferred on Commius himself the country of the Morini. Yet such was the unanimity of the Gauls in asserting their freedom, and recovering their ancient renown in war, that they were influenced neither by favours, nor by the recollection of private friendship; and all earnestly directed their energies and resources to that war, and collected eight thousand cavalry, and about two hundred and forty thousand infantry. These were reviewed in the country of the Ædui, and a calculation was made of their numbers: commanders were appointed: the supreme command is entrusted to Commius the Atrebatian, Viridomarus and Eporedorix the Æduans, and Vergasillaumus the Arvernian, the cousin-german of Vercingetorix. To them are assigned men selected from each state, by whose advice the war should be conducted. All march to Alesia, sanguine and full of confidence; nor was there a single individual who imagined that the Romans could withstand the sight of such an immense host: especially in an action carried on both in front and rear, when on the inside the besieged would sally from the town and attack the enemy, and on the outside so great forces of cavalry and infantry would be seen.

But those who were blockaded at Alesia, the day being past on which they had expected auxiliaries from their countrymen, and all their corn being consumed, ignorant of what was going on among the Ædui, convened an assembly and deliberated on the exigency of their situation. After various opinions had been expressed among them, some of which proposed a surrender, others a sally, whilst their strength would support it, the speech of Critognatus ought not to be omitted for its singular and detestable cruelty. He sprung from the noblest family among the Arverni, and possessing great influence, says, "I shall pay no attention to the opinion of those who call a most disgraceful surrender by the name of a capitulation; nor do I think that they ought to be considered as citizens, or summoned to the council. My business is with those who approve of a sally: in whose advice the memory of our ancient prowess seems to dwell in the opinion of you all. To be unable to bear privation for a short time

is disgraceful cowardice, not true valour. Those who voluntarily offer themselves to death are more easily found than those who would calmly endure distress. And I would approve of this opinion (for honour is a powerful motive with me), could I foresee no other loss, save that of life; but let us, in adopting our design, look back on all Gaul, which we have stirred up to our aid. What courage do you think would our relatives and friends have, if eighty thousand men were butchered in one spot, supposing that they should be forced to come to an action almost over our corpses? Do not utterly deprive them of your aid, for they have spurned all thoughts of personal danger on account of your safety; nor by your folly, rashness, and cowardice, crush all Gaul and doom it to an eternal slavery. Do you doubt their fidelity and firmness because they have not come at the appointed day? What then? Do you suppose that the Romans are employed every day in the outer fortifications for mere amusement? If you cannot be assured by their despatches, since every avenue is blocked up, take the Romans as evidence that their approach is drawing near; since they, intimidated by alarm at this, labour night and day at their works. What, therefore, is my design? To do as our ancestors did in the war against the Cimbri and Teutones, which was by no means equally momentous; who, when driven into their towns, and oppressed by similar privations, supported life by the corpses of those who appeared useless for war on account of their age, and did not surrender to the enemy; and even if we had not a precedent for such cruel conduct, still I should consider it most glorious that one should be established, and delivered to posterity. For in what was that war like this? The Cimbri, after laying Gaul waste, and inflicting great calamities, at length departed from our country, and sought other lands; they left us our rights, laws, lands, and liberty. But what other motive or wish have the Romans, than, induced by envy, to settle in the lands and states of those whom they have learned by fame to be noble and powerful in war, and impose on them perpetual slavery? For they never have carried on wars on any other terms. But if you know not these things which are going on in distant countries, look to the neighbouring Gaul,

which being reduced to the form of a province, stripped of its rights and laws, and subjected to Roman despotism, is oppressed by perpetual slavery.”

When different opinions were expressed, they determined that those who, owing to age or ill health, were unserviceable for war, should depart from the town, and that themselves should try every expedient before they had recourse to the advice of Critognatus: however, that they would rather adopt that design, if circumstances should compel them and their allies should delay, than accept any terms of a surrender or peace. The Mandubii, who had admitted them into the town, are compelled to go forth with their wives and children. When these came to the Roman fortifications, weeping, they begged of the soldiers by every entreaty to receive them as slaves and relieve them with food. But Cæsar, placing guards on the rampart, forbade them to be admitted.

In the meantime, Commius and the rest of the leaders, to whom the supreme command had been intrusted, came with all their forces to Alesia, and having occupied the entire hill, encamp not more than a mile from our fortifications. The following day, having led forth their cavalry from the camp, they fill all that plain, which, we have related, extended three miles in length, and draw out their infantry a little from that place, and post them on the higher ground. The town Alesia commanded a view of the whole plain. The besieged run together when these auxiliaries were seen; mutual congratulations ensue, and the minds of all are elated with joy. Accordingly, drawing out their troops, they encamp before the town, and cover the nearest trench with hurdles and fill it up with earth, and make ready for a sally and every casualty.

Cæsar, having stationed his army on both sides of the fortifications, in order that, if occasion should arise, each should hold and know his own post, orders the cavalry to issue forth from the camp and commence action. There was a commanding view from the entire camp, which occupied a ridge of hills; and the minds of all the soldiers anxiously awaited the issue of the battle. The Gauls had scattered archers and light-armed infantry here and there, among their cavalry, to give relief to their retreating troops, and sustain

the impetuosity of our cavalry. Several of our soldiers were unexpectedly wounded by these, and left the battle. When the Gauls were confident that their countrymen were the conquerors in the action, and beheld our men hard pressed by numbers, both those who were hemmed in by the line of circumvallation and those who had come to aid them, supported the spirits of their men by shouts and yells from every quarter. As the action was carried on in sight of all, neither a brave nor cowardly act could be concealed; both the desire of praise and the fear of ignominy, urged on each party to valour. After fighting from noon almost to sun-set, without victory inclining in favour of either, the Germans, on one side, made a charge against the enemy in a compact body, and drove them back; and, when they were put to flight, the archers were surrounded and cut to pieces. In other parts, likewise, our men pursued to the camp of the retreating enemy, and did not give them an opportunity of rallying. But those who had come forth from Alesia returned into the town dejected and almost despairing of success.

The Gauls, after the interval of a day, and after making, during that time, an immense number of hurdles, scaling ladders, and iron hooks, silently went forth from the camp at midnight and approached the fortifications in the plain. Raising a shout suddenly, that by this intimation those who were besieged in the town might learn their arrival, they began to cast down hurdles and dislodge our men from the rampart by slings, arrows, and stones, and executed the other movements which are requisite in storming. At the same time, Vercingetorix, having heard the shout, gives the signal to his troops by a trumpet, and leads them forth from the town. Our troops, as each man's post had been assigned him some days before, man the fortifications; they intimidate the Gauls by slings, large stones, stakes which they had placed along the works, and bullets. All view being prevented by the darkness, many wounds are received on both sides; several missiles are thrown from the engines. But Marcus Antonius, and Caius Trebonius, the lieutenants, to whom the defence of these parts had been allotted, draughted troops from the redoubts which were more remote, and sent them to aid our troops,

in whatever direction they understood that they were hard pressed.

Whilst the Gauls were at a distance from the fortifications, they did more execution, owing to the immense number of their weapons: after they came nearer, they either unawares impaled themselves on the spurs, or were pierced by the mural darts from the ramparts and towers, and thus perished. After receiving many wounds on all sides, and having forced no part of the works, when day drew nigh, fearing lest they should be surrounded by a sally made from the higher camp on the exposed flank, they retreated to their countrymen. But those within, whilst they bring forward those things which had been prepared by Vercingetorix for a sally, fill up the nearest trenches; having delayed a long time in executing these movements, they learned the retreat of their countrymen before they drew nigh to the fortifications. Thus they returned to the town without accomplishing their object.

The Gauls, having been twice repulsed with great loss, consult what they should do: they avail themselves of the information of those who were well acquainted with the country; from them they ascertain the position and fortification of the upper camp. There was, on the north side, a hill, which our men could not include in their works, on account of the extent of the circuit, and had necessarily made their camp in ground almost disadvantageous, and pretty steep. Caius Antistius Reginus, and Caius Caninius Rebilus, two of the lieutenants, with two legions, were in possession of this camp. The leaders of the enemy, having reconnoitred the country by their scouts, select from the entire army sixty thousand men, belonging to those states, which bear the highest character for courage: they privately arrange among themselves what they wished to be done, and in what manner; they decide that the attack should take place when it should seem to be noon. They appoint over their forces Vergasillaunus, the Arvernian, one of the four generals, and a near relative of Vercingetorix. He, having issued from the camp at the first watch, and having almost completed his march a little before dawn, hid himself behind the mountain, and ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves after their

labour during the night. When noon now seemed to draw nigh, he marched hastily against that camp which we have mentioned before; and, at the same time, the cavalry began to approach the fortifications in the plain, and the rest of the forces to make a demonstration in front of the camp.

Vercingetorix, having beheld his countrymen from the citadel of Alesia, issues forth from the town; he brings forth from the camp long hooks, movable pent-houses, mural hooks, and other things, which he had prepared for the purpose of making a sally. They engage on all sides at once, and every expedient is adopted. They flock to whatever part of the works seemed weakest. The army of the Romans is distributed along their extensive lines, and with difficulty meets the enemy in every quarter. The shouts which were raised by the combatants in their rear, had a great tendency to intimidate our men, because they perceived that their danger rested on the valour of others: for generally all evils which are distant, most powerfully alarm men's minds.

Cæsar, having selected a commanding situation, sees distinctly whatever is going on in every quarter, and sends assistance to his troops when hard-pressed. The idea uppermost in the minds of both parties is, that the present is the time in which they would have the fairest opportunity of making a struggle; the Gauls despairing of all safety, unless they should succeed in forcing the lines: the Romans expecting an end to all their labours if they should gain the day. The principal struggle is at the upper lines, to which, we have said, Vergasillaunus was sent. The least elevation of ground, added to a declivity, exercises a momentous influence. Some are casting missiles, others, forming a testudo, advance to the attack; fresh men by turns relieve the wearied. The earth, heaped up by all against the fortifications, gives the means of ascent to the Gauls, and covers those works which the Romans had concealed in the ground. Our men have no longer arms or strength.

Cæsar, on observing these movements, sends Labienus with six cohorts to relieve his distressed soldiers: he orders him, if he should be unable to withstand them, to draw off the cohorts and make a sally; but not to do this except through

necessity. He himself goes to the rest, and exhorts them not to succumb to the toil; he shows them that the fruits of all former engagements depend on that day and hour. The Gauls within, despairing of forcing the fortifications in the plains on account of the greatness of the works, attempt the places precipitous in ascent: hither they bring the engines which they had prepared; by the immense number of their missiles they dislodge the defenders from the turrets: they fill the ditches with clay and hurdles, then clear the way; they tear down the rampart and breast-work with hooks.

Cæsar sends at first young Brutus with six cohorts, and afterwards Caius Fabius, his lieutenant, with seven others: finally, as they fought more obstinately, he leads up fresh men to the assistance of his soldiers. After renewing the action, and repulsing the enemy, he marches in the direction in which he had sent Labienus, drafts four cohorts from the nearest redoubt, and orders part of the cavalry to follow him, and part to make the circuit of the external fortifications and attack the enemy in the rear. Labienus, when neither the ramparts nor ditches could check the onset of the enemy, informs Cæsar by messengers of what he intended to do. Cæsar hastens to share in the action.

His arrival being known from the colour of his robe,¹ and the troops of cavalry, and the cohorts which he had ordered to follow him being seen, as these low and sloping grounds were plainly visible from the eminences, the enemy join battle. A shout being raised by both sides, it was succeeded by a general shout along the ramparts and whole line of fortifications. Our troops, laying aside their javelins, carry on the engagement with their swords. The cavalry is suddenly seen in the rear of the Gauls: the other cohorts advance rapidly; the enemy turn their backs; the cavalry intercepts them in their flight, and a great slaughter ensues. Sedulius the general and chief of the Lemovices is slain; Vergillaunus, the Arvernian, is taken alive in the flight, seventy-four military standards are brought to Cæsar, and few out of

¹ The Roman generals usually wore a white or purple robe (*paludamentum*) over their armour.

so great a number return safe to their camp. The besieged, beholding from the town the slaughter and flight of their countrymen, despairing of safety, lead back their troops from the fortifications. A flight of the Gauls from their camp immediately ensues on hearing of this disaster, and had not the soldiers been wearied by sending frequent reinforcements, and the labour of the entire day, all the enemy's forces could have been destroyed. Immediately after midnight, the cavalry are sent out and overtake the rear, a great number are taken or cut to pieces, the rest by flight escape in different directions to their respective states. Vercingetorix, having convened a council the following day, declares, "That he had undertaken that war, not on account of his own exigencies, but on account of the general freedom: and since he must yield to fortune, he offered himself to them for either purpose, whether they should wish to atone to the Romans by his death, or surrender him alive. Ambassadors are sent to Cæsar on this subject. He orders their arms to be surrendered, and their chieftains delivered up. He seated himself at the head of the lines in front of the camp, the Gallic chieftains are brought before him. They surrender Vercingetorix,¹ and lay down their arms. Reserving the Ædui and Arverni, to try if he could gain over, through their influence, their respective states, Cæsar distributes one of the remaining captives to each soldier, throughout the entire army, as plunder.

After making these arrangements, he marches into the country of the Ædui, and recovers that state. To this place ambassadors are sent by the Arverni, who promise that they will execute his commands. He demands a great number of

¹ According to Plutarch the Gallic chief arrayed himself in his most splendid armour, and having caparisoned his horse, sallied out from the gates of the town. After he had taken some circuits around Cæsar, as the latter was sitting in his tribunal, he dismounted, put off his armour, and seated himself at the feet of the Roman general. There he remained in silence until Cæsar ordered him to be taken away and reserved for his triumph. Dion Cassius states that he relied on Cæsar's former friendship for forgiveness. This reliance, however, proved unavailing; since, after having been led in triumph at Rome, he was put to death in prison.



VERCINGETORIX BEFORE CÆSAR

From a painting by Lionel Royer, exhibited in the Paris Salon of 1899

“THE GALLIC CHIEF ARRAYED HIMSELF IN HIS MOST SPLENDID ARMOUR, AND, HAVING CAPARISONED HIS HORSE, SALLIED OUT FROM THE GATES OF THE TOWN. RIDING UP TO CÆSAR, SITTING IN HIS TRIBUNAL, HE DISMOUNTED, PUT OFF HIS ARMOUR, AND SEATED HIMSELF AT THE FEET OF THE ROMAN GENERAL. THERE HE REMAINED IN SILENCE UNTIL CÆSAR ORDERED HIM TO BE TAKEN AWAY AND RESERVED FOR HIS TRIUMPH. DION CASSIUS STATES THAT HE RELIED ON CÆSAR'S FORMER FRIENDSHIP FOR FORGIVENESS. THIS RELIANCE, HOWEVER, PROVED UN-AVAILING; SINCE, AFTER HAVING BEEN LED IN TRIUMPH AT ROME, HE WAS PUT TO DEATH IN PRISON.”



hostages. He sends the legions to winter-quarters; he restores about twenty thousand captives to the Ædui and Arverni; he orders Titus Labienus to march into the country of the Sequani with two legions and the cavalry, and to him he attaches Marcus Sempronius Rutilus; he places Caius Fabius, and Lucius Minucius Basilus, with two legions in the country of the Remi, lest they should sustain any loss from the Bellovaci in their neighbourhood. He sends Caius Antistius Reginus into the country of the Ambivareti, Titus Sextius into the territories of the Bituriges, and Caius Caninius Rebilus into those of the Ruteni, with one legion each. He stations Quintus Tullius Cicero, and Publius Sulpicius among the Ædui at Cabillo and Matisco on the Saône, to procure supplies of corn. He himself determines to winter at Bibracte. A supplication of twenty days is decreed by the senate at Rome, on learning these successes from Cæsar's despatches.

SALLUST
THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

TRANSLATED BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

WITH A

LIFE OF SALLUST

BY T. M.

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF SALLUST

By T. M.

It cannot be denied, that the union of virtue and genius is a phenomenon almost as rare as it is glorious; and amply as human nature abounds in contrarieties, it does not produce a more degrading alloy, a more melancholy mixture, than that of talents with profligacy. We contemplate a character of this kind, in which meanness is so blended with sublimity, as a traveller through Greece and Asia looks on those motley structures, in which broken marbles and columns are found mixed among the vilest rubbish, and the fragments of ancient splendour are converted to purposes of filth and wretchedness. Such is the mortifying spectacle which the life of Sallust presents; alternately exciting our admiration and contempt by the vigour of his intellect and the corruption of his heart, he seems to have studied all that is excellent in theory, for the sole purpose of avoiding it in practice.

He was born at Amiternum, in the country of the Sabines, in the year of Rome 608 (B.C. 86). The family of the Sallustii was good but not illustrious; and it does not appear that, previous to the time of the historian, the name had acquired either rank or celebrity at Rome.

The early pursuits of Sallust were such as might be expected from the discordant qualities of which his character was composed. While the learned philologer Atteius presided over his studies, and fed his mind with that pure attic eloquence which we find transfused so admirably into his writings, the abandoned Nigidianus was the companion of his debaucheries; and it is to be feared, that even Nature herself was not sufficiently respected in their orgies. With such dispositions we cannot wonder, that, when Sallust applied his attention to political affairs, he should adopt the popular faction

as the more favourable to his views and character, and as opening a field for his ambition, while it flattered all his baser propensities. His first appearance in public life seems, however, to have been rather unsuccessful, and he complains of his failure in the History of Catiline's Conspiracy.

Ambition, however, was not the only feeling which occupied, at this time, the ardent spirit of Sallust. Fausta, the wife of Milo, and daughter of Sylla, one of those beautiful philanthropists, who study more to bless than to tantalize mankind, was wooed by the young historian, and did not distinguish him by a refusal. He seems, however, to have been as unlucky in love as in politics. The husband was officious enough to interrupt the lovers, and the gallant was dismissed after a chastisement so severe, and so degrading, that it disgusted him for ever with intrigues in consular families. Indeed so complete was the reformation which the lash of Milo produced, that Sallust is said to have declared some time after in the senate-house, upon being reproached with the immorality of his life, that "he had given up women of rank, and taken to the daughters of freedmen."

We cannot ascertain the period of his life, when he first aspired to the honours of magistracy; but as the quæstorship was a previous step to the other offices which he appears to have held, we may suppose that he obtained this situation soon after he had reached the age which the laws rendered necessary for its attainment. In the year 52 B.C. he was elected a tribune of the people, and it is less a subject of triumph to him than it is of disgrace to the times in which he lived, that Cato should have failed at a moment when Sallust was successful. He had now an opportunity, however, of revenging himself upon the husband of Fausta, whose trial for the murder of Clodius took place during the year of his tribuneship. The factious spirit of Clodius had long disturbed the commonwealth. His animosity to Cicero, after the suppression of the conspiracy of Catiline, had been so actively exerted, that, notwithstanding the influence of the senate, who regarded Cicero as their grandest bulwark, that great man, with a timidity which was the blemish of his character, yielded to the popular clamour, and retired into volun-

tary banishment. A triumph so signal, and in some degree unexpected, was sufficient to intoxicate the party of Clodius; and their insolence was such as generally follows a momentary advantage in civil dissensions. During these events the designing Cæsar, whose mind never wandered from its mighty object, abetted the party of Clodius and the populace; while Pompey, with a fluctuation which never yet characterized greatness, after abandoning Cicero to the persecutions of Clodius, assisted Milo in his hostility to the latter, and then attached himself again to the demagogue with the hope of supplanting the popularity of Cæsar. The absence of Cicero was not protracted very long; the law for his recall was passed by acclamation, and the vanity of the orator was gratified by a kind of triumphal entry into Rome.

Such were the transactions which preceded the year 52 B.C. when Sallust became a tribune of the people. The commotions of the former year were continued with unabating fury; and the first event which gave Sallust an opportunity of exerting his talents and gratifying his revenge, was a violent struggle for the consulship between Milo, Hypsæus, and Scipio. His ignominious exposure in the bed-chamber of Fausta still rankled in the heart of the historian, and he eagerly coalesced with Clodius in opposition to the author of his disgrace. The riots and massacres to which the contest gave rise were but a repetition of those barbarous scenes of blood by which Rome, the great theatre of the world, was so often stained and degraded. At length the murder of Clodius put a crown to these party excesses, and raised the indignation of the populace as high as their demagogues could desire. The particulars of the trial of Milo are, perhaps, better remembered by the scholar than any other detailed transaction of antiquity, from its having given birth to the most polished piece of eloquence that ancient or modern genius has ever produced. But, unfortunately, the talent to write was not seconded by the courage to speak; the muse of oratory trembled before the legions of Pompey; and Milo, amidst the luxuries of his banishment at Marseilles, confessed himself indebted to the timidity of his advocate for the very delicate mullets to which it had been the means of introducing him.

Sallust was one of the managers of this memorable trial; and even without reference to the authority of Pedianus, we may imagine the degree of acrimony with which the prosecution was conducted. His enmity to Cicero, which had originated, perhaps, in their political differences, and was at length become a personal feeling, displayed itself upon this occasion openly and malignantly. Assisted by his colleagues, Rufus and Munacius, he endeavoured to implicate the orator in the guilt of Milo, and he did not hesitate to say, in the course of his violent harangues, that "though the arm of Milo had struck the blow, the head of a greater man had planned it."

The biographers of Sallust have supposed that soon after the termination of this affair, some pacific overtures were made by the parties to each other, and a kind of reconciliation established between the historian and Milo. It is, certainly, not difficult to believe that men so ambitious and profligate would readily assume any feeling, either of hatred or amity, which promised to promote the factious design of the moment; for the heart has no share in the transactions of a true politician, and there is as little of principle in his enmity as there is of sincerity in his friendship. But we do not find a sufficient motive for this accommodation; and that Sallust did not cease to be obnoxious to the partizans of Milo appears by his subsequent expulsion from the senate, which may be safely attributed to their machinations. This signal degradation he suffered in the year 50 B.C., and it cannot be doubted that the licentiousness of his life concurred with the zeal of his enemies in bringing him to such public debasement, and almost justified their hostility. The ignominious retirement to which he was dismissed had scarcely lasted two years, when the return of his patron, Cæsar, into Italy, after a long series of the most splendid victories, consoled his mortified spirit and gave a new spring to his ambition. It was at this period he is supposed to have written his first letter to Cæsar on the regulation of the commonwealth; and if history and expérience did not amply teach us the hollowness of that zeal which demagogues profess for liberty, we should wonder at the apostasy which he exhibits throughout this extraordinary

composition. No longer the advocate of free government, he looks to arbitrary power as the only hope of salvation to the state, and urges Cæsar to assume the sovereignty with an earnestness, which we might respect, if we could but think it disinterested. The adulation which breathes through this letter is equally unlike the republican character of the writer, and we cannot imagine the female robe to have sat more awkwardly on the limbs of Achilles than the garb of flattery hangs about the nervous sentences of Sallust. This sacrifice of principle, however, was not left unrewarded, and the influence of Cæsar procured his appointment to the quæstorship, by which, after two years of humiliation, he was restored to his senatorian rank. During the period of his office, or a short time after, while Cæsar was occupied in the siege of Alexandria, he composed his second political letter; and as the object to which he had formerly directed the ambition of the conqueror, was in a great measure secured by the blind devotion of the senate, who had lately united in the person of Cæsar the three incompatible dignities of dictator, consul, and tribune of the people, the tenour of this address is more calm, enlightened, and dispassionate; and the luminous glimpse which he gives of the last dying moments of the republic is interesting and instructive.

In the year 46 B.C., upon the return of Cæsar to Rome, he was raised to the high situation of prætor, and about the same time became the husband of Terentia, whom Cicero had been obliged to divorce, after an experiment of more than thirty years. It is difficult to account for this singular choice of the historian,¹ unless we can suppose that it proceeded from his animosity to Cicero, and that he was happy to receive a

¹ After the death of Sallust, when Terentia must have been about fifty-six years of age, she was married to Messala Corvinus, another celebrated orator; which has led the pious St. Jerome to congratulate her upon having been put through such a course of orators. But this was not all: so late as the reign of Tiberius, Terentia still had charms to captivate the antiquarian Rufus, who married her after she had passed her hundredth year, and thought himself the happiest virtuoso in Rome to possess two such valuable antiques in his collection, as the chair of Cæsar and the wife of Cicero.

deserter from the hostile camp who could best betray to him the weakness of the enemy.

In the mean time the wreck of Pompey's army was collected under Cato and Scipio in Africa, and began to assume an aspect of resistance, which, though not very formidable, called for the attention of Cæsar. He accordingly gave directions to Sallust, whom he had appointed one of his lieutenants, to march with a body of troops to the coast, and there embark immediately for Africa. But long and painful service had wearied these hardy veterans. As soon as they arrived at the place of embarkation, and found that they were destined to new dangers, a spirit of mutiny declared itself, and they refused to obey the orders of their lieutenant. In vain did he threaten and promise; their discontent soon kindled into fury, and he was forced at length to consult his own safety by flight, while the malcontents proceeded with the most furious menaces towards Rome, murdering, indiscriminately, all who were ill-fated enough to encounter them. Cæsar, upon hearing of their approach, went forth to meet them alone, notwithstanding the representations of his friends, who trembled at the danger to which he exposed himself, and it was upon this occasion that by the single word "Quirites" he abashed a whole army of mutineers, and had them all repentant at his feet. Such was the dominion which he held over the soldiers, and such must ever be the ascendancy of those splendid qualities, which, like the shield of the magician in Ariosto, dazzle men out of their liberties.

Soon after the arrival of Cæsar in Africa, there were some apprehensions entertained of a scarcity of provisions for the troops; in consequence of which a part of the fleet was detached under the command of Sallust to take possession of the island of Cercina, in which a rich magazine had been formed by the enemy. "I do not pause to consider," said Cæsar, in giving orders to his lieutenant, "whether the service on which I send you is practicable or not; the situation in which we are placed admits neither of delay nor disappointment." The enterprise, however, succeeded without much difficulty. Decimus, who commanded at Cercina, upon seeing the approach of the squadron, escaped to sea in a skiff, and aban-

doned the island to Sallust, who, taking possession of the stores, had the corn all shipped aboard his transports, and returned with the welcome supply to Cæsar.

This is the only occurrence during the war, in which the historian appears to have been prominently concerned; but either his services or his flattery recommended him so strongly to Cæsar, that he was appointed, after the conquest of Numidia, to the government of the whole African province, including Libya, Numidia, and Mauritania, and extending along the coast from Carthage to the ocean.

If the wild irregularities of youth were all that could be objected to Sallust, his biographers would have lingered less harshly on his name, and the follies of the boy would have been forgotten in the greatness of the man. But those cold vices of the heart, which time can neither soften nor eradicate, were, unhappily, his leading characteristics, and have left the darkest stain upon his memory. So active was the spirit of rapacity with which he plundered the subjects of his government, that in the course of a year he returned to Rome, sinking under the wealth which he had wrung from the unfortunate Numidians. An effort was made to bring him to an account for these extortions, but the fruits of his guilt enabled him to avert its punishment; a bribe administered to Cæsar was the spell which dissolved the prosecution, and Sallust was left to employ his affluent leisure in writing against luxury, speculation, and avarice.

With the wealth of the injured Africans he laid out those delicious gardens which still "look green" in the pages of antiquity, and which were long the delight and the wonder of Rome. There, in the midst of parterres and porticos, with an Italian sky over his head, and the voluptuous statues of Greece before his eyes, the historian produced those rigid lessons of temperance, those strong delineations of character, and those connected views of motives, events, and consequences, which deserve so justly to be called "Philosophy teaching by examples." There, reposing in the temple of his Venus, after an interview, perhaps, with some fair Libertina, he inveighed against the sensuality of the Roman youth; or reclining amidst vases and pictures which African gold had purchased,

composed his elaborate declamations against the rapacity of provincial governors.

Such were the labours and the luxuries, which Sallust was obliged to relinquish, before he could be weary of the one or sated with the other. He died at the age of fifty-one, in the year of Rome 718 (B.C. 34); and perhaps the best summary of his life and character is comprised in the following couplet of Young:

The man disgusts us, while the writer shines,
Our scorn in life, our envy in his lines!

The merits of Sallust as a writer and a historian have been often discussed, and are in general justly appreciated. He shews, however, the fallacy of a standard in criticism, as there is scarcely a fault in his writings, which some have not praised as a beauty; and, on the other hand, scarcely a beauty which some have not censured as a fault. While Quintilian admires the brevity of his style, there are others who condemn it as vicious and affected; and Julius Scaliger, with a still more capricious singularity of opinion, declares that diffusion and prolixity are the most striking defects of Sallust. The speeches, interwoven with his history, which some critics value so highly, are considered by others as false and inelegant fabrications; and Cassius Severus has classed them among the failures of genius with the verses of Cicero and the prose of Virgil. The authenticity of these harangues is certainly too questionable to admit of their exciting such a lively degree of interest as might atone for the interruption which they cause in the narrative; and even the dramatic allusion that should be preserved is destroyed by the uniformity of the historian's style, which confers on the rough, uneducated Marius an array of language as dense and artificial as it gives to the polished and eloquent Cæsar. Without, however, entering into the minuteness of criticism, or pausing upon any of those heretical opinions which we have mentioned, we may consider ourselves orthodox in looking to Sallust as one of the purest models of historical composition; as a writer, whose style, though formed on the study of the Greeks, is peculiarly his own and original both in its faults

and its perfections, being often affected yet always vigorous, and sometimes too brief yet never obscure. The precepts of virtue too with which he has enriched his works are truly philosophical and most admirably inculcated; and we have only to regret, while we read and admire them, that these flowers of moral eloquence are not native to the heart of him who utters them; but, like Virgil's branch of gold upon the gloomy tree in the shades, are a kind of bright excrescence, *quod non sua seminat arbor*, "which his tree engendereth not."

SALLUST

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE

PREFACE

To maintain the dignity of human nature is the true ambition of man; and to that end it becomes the duty of all, who aspire to distinguish themselves from the race of inferior animals, to exert their most strenuous efforts, lest they pass their days in silence, like the herds of the field, formed by nature prone to the earth, and governed altogether by the incitements of appetite. Man is composed of mind and body, and in the exercise of both consists the energy of his nature. The mind is the directing principle; the body is subservient. The former we participate with the gods; the latter we hold in common with the brute creation. Hence the fame acquired by our intellectual powers has ever appeared to me the truest glory, far superior to all that can be achieved by mere corporeal vigour; and since the life which we enjoy is frail and transitory, it should be the endeavour of every man to extend his fame, and leave a lasting memorial of his existence. For what are all the advantages of wealth, and all the graces of form and feature? mere precarious gifts, that soon fade and moulder away. It is virtue, and virtue only, that ennobles the human character, and lives in the memory of after-times.

But a just estimate of our mental and bodily faculties was not easily made. Which of them was most conducive to the success of military operations, was in former times a question much agitated, and long undecided. It is evident, however, that before the undertaking of a warlike enterprise, judgment is required to concert and plan the necessary measures; vigour in the execution is equally necessary. The powers of man, in their separate functions feeble and ineffectual, demand each other's aid, and flourish by mutual assistance.

And yet we see that in the commencement of royalty (for by that title the first rulers of the world were dignified) the several kings proceeded by different exertions; some choosing to cultivate their mental faculties, while others relied on bodily vigour. But in that period men led a blameless life; each individual enjoyed his own, and with that was satisfied. In process of time, when Cyrus in Asia, and the Spartans and Athenians in Greece, began to extend their conquests over cities and nations; when the lust of dominion was a sufficient motive for the desolation of war, and the acquisition of territory swelled the conqueror's pride; then at length the dangers of the field and the intricacy of negotiations made it evident that the head, and not the sword, is the great engine of war. Were the same attention paid to the affairs of civil government; if kings and leaders of armies were as willing to display their genius in the calm seasons of peace, the rights of men would rest on a surer foundation, and the world would no longer be a scene of war and wild commotion. Dominion obtained by the powers of genius, may be supported by the same arts. But when, in the place of industry, moderation, and justice, sloth, ambition, and inordinate desires succeed, the manners of a whole people change with their condition; and the government is transferred from the hands of incapacity, to the man of superior genius.

The labours of man, whether he choose to cultivate the land, to explore the ocean, or to raise the lofty dome, agriculture, navigation, architecture, and all the arts of life, owe their success to the faculties of the mind; and yet we see in the mass of life numbers addicted to sloth and the gratifications of appetite; men uneducated and uninformed, who have passed their time like incurious travellers, of whom it may be said, the organs of bodily sensation were their delight, and their minds were no better than a burden. The life and death of all of that description, I rank in the same degree; they pass away, and leave no trace behind them. He only, according to my way of thinking, can be said to live, and to answer the ends of his being, who devotes his time to some worthy employment, and either distinguishes himself by honourable deeds, or seeks the fame of excellence in some liberal art.

But the business of human life presents a variety of employments; and nature, by a secret bias, invites the industry of man to different scenes of action. To serve the commonwealth by patriot toil and vigour, is the highest glory; eloquence in the same cause deserves its rank of praise. A name may become great and eminent in peace, as well as war. The men who have performed, and the historians who have recorded generous actions, have been ever held in esteem. It is true, the fame of him, who writes, can never equal that of him, who acts; but still to compose the history of great transactions, has ever appeared to me an arduous undertaking: first, because the style must be proportioned to the subject; and, again, because the reflections of the historian are in danger of being misconstrued. If he censures what is wrong, his objections are supposed to spring from envy and malevolence: if he describes a great and splendid virtue, and sets forth the glory of honourable deeds, every man in that case makes himself the standard by which he judges; what he fancies within the reach of his own powers, he is willing to believe, and all beyond that compass he rejects as fiction.

As to myself, I must acknowledge, that in my younger days, I felt, like many others, a strong desire to enter on the career of civil employment, but many obstacles occurred to retard me in my progress. Instead of modesty, self-denial, and virtue, I saw boldness, corruption, and rapacity, around me. A mind, like mine, as yet unpractised in wrong, was disgusted of course by this general depravity; but still entangled in the vices of the times, and young and ambitious, I was hurried away by the torrent; and, though my heart condemned the morals of those around me, I felt all the same aspiring impatience; and the love of fame, with its sure attendant envy, haunted and disturbed me. At length, however, when, after various conflicts, I escaped from all the dangers of my situation, and my spirits were restored to peace and tranquillity, I resolved to pass the rest of my life at a distance from the stage of public business: but, in that retreat, it was by no means my intention to let the hours of leisure run to waste in listless indolence. I was not willing to pass

my days in agriculture, hunting, or such degrading pursuits. On the contrary, recurring to those early studies, from which vain ambition had seduced me, I formed a resolution to compose a narrative of Roman affairs, selecting for that purpose such events as seemed worthy of the notice of posterity; a task, in which I was the more willing to engage, as I could then bring to the work a mind uninfluenced by hope or fear, and perfectly free from party connexions. I shall therefore, with the strictest regard to truth, and with all possible brevity, relate the conspiracy of Catiline; this event appearing to me to rank among the most memorable and interesting, whether we consider its singular atrocity or the novelty of the dangers which it menaced. Before, however, I enter upon my narrative, it will be proper to give some account of the manners and character of the man.

Lucius Catiline was the descendant of an illustrious family. The extraordinary vigour of his body was equalled by that of his mind; but his genius was fatally bent on mischief. Intestine discord, murder and massacre, plunder and civil wars, were the delight of his youth; and in those scenes of commotion he exercised his earliest talents. His frame of body was such that he could endure hunger, cold, and watching, with a patience altogether incredible. His spirit was bold and daring; his genius subtle and various. Perfect in the arts of simulation and dissimulation; greedy after the property of others, and prodigal of his own, whatever he desired, he desired with ardour. Possessed of sufficient eloquence, his portion of wisdom was but small. Fond of the vast, the immoderate, the incredible, his spirit aimed at projects far beyond his powers.¹

¹“He had in him many, though not express images, yet sketches of the greatest virtues; was acquainted with a great number of wicked men, yet a pretended admirer of the virtuous. His house was furnished with a variety of temptations to lust and lewdness, yet with several incitements to industry and labour: it was a scene of vicious pleasures, yet a school of martial exercises. There never was such a monster on earth compounded of passions so contrary and opposite. Who was ever more agreeable at one time to the

Such being the temper of the man, it is no wonder, that, having before his eyes the late example of Sylla's usurpation, he formed a design to make himself master of the commonwealth. The measures by which he pursued the object gave him no solicitude: to be the tyrant of his country by any means, was his ardent passion. His mind, naturally fierce and impetuous, was rendered still more so by the ruin of his fortunes, and the goading reproaches of a guilty conscience; evils, which the crimes of every day augmented. The general depravity of the times was a further incentive: he saw the people corrupt and profligate, hurried on in a wild career of luxury and avarice, vices which differ in their nature, but agree in the misery of their consequences.

And here, since I have had occasion to mention the manners of the age, if I go back for a moment to review the practice of our ancestors, the digression, I trust, will not be deemed improper: it will serve to shew the spirit of the Roman government in war and peace; the system of civil and military institutions; the arts by which our ancestors founded the commonwealth, and carried it to the highest grandeur. We shall at the same time see by what fatal steps the government declined, till it fell from the noblest height into its present depth of degeneracy, and from the best and

best citizens? who more intimate at another with the worst? who a man of better principles? who a fouler enemy to this city? who more intemperate in pleasure? who more patient in labour? who more rapacious in plundering? who more profuse in squandering? He had a wonderful faculty of engaging men to his friendship, and obliging them by his observance; sharing with them in common whatever he was master of; serving them with his money, his interest, his pains, and, when there was occasion, by the most daring acts of villany, moulding his nature to his purposes, and bending it every way to his will. With the morose, he could live severely; with the free, gaily; with the old, gravely; with the young, cheerfully; with the enterprising, audaciously; with the vicious, luxuriously. By a temper so various and pliable, he gathered about him the profligate and rash from all countries, yet held attached to him at the same time many brave and worthy men, by the specious show of a pretended virtue."—CICERO, *Oration in Behalf of Caelius*.

most flourishing state has now become the most weak and flagitious.

The city of Rome, as we collect from history, was founded and governed by the Trojans, who under the conduct of Æneas saved themselves from the destruction of their country, and wandered for some time from place to place in quest of a settled habitation. They were soon joined by the Aborigines, or natives of Italy; a race of men, who ran wild in the woods, and lived without any form of government, unchecked by laws, free and independent. The two nations agreed to coalesce: united within the same walls, it is wonderful how soon they became one undistinguished people, notwithstanding the diversity of their origin, their language, and their manners. The new state went on increasing in population, extending its territory, and forming wholesome regulations, insomuch that it began to assume the appearance of an opulent and flourishing colony. From that time, according to the usual course of human affairs, their growing affluence provoked the jealousy of their neighbours. Contentions ensued, and wars with different princes. The new settlers obtained little or no assistance from their allies, while the rest, struck with terror, kept aloof from the perils of war. The Romans, in the mean time, neglected nothing; intent on their internal polity, and conducting the war with vigour, they planned their military operations with judgment; they executed with dispatch; they animated one another; they gave battle to the enemy, and by their courage were able to protect their liberty, their country, and their fellow-citizens. Having at length surmounted all their difficulties, and by their valour delivered themselves from the calamities of war, they resolved to succour their allies; and thus, by conferring benefits, not by receiving them, they enlarged the circle of their friends.

They established a regular form of government, with the title of king. A select number of the wisest citizens, men indeed impaired by years, but still retaining the vigour of the mind, formed the great council of the state. They were distinguished by the title of fathers; a name derived from their advanced age; or, perhaps, from their paternal care

of the commonwealth. In process of time, when the royal dignity, which was at first intended to protect the liberty of the subject, and promote the interests of the commonwealth, began to degenerate into pride and despotism, the constitution underwent a change, and two magistrates were appointed to supply the office of king for the term of a year only. The policy of the measure was, that a mere annual authority would not be sufficient to inflame the minds of men with pride and insolence. This was a period when every man stood forward in the service of his country, and when all who possessed talents, discovered and exerted them. In despotic governments the able and the worthy are objects of more suspicion than the wicked and insignificant; nothing is so formidable to a tyrant as virtue.

Now civil liberty being established at Rome, the rapid progress with which the state enlarged its territory is almost incredible. The love of glory pervaded every breast. Young men, as soon as they were of age to carry arms, betook themselves to toil and labour in the camp, and in that school acquired the military art. To have burnished arms, and well-trained horses, was their pride; loose women and convivial riots had no attraction. To soldiers so formed and exercised, no labour was fatiguing; no place was rugged or difficult; the face of the enemy struck no terror: their virtue towered above all obstructions. The struggle among themselves was for glory. To assault the foe, scale the walls, and to be seen while they performed such deeds, was their ambition. In that consisted their riches; that was their highest glory; that was their true nobility. Covetous of praise and lavish of money, they panted for glory, and were indifferent about riches; a competence obtained with honour satisfied their wishes. I could here enumerate their military exploits; could mention places where they had defeated powerful armies with a very inferior force, and taken cities by assault which Nature herself had fortified; but this recital would lead me too far from my original design.

It may, however, be observed, that in the course of human affairs much is owing to chance and the circumstances of the times. Hence it happens, that the actions of men are

often obscured or aggrandized, as caprice inspires, not as truth should dictate. For example, the transactions of the Athenians were, it must be acknowledged, great and noble; but surely they fall short of the splendour with which they are represented. The fact is, Athens produced a race of eloquent writers, whose genius gave such a lustre to what they related that the fame of their countrymen surpasses all the rest of the world; and the virtue of the men who figured in those times, is now seen in all the colours of eloquence, carried by the writers as high as imagination could aspire. The Romans had not those advantages: their ablest men were employed in action. They exercised the body as well as the mind. To act rather than speak, was the ambition of eminent men, and they performed what others might praise, instead of praising what others had performed.

But even that rude, unenlightened age produced a system of the best and wisest institutions. Sound morals were established in the city and the army. A spirit of union prevailed; not a symptom of avarice was seen; virtue and justice were secured as much by good inclination as by the laws. Their strife, their quarrels, and their differences were all confined to the enemy; with their fellow-citizens they knew no disunion; to distinguish themselves by superior virtue, was the only struggle. Magnificent in their temples, they were economists in their homes; and their fidelity in friendship was pure and exemplary. Their maxims for their own good and the welfare of the public were few and simple, namely, courage in war, and justice in peace. As a proof of what has been advanced, it may be observed, that in the most active campaign they had more frequent occasion to punish the soldiers who attacked the enemy without orders, or continued the battle after the signal for retreat, than the men who deserted their colours or fled from their post. In time of peace, their rule was to secure obedience by rewards rather than by punishment; and when they received an injury, they chose rather to forgive, than to revenge.

By this wise system the republic rose to the highest pitch of grandeur; great and opulent states were reduced to subjection; powerful kings were conquered; Carthage, that formid-

able rival, was laid in ruins; and Rome remained mistress by land and sea. It was then that fortune began to change the scene, and throw every thing into confusion. The people who had before that time endured hardship and labour, peril and adversity, began to relax; and to them repose and riches, the great objects of other nations, became a burden that broke their spirit, and extinguished their virtue. A love of money, and lust for power, took possession of every mind. These hateful passions were the source of innumerable evils. Good faith, integrity, and every virtuous principle, gave way to avarice; and in the room of moral honesty, pride, cruelty, and contempt of the gods succeeded. Corruption and venality were introduced; and every thing had its price. Such were the effects of avarice. Ambition was followed by an equal train of evils; it taught men to be false and deceitful; to think one thing, and to say another; to make friendship or enmity a mere traffic for private advantage, and to set the features to a semblance of virtue, while malignity lay lurking in the heart. But at first these vices sapped their way by slow degrees, and were often checked in their progress; but spreading at length like an epidemic contagion, morals and the liberal arts went to ruin; and the government, which was before a model of justice, became the most profligate and oppressive.

In this decline of all public virtue, ambition, and not avarice, was the passion that first possessed the minds of men; and this was natural. Ambition is a vice that borders on the confines of virtue; it implies a love of glory, of power, and pre-eminence; and those are objects that glitter alike in the eyes of the man of honour, and the most unprincipled: but the former pursues them by fair and honourable means, while the latter, who finds within himself no resources of talent, depends altogether upon intrigue and fallacy for his success. Avarice, on the other hand, aims at an accumulation of riches; a passion unknown to liberal minds. It may be called a compound of poisonous ingredients; it has power to enervate the body, and debauch the best understanding; always unbounded; never satisfied; in plenty and in want equally craving and rapacious.

At length, when Lucius Sylla had by force of arms restored the commonwealth (though unfortunately the issue of his enterprise did not produce the consequences which his first intentions seemed to promise); in the commotions that followed, his soldiers, flushed with conquest, thought of nothing but plunder and depredation. One aspired to have a splendid mansion; another, to possess a landed estate: none were restrained within the bounds of moderation; all gave a loose to their fury, and committed the most violent outrages on their fellow-citizens. There was still another source of corruption: Sylla, in order to allure to his interest the minds of the army which he commanded in Asia, renounced the military system of our forefathers, and allowed his soldiers to riot in luxury; the consequence of which was, that the softness of those delightful regions, and a life of indolence, made the men forget the discipline of their ancestors, and relaxed their native vigour. It was in Asia that the Roman soldiers first began to yield to the seductions of wine and women; to admire statues, pictures, and sculpture; to seize them for their own use in private houses and public buildings; to pillage the temples, and to lay violent hands on every thing sacred and profane without distinction. When soldiers, thus inured to licentiousness, were flushed with victory, it cannot be matter of wonder that they left nothing to the vanquished. A series of prosperity is often too much even for the wisest and best disposed: that men corrupted should make a temperate use of their victory could not be expected. Riches became the epidemic passion; and where honours, imperial sway, and power, followed in their train, virtue lost her influence, poverty was deemed the meanest disgrace, and innocence was thought to be better than a mark for malignity of heart. In this manner riches engendered luxury, avarice, and pride; and by those vices the Roman youth were enslaved. Rapacity and profusion went on increasing; regardless of their own property, and eager to seize that of their neighbours, all rushed forward without shame or remorse, confounding every thing sacred and profane, and scorning the restraint of moderation and justice.

In order to form a just idea of ancient frugality and

modern luxury, let us first consider the magnificence of our buildings, our superb mansions and villas, in extent and grandeur resembling large cities: it will then be matter of curiosity to compare the temples raised by our ancestors in honour of the gods; the simplicity that appears in those venerable structures, plainly shews that our forefathers, a religious race of men, considered piety as the ornament best befitting places of worship, in the same manner as true glory was, in their estimation, the proper decoration of their houses. To those principles we must ascribe their conduct on the day of victory: they took nothing from the vanquished but the power of renewing hostilities. Is that the practice of the present times? Our victorious armies, with an abject spirit unworthy of soldiers, and with a ferocity that shocks humanity, plunder their allies, and rapaciously seize what the commanders of former times left even to their enemies. We seem to think, that to commit acts of oppression is the true use of power.

Need I mention, what to all but eye-witnesses would seem incredible? whole mountains levelled to the valley by the expense and labour of individuals, and even the seas covered with magnificent structures! To such men riches seem to be a burden: what they might enjoy with credit and advantage to themselves, they seem in eager haste to squander away in idle ostentation.

To these vices, that conspired against the commonwealth, many others may be added, such as prostitution, convivial debauchery, and all kinds of licentious pleasure. The men unsexed themselves, and the women made their persons venal. For the pleasures of the table, sea and land were ransacked; the regular returns of thirst and hunger were anticipated; the hour of sleep was left to caprice and accident; cold was a sensation not to be endured by delicate habits; luxury was the business of life, and by that every thing was governed. In this scene of general depravity, the extravagance of youth exhausted whatever was left of their patrimonial stock, and their necessities urged them on to the perpetration of the most flagitious deeds. The mind, habituated to every vice, could not divest itself of passions that had taken root, and, by consequence, all were hurried down the stream of dissipation,

eager to grasp whatever could administer to inordinate and wild desires.

In so vast, so populous, and so corrupt a city, which swarmed with hordes of the vile and profligate, Catiline had at his beck a band of desperate men, who served as a body-guard near his person. Whoever was thoroughly debauched, and rendered infamous by a long course of adultery; whoever by his gluttony, by gaming, by his headlong passions, his lawless pleasures, and festival carousals, had ruined his fortune; whoever was overwhelmed with debts, contracted to pay the forfeit of his crimes; the whole gang of parricides, sacrilegious wretches, convicts, or men who lived in fear of conviction, together with the perjurer and assassin, who were nourished with the blood of their fellow-citizens; and, in short, all who felt themselves distracted by their flagitious deeds, their poverty, or the horrors of conscience; all of this description lived with Catiline in friendship and the closest familiarity. If it happened that a person of unblemished character was drawn into the vortex of Catiline and his crew, by the force of daily intercourse, and the baits thrown out to ensnare him, he soon became one of the same stamp, in nothing inferior to the rest.

To allure the youth of Rome to his party, was Catiline's main design: in the early season of life the tender mind, he well knew, was susceptible of the first impression, and consequently easily moulded to his purposes. He watched the temper of his proselytes, and studied their predominant passions. He found concubines for some, and for others horses and dogs. He spared neither his purse nor his honour, in order by any means to increase the number of his followers. It has been said, and the story has gained credit, that the young men who frequented Catiline's house, prostituted their persons in violation of the laws of nature: but that was no more than a suggestion, a mere report, that sprung from various causes, and never rested on any solid proof.

He himself, indeed, had been in his youth guilty of flagitious acts of lewdness; he deflowered the daughter of an illustrious family, and dishonoured a vestal virgin; he committed a number of nefarious crimes, in violation of all laws

human and divine. To fill the measure of his guilt, he became at last violently enamoured of Aurelia Orestilla, a woman in whom no good man saw any thing to praise except her beauty. He had at that time by his first wife a son grown up to man's estate, and that circumstance made Orestilla unwilling to consent to the marriage. To remove the objection, Catiline put his son to death, and by that atrocious deed cleared his house to make way for his impious nuptials. Of this story no doubt can be entertained. To me it seems the grand motive that incited him to the execution of his dark design. A mind like his, guilty and self-condemned, at war with gods and men, lay on the rack of reflection, and knew no rest night or day. Hence his complexion pale and livid; his eyes of a baleful hue; his pace unequal, now slow and solemn, then hurried and precipitate. His air, his mien, his physiognomy, plainly spoke his inward distraction.

As to the young men, whom, as already mentioned, he had seduced to his interest, they were all trained in a course of vice, and fashioned to his will and pleasure. Some were taught to bear false witness; to forge the signature to deeds; to violate all good faith; to squander their fortunes, and bid defiance to every danger. When by shaking off all sense of shame, they had completely blasted their characters, he found new work to exercise their talents, and urge them on to more daring steps in guilt. If there was no real cause to incite him to acts of violence, he chose in those moments, in order to discipline his troops, to make them lie in ambush, and without provocation murder innocent men. Without constant practice the hand of a ruffian might lose its cunning, or perhaps the better reason was, that the malignity of his nature would not allow him an interval to pause from guilt and horror.

Such were the men on whom Catiline depended for support. He knew that they were all, no less than himself, overwhelmed by a load of debts contracted in every quarter; he saw, moreover, that Sylla's soldiers had dissipated their ill-gotten wealth, and, in their present distress recollecting the sweets of plunder, wished for nothing so much as another civil war. Encouraged by these considerations, he resolved to overturn the government, and make himself master of the

commonwealth. The circumstances of the time favoured his design: there was no army in Italy; Pompey was waging war in distant climes; profound tranquillity prevailed in Italy and the provinces; the senate had no object to excite their vigilance, and Catiline had sanguine hopes of obtaining the consular dignity. In this posture of affairs he thought that no time ought to be lost.

Accordingly, on the calends of June, in the consulship of Lucius Cæsar and Caius Figulus, he held a conference with his principal friends, having first sounded each in a private parley. He exhorted some, he tempted others; he stated the vast resources in his power; the unprepared condition of the state, and the glorious consequences of a sudden revolution. Having explored the sentiments and disposition of all, he called a meeting of such as he knew to be the most distressed and resolute.

Among the conspirators who assembled on the occasion, there were several of senatorian rank; namely, Publius Lentulus Sura, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Caius Cethegus, Publius and Servius Sylla (sons of Servius Sylla), Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, Marcus Portius Læca, Lucius Bestia, and Quintus Curius. Of the equestrian order, the persons that attended were, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinius Capito, and Caius Cornelius. To these were united great numbers from the colonies and municipal towns, all men of weight and consequence in their different parts of the country.

Besides the foregoing list, there were several of the leading men at Rome, who by dark and occult practices acted a part in the conspiracy. They were not, indeed, pressed by want, or any kind of embarrassment in their affairs, but the hope of rising to power inflamed a spirit of ambition. At the same time, the major part of the Roman youth, and particularly those of patrician rank, wished well to Catiline's interest: though possessed of the means to support a life of splendour, and even of luxury, they preferred future prospects to present certainty, and wished for war instead of peace.

It was, moreover, reported at the time, and believed by many that Marcus Licinius Crassus was not a stranger to the

conspiracy. For this opinion two reasons were assigned: the first, because Pompey was at the head of a great and powerful army, and Crassus, from motives of ill-will and hatred, would gladly see any man rise on the ruins of his rival. Secondly, because, if a revolution was brought about by Catiline, he had no doubt but he should be able to place himself at the head of the conspirators.

It is worthy of notice, that, before this time a plot of a similar nature had been formed by a small number of malcontents under the auspices of Catiline. The particulars of that conspiracy deserve a place in history, and shall be here related with the strictest regard to truth.

In the consulship of Lucius Tullus and Marcus Lepidus, Publius Autronius and Publius Sylla, the two consuls elect, were accused and punished according to the laws against bribery and corruption. In a short time after, Catiline, convicted of extortion, was declared incapable of being a candidate for the consulship, as it was not then in his power to offer himself within the time prescribed by law. In the same juncture a fierce and turbulent spirit discovered itself in the person of Oneius Piso, a young man of patrician descent, bold and enterprising, ruined in his fortune; and to the depravity of his nature uniting the pressure of his wants, he saw no remedy but that of raising convulsions in the state. With this man, on the nones of December, Catiline and Autronius held a conference, the result of which was, a resolution to murder the two consuls, Lucius Cotta and Lucius Torquatus, in the capitol, on the calends of January. Catiline and Autronius were to seize the ensigns of consular authority, and, thus invested with power, to dispatch Piso at the head of an army to hold both the Spains in subjection. The design transpired, and was, by consequence, deferred to a further day. On the nones of February they determined to execute the intended massacre, and, not content with the death of the consuls, they devoted to destruction a great part of the senate. But at the time appointed, it happened that Catiline gave the signal with too much precipitation, before a sufficient number of his armed accomplices had invested the senate-house. By that rash act the plot was rendered abortive;

otherwise, on that day would have been executed the most horrible catastrophe that ever disgraced the annals of Rome.

The conspiracy having thus miscarried, Piso, notwithstanding, was soon after sent to the Nether Spain, in the character of quæstor, with the additional authority of proprætor. That commission was procured for him by the influence of Crassus, who was eager to promote the enemy of Pompey. The senate readily concurred in the measure, willing to remove a dangerous citizen to a distant province, and, at the same time, conceiving that Piso might be made a bulwark of the constitution against the overgrown power of Pompey, who filled the minds of men with gloomy apprehensions of innovation and tyranny.

Piso set out to take upon him the government of Spain; but on his march through the provinces was assassinated by a party of Spanish cavalry that followed in his train. The cause of this event cannot now be ascertained; some ascribe it to the pride and arrogance of the man, who ruled the unhappy natives with an iron rod; others will have it that the assassins, heretofore the friends and partizans of Pompey, committed the murder by order of that commander. For this suggestion there is undoubtedly some colour, it being a fact well known, that the people of Spain had never been guilty of so foul a deed; but, on the contrary, had shewn a mild and passive spirit under the worst oppressions of government. As to myself, I leave the question undecided. Enough has been said concerning the first conspiracy; I now pass to the second.

The conspirators, who have been already mentioned, being assembled in convention, Catiline, though he had tampered with them separately, thought it expedient to address them in a body, in order to inflame the minds of all with new ardour, and a spirit of union. For this purpose, he withdrew with the whole party to the most retired part of the house; and, after due precaution to exclude spies and informers, he delivered the following harangue:

“If I had not abundant reason to rely with confidence on your fidelity and undaunted valour, the opportunity that now presents itself would answer no useful end, and the prospect

which we have of making a radical reform of the state, would be vain and fruitless. For myself, if I thought I had now to do with weak and abject spirits, I should remain inactive, unwilling to exchange a safe and sure condition for the precarious prospect of future events. But I know you all; I know your firmness, your unshaken constancy in the worst of times. Encouraged by your fidelity and courage, I have planned a great, a glorious enterprise. Our hopes and fears are the same; our interests are interwoven with each other; the same good or evil awaits us all. We stand or fall together. Our desires and aversions are the same; we have but one will, that is our bond of union; to think alike of the commonwealth is the true source of lasting friendship.

“The cause in which we are embarked has been explained to you all in separate conferences. I burn with impatience to strike the finishing blow. The ardour that expands my bosom, is kindled by your presence to a brighter flame; but let me ask you, what must be our condition, if we have not the spirit to redress our grievances, and vindicate the rights of men? What I desire to know, is the true state of the commonwealth. A few imperious demagogues have seized all power into their own hands; to those usurpers, kings, princes, and tetrarchs, crouch in subjection; they are tributary to our masters; foreign nations pay taxes to them; and as to us, wretched citizens! in what light have we been considered? The good, the virtuous, the noble, and ignoble, are all blended in one undistinguished mass; a mere vulgar herd, without interest, without place or preferment; obliged, like slaves, to bend to those, who, if a thorough reform took place, and restored the government to its true principles, would shrink and tremble before the majesty of the people. At present, everything is engrossed by a proud and insolent oligarchy; power, riches, honours, are in the hands of the few, or scantily dealt out among their creatures, at their will and pleasure. To us they have left nothing but disgrace, contempt, and danger, the terror of prosecutions, and the pangs of griping poverty. How long, ye brave and gallant men! how long will you endure these vile indignities? Let us rouse at once; or if we must fall, let us fall nobly in one brave attempt, rather than

crawl on to our graves, dragging a miserable existence under the scourge of insolent nobles, to die at last the victims of a lawless usurpation.

“But the juncture is favourable; success, I call men and gods to witness! success and victory are in our hands. We are in the vigour of life; our minds are strong and active; while, on the other hand, our enemies, enervated by sloth and luxury, droop under their infirmities, and languish in decay, To begin the attack, is to conquer; events will direct and guide our future operations.

“Is there a man, who feels the energy of his nature, who in these times can look tamely on, and see the senators and the patrician order riot in such heaps of wealth, that they are able with wild profusion to cover the seas with magnificent buildings, and annihilate mountains, while we are left to pine in want and misery of heart? Shall the nobles build their splendid porticos for the purpose of making a communication between two or more palaces; and shall we in the mean time want a cottage for the reception of our household gods? Behold your tyrants at an immense expense purchasing pictures, statues, vases curiously wrought in gold and silver; see them with sudden caprice pulling down their new-built mansions, erecting others more magnificent, and in short, dissipating their riches with lavish extravagance, and yet, with all their folly, still unable to drain their coffers. And what is our case? We have beggary at home, a load of debts abroad; desolation before our eyes, and not the smallest hope of relief to assuage our misery. In a word, the breath we draw is all that is left us.

“And shall we not in these circumstances rise as one man? Behold, my friends, behold that liberty for which you long have panted; behold riches, honours, and immortal glory, all within your reach: they glitter before your eyes; they call forth to action. These are the bright rewards which fortune has in store for valour. The situation of affairs, the time, the favourable juncture, the dangers that surround you, the hard hand of poverty that weighs you down, and the splendid spoils of war, that promise joy and affluence; all these are now before you; they are strong incentives, more powerful than all

the arguments I can urge. Make your own use of me; I am your general, if you will; or if you choose it, your fellow-soldier. My heart is with you; my powers of body and mind are devoted to your service. As matters stand at present, I am not without hopes of obtaining the consulship, and in that high office I propose, in conjunction with you, to concert our future measures. When I say this, I rely on your generous ardour, persuaded that you are not so abject as to pine in slavery, when you have it in your power to be the legislators of your country."

This speech was addressed to the passions of men who groaned under every kind of distress, without any means of support, and without a gleam of hope to comfort them. To such minds a convulsion in the state was an inviting prospect, the bright reward of all their labours. The majority, however, desired to be informed upon what terms they were to embark in so bold an enterprise; what was to be the recompense of their fidelity; what were their resources, and where they were to look for friends to support their cause? Catiline promised to cancel all their debts, a proscription of the rich, the honours of the magistracy, sacerdotal dignities, plunder, rapine, with all the usual perquisites of war, and whatever the insolence of victory could extort from the vanquished.

He further added, that Piso, who commanded in Spain, and Publius Sittius Nucerinus, who was at the head of the army in Mauritania, were both friends to the enterprise. He stated, as a further advantage, that Caius Antonius, a man involved in various difficulties, was a candidate for the consulship, and he wished for nothing so much as to have him for his colleague in that important office. With such a friend, as soon as he succeeded in the election, it was his intention to throw off the mask, and carry his grand design into execution.

He then proceeded to pour forth a torrent of invective against the best men in Rome; he mentioned his most zealous partisans by name, and expatiated in their praise; he addressed each individual; to some he represented their urgent necessities; he talked to others of their lewd intrigues and their voluptuous passions; to the greater number he painted, in the deepest colours, the distresses that surrounded them, and the

ruin that hung over their heads ready to crush them. Nor did he omit the consequences of Sylla's victory, with the plunder that enriched the soldiers. Perceiving at length, that by these and such-like topics he had inflamed the minds of all, he requested their support at the approaching election of consuls, and dismissed the assembly.

A report prevailed at that time, and was received by many, that Catiline, at the close of his harangue, proceeded to bind his accomplices by an oath of fidelity; and, to give it the most solemn sanction, sent round the room bowls of human blood mixed with wine. When, after dreadful imprecations, all had swallowed the unnatural beverage, as if it was a libation used in religious sacrifices, he took the opportunity to open the secrets of his heart. He gave the assembly to understand, by the ceremony he had introduced, his intention was to bind them to each other by the most sacred obligation, in the presence of numbers engaged in a great and glorious enterprise. It was thought, however, by men of reflection, that this anecdote, with many others of a similar nature, was invented by certain politicians, who imagined that they could throw the most odious colours on such of the conspirators as were afterwards put to death, and by that artifice appease the resentment that blazed out against Cicero for the part he acted on that occasion. But a fact of that magnitude requires the strongest proof, and none has come to my knowledge.

Quintus Curius has been mentioned in the list of conspirators; a man of no mean extraction, but charged with a load of crimes, and on that account degraded by the censor from his senatorian rank. To a bold, pragmatistical, and audacious spirit, he united an equal mixture of frivolous vanity; hence that eternal loquacity that discovered all he knew. He was sure to reveal whatever he heard, and with the same indiscretion he betrayed himself, about his words and actions equally indifferent.

This man had been for a considerable time connected in a criminal commerce with a woman of rank, of the name of Fulvia; but his fortune being reduced, and, by consequence, his generosity diminished, he began to find that his visits were received with cold reluctance. To restore himself to favour,

he assumed a new style and manner. He addressed his mistress in magnificent terms, and promised the wealth of the seas and mountains of gold. He approached her at times with an air of ferocity, and to force her to his will threatened her life. In a word, forgetting his former manners, he behaved with a fierce and brutal insolence. The cause of this alteration was not long unknown to Fulvia; she saw the commonwealth in danger, and resolved not to conceal a secret of such importance. She thought fit, however, to suppress the name of the person from whom she gained intelligence; but the rest, with all the particulars of Catiline's plot, she discovered to her acquaintance, in form and circumstance as the same reached her knowledge. The alarm excited by this discovery made such an impression, that from that moment numbers espoused the interest of Cicero, declaring aloud, that of all the candidates he was most worthy of the consular dignity. Before that juncture, the patrician families heard of Cicero's pretensions with indignation. The honour of the highest office in the state, they said, would be impaired and tarnished, if a new man, however distinguished by extraordinary merit, should be able to raise himself to that pre-eminence. But a storm was gathering, and pride and jealousy yielded to the occasion.

The election soon after followed, and in a full assembly of the people Cicero and Antonius were declared consuls for the year.

This event was a blow that staggered the conspirators; but Catiline, still fierce and determined, abated nothing from the violence of his temper. He continued his exertions; he strained every nerve, and provided arms at proper stations throughout Italy. The money which he was able to raise by his own credit, or that of his friends, he conveyed to the city of Fæsulæ, to be there deposited in the hands of Manlius, the man who was afterwards the first that reared the standard of rebellion.

Even in this situation of his affairs, Catiline, we are told, still had the address to gain over to his cause a number of proselytes, and among them several women, who in the prime of life had gained large sums of money by setting a price on

their beauty, but in more advanced years, when the decline of their charms reduced their profits, but left their passion for luxury still in force, they continued to live in the same course of unbounded expense, and consequently contracted a load of debt. By the arts of these women, Catiline flattered himself that he should be able to cause an insurrection of the slaves, and with their assistance he resolved to set fire to the city. He had still a further use to make of his female friends: by their influence he hoped to draw their husbands into the conspiracy, or, if they refused to comply, he had no doubt but he could contrive to get them put to death.

- In the number of Catiline's profligate women, Sempronia, a celebrated courtesan, claims particular notice. The bold and masculine spirit with which she committed the most flagitious deeds, had signalized her name. She was of a good extraction; distinguished by her form and beauty, and happy in her husband and her children. Well skilled in Greek and Roman literature, she sung and danced with more elegance than the modesty of her sex required. She had besides, many of those nameless graces that serve to prompt desire. Virtue and honour were not worthy of her attention. She was prodigal of her money and reputation to such a degree, that which she regarded least you would not be able to say. She loved with such a rage, that, without waiting to be solicited, she invited the men to her embraces. Notorious for repeated violations of truth and plighted faith, she was known to forswear her debts, and by perjury to colour a breach of trust. It must be added, that her hands were not free from blood; she was an accomplice in several murders; and, in short, her rage for the pleasures of life conspired with her distressed circumstances to make her a fit instrument in every scene of iniquity. With all these evil qualities, she was not destitute of genius: she had a pleasing vein of wit, and a turn for poetry. She sparkled in company, and by raillery and sprightly talents could enliven conversation. She had the art of passing with wonderful celerity from the most serious to the lightest topics, from the grave and modest strain to the gay, the airy, and the tender. In a word, vivacity and elegant accomplishments were hers in an eminent degree.

Though Catiline had thus prepared his measures, he did not lose sight of the consulship. He declared himself a candidate for the following year, still conceiving, if he succeeded, that Antonius would be an instrument in his hands. Determined, in the mean time, not to remain inactive, he made it his business to lay snares for Cicero. The consul was never off his guard, but with consummate address was able to counteract the schemes of a wily adversary. He had no sooner entered on the consulship, than he took care to secure Fulvia in his interest, and through her he gained, by the force of promises, such an influence on Quintus Curius, who has been already mentioned, that the machinations of Catiline were discovered to him without delay. Besides this advantage, Cicero had the precaution to detach Antonius from the conspiracy. He promised by his weight and management to procure for his colleague the administration of an opulent province; and, by that prospect of preferment, engaged him to take no part with the enemies of the commonwealth. In the mean time Cicero took care to have, without parade, a number of his friends and clients near at hand to protect his person.

The day on which, according to custom, the consuls elect were declared, by the suffrage of the people, Catiline had the mortification of seeing all his hopes utterly defeated. His various efforts against the life of Cicero were likewise unsuccessful. In that distress, when all his secret machinations ended in confusion and disgrace, he resolved, without further hesitation, to have recourse to open arms. For that purpose, he ordered Caius Manlius to his post at Fæsulæ, to overawe that part of Etruria; to the territory of Picenum he sent a man of the name of Septimius, a native of the city of Camertes, and at the same time dispatched Caius Julius to guard the passes of Apulia: several others were commissioned to seize the most advantageous posts in every quarter. He himself remained at Rome, exerting his utmost industry, and concerting plans of mischief. He was still envenomed against Cicero, and never ceased to lay snares for his life. He resolved to set fire to the city, and in every quarter stationed a band of assassins. He went constantly armed, and exhorted his followers to hold themselves in readiness on the first alarm. He

never rested day or night; a stranger to repose, unsubdued by toil, and never fatigued by midnight vigils.

Perceiving at length that all his labours were still ineffectual, he directed Portius Læcca to call the chiefs of the conspiracy to a meeting in the dead of night. He there expostulated with his partisans, and after severe reproaches for their want of zeal, he gave them to understand, that he had commissioned Manlius to take upon him the command of an armed force, which was already mustered; and that various other officers had been dispatched to proper stations, with orders to begin the war. He added, that he wished for nothing so much as to put himself at the head of his army; but Cicero by his counsels, his activity and vigilance, continued to frustrate all his measures. To cut off the consul was, therefore, a point of the greatest moment.

The assembly remained mute, and covered with consternation, when Caius Cornelius, a Roman knight, offered to bear the murderer's poniard; and Lucius Vargunteius, a senator, declared himself ready to join in the same horrible design. They resolved that very night to collect a band of ruffians, and at the dawn of day, under pretence of paying an early visit, to proceed to the consul's house, and dispatch him on the spot, unguarded and unsuspecting. Curius took the alarm; he shuddered at the danger that threatened Cicero's life, and discovered the plot to Fulvia, who took care to give immediate intelligence to the consul. The assassins kept their appointed hour, but gained no admittance; their design proved abortive.

Manlius, in the mean time, exerted himself with his utmost vigour to raise an insurrection in Etruria. The people in that part of the country were ripe for a revolt; extreme poverty, and the sense of injuries under Sylla's usurpation, exasperated the public mind; the wretched inhabitants had been deprived of their lands, and plundered of their property; resentment fostered in every breast, and all were loud for a revolution. The country abounded with freebooters, and all of that description the rebel chief collected in a body. At the same time he made it his business to enlist the soldiers whom Sylla had planted in different colonies; a licentious

crew, who had dissipated the spoils of war in riotous expense, and were now reduced to extreme poverty.

Cicero was regularly informed of all that passed, but found himself much embarrassed by the magnitude of the danger; apprehending that it would not be in his power to traverse the machinations of the conspirators by his own private diligence, and not being sufficiently apprized of the numbers and designs of Manlius, he resolved to open the whole affair to the senate. Public report had spread a general alarm, but the particulars were not sufficiently known.

The senate, as was usual in cases of urgent necessity, ordained by a decree, "That the consuls should take care that the state suffered no detriment." By this law, which was founded on ancient policy, and the institutions of our ancestors, the consuls were invested with extraordinary powers. They were authorized to raise new levies, and lead the armies of the republic to the field; by coercion to restrain the citizens of Rome and the allies, within due bounds; and to exercise supreme jurisdiction at home as well as in the camp. When no such act has passed, the consular authority is limited by law. The acts of power above-mentioned were never known to be exercised, unless sanctioned by a declaratory law.

In the course of a few days after the decree of the fathers, Lucius Senius, a member of the senate, produced in that assembly a letter, which he said was brought to him from the city of Fæsulæ, importing that Manlius, about the sixth of the calends of November, had taken the field at the head of a numerous army. The account was swelled, as is usual on such occasions, with a number of prodigies and reports from various quarters; with an account of conventions held in different places; that large quantities of arms were provided; and that a servile war was ready to break out in Capua and Apulia.

The senate ordered by a decree, that Quintus Marcius Rex should proceed to Fæsulæ, and Quintus Metellus Creticus to Apulia, in order to secure those parts of the country. Those two generals had been for some time waiting on the outside of the city walls, in expectation of a triumphal entry, but that honour was withheld from them by the contrivance of artful

men, whose practice it was on all occasions, just or unjust, to put every thing up to sale. By the same decree of the senate, the prætor, Quintus Pompeius, and Quintus Metellus Celer, were ordered to repair to their posts; the former to command at Capua, the latter at Picenum. Both had it in commission to levy forces with all the expedition that the times required.

The senate, at the same time, passed another decree, "by which rewards were promised to whoever should give information touching the conspiracy: if a slave, he was to have his freedom, and one hundred thousand sesterces; if a freeman, double that sum, and a full indemnity." It was further ordered, that whole families of gladiators should be stationed at Capua and other municipal towns, in proportion to the strength and importance of the places. Rome was guarded by a night-watch placed at convenient posts throughout the city, under the command of the inferior magistrates.

These preparations spread a general alarm through the city. The face of things was entirely changed. To scenes of joy and festivity, the consequence of a long peace, dismay and terror succeeded. Hurry, bustle, and distraction, were seen in every quarter; no place was safe; distrust prevailed; no confidence among neighbours; a medley of peace and war prevailed; all were covered with confusion, and each individual formed his idea of the danger according to his doubts and fears. The panic that seized the women was still more alarming. They had till then lived secure under a great and flourishing empire, and now the horror of an approaching war threw them into consternation. In despair they raised their hands to Heaven; they wept over their infant children; they ran wild through the streets inquiring for news; they trembled at every report; they forgot their taste for pleasure, their pride and luxury, anxious only for their own lives, and the safety of their country.

Meanwhile Catiline abated nothing from the ferocity of his nature; he persisted in his dark designs, still meditating scenes of destruction. The vigorous measures of the senate were not sufficient to control a mind like his. He even knew that he was impeached by Lucius P^{au}lus for an offence against

the Plautian law, and he still remained unshaken and undaunted. At length, in order to varnish his character, and throw a veil over his traitorous intentions, he had the hardiness to take his seat in the senate. It was on that occasion that the consul, Marcus Tullius Cicero, apprehending, perhaps, some dangerous consequence from the presence of such a man, or else fired with indignation at the audacity of a detected traitor, delivered that noble oration, which he afterwards reduced to writing, and published to the world.

As soon as Cicero closed his speech, Catiline, who went prepared with all his arts of dissimulation, rose with a modest and dejected air, and in a softened tone implored the fathers not to give credit to false suggestions against a man descended from an illustrious family. Following the example of his ancestors, he said that on many occasions he had deserved well of the commonwealth; and from his early youth had so regulated his conduct, as to entitle himself to fair and honourable expectations. Was it probable that he, of an illustrious patrician rank, could wish to see the government overturned? or that Cicero, a new man, lately transplanted from a municipal town, could have the interest of the state more at heart than himself? He went on in a strain of bitter invective against the consul, when he was interrupted by a general clamour. The fathers with one voice pronounced him an enemy to his country, a traitor, and a parricide. By this treatment Catiline was transported beyond all bounds: he broke out with rage and fury, and "Since," he said, "I am thus encompassed by my enemies, and by this outrage driven to the last extremity, the flame which I find kindled round me, shall be extinguished in the general ruin."

Having uttered that furious menace, he rushed out of the senate, and retired to his own house. He then fell into deep reflection; he saw that Cicero was not to be assailed by stratagem, and that the midnight guards prevented his intended conflagration. In the agitation of his mind, he judged that the best step he could take, would be to augment his army, and, before the legions could be called into the field, to anticipate the measures of his enemies. Having formed this resolution, he set out in the dead of the night with a few

attendants, and made the best of his way to the Manlian camp. He left directions with Lentulus, Cethegus, and such of his accomplices as he knew to be men of prompt and daring resolution, to strengthen their faction by every method in their power; if possible, to cut off the consul; and hold themselves in readiness to lay a scene of blood and massacre, to kindle a general conflagration, and involve the commonwealth in all the horrors of a destructive war. They might rely upon his firmness, and in a short time would find him at the gates of Rome with a powerful army.

During these transactions at Rome, Caius Manlius sent a deputation to Quintus Marcius Rex, with instructions to the following effect:

“We take this opportunity, general, to inform you, and we call gods and men to witness for us! that our motive for taking up arms is neither to injure our country, nor to involve others in the calamities of war. To shield ourselves from oppression is all we have in view. Indigent and distressed as we are, our country has driven us forth like outcasts, all undone and ruined in our fortunes by the hard hand of inhuman usurers. The protection of the laws which our ancestors enjoyed, has been refused to us: at present the man who surrenders his all, is not allowed the privilege of personal liberty. The unrelenting temper of our insatiable creditors, and the harsh decisions of the prætor, have reduced us to the lowest depth of sordid misery. In ancient times the humanity of government was extended to the distresses of the people; and, within our own memory, the pressure of debts was so great, that, with the consent of all good men, the creditor was obliged to receive a composition in full of his demands. We learn from history, that the Roman people, in order to curb the overbearing spirit of the magistrates, and to be governed by their own laws, seceded in open revolt from the authority of the senate.

“Our enterprise has no such object in view; we have neither ambition nor avarice, the two grand springs of human actions, the constant cause of all the strife, and all the wars that disturb the world. We demand a reform of the laws; we stand for the rights of man, and equal liberty; that liberty,

which no good man will resign but with life itself. We conjure you and the senate to take our case into consideration; we claim the protection of the laws, which the prætorian tribunals have wrested from us. Deliver us from the sad necessity, in which the brave and honest will only think how they may sell their lives at the dearest rate, and in their fall secure a great and just revenge."

Quintus Marcius returned an answer in a calm, laconic style: he told them, "if they expected any favour from the senate, they must lay down their arms, and proceed to Rome, there to present their petition in a suppliant style. They then would find, that humanity and moderation were the attributes of the fathers, and the people of Rome, insomuch, that of all who sued to them for protection, no one ever sued in vain."

Catiline, who was at that time on his march to the camp, sent dispatches to several men of consular rank, and to others distinguished by their worth and honour. The substance of his letters was, that "being unjustly charged with constructive crimes, and unable to cope with a powerful faction, he yielded to the impending storm, and chose a voluntary exile at Marseilles. A strained and fabricated treason was laid to his charge; but, though he was conscious of his innocence, he chose that retreat, that he might not, by a public contest with his enemies, be the unhappy cause of tumult and seditious insurrections."

It happened, however, that Quintus Catulus was able to produce a letter, which he averred to have been sent to him by Catiline. The tenour of it was very different from what has been stated. Catulus read it to the fathers. The following is an authentic copy:

Lucius Catiline to Quintus Catulus, greeting.

"The firm and constant friendship which I have experienced from you on many trying occasions, and which I must ever remember with gratitude, encourages me to address you in the present juncture. It is not my intention to trouble you with a defence of the part I am now to act: conscious of no

guilt, I will not waste the time in an unnecessary proof of my innocence; a fair state of the facts will be sufficient, and I have no doubt but you will be convinced of the truth.

“Oppressed by my enemies, and pursued by inveterate calumny; not suffered to reap the fruit of my labours and unwearied industry; and, moreover, deprived of the advantages and honours annexed to my rank; I was naturally led upon this, as upon other occasions, to stand forth in the cause of my fellow-citizens. The debts which I have incurred must not be reckoned among the motives that direct my conduct. I have effects and possessions sufficient to answer all the obligations contracted on my own account; and as to the engagements in which I am bound for others, Aurelia Orestilla is willing, with her own and her daughter’s fortunes, to discharge all demands.

“Would you know the motive that rouses me to action? I saw men of no consideration rising to honours, while I was proscribed, disgraced, and rejected, for unjust and groundless suspicions. In order, therefore, to preserve the poor remains of honour which my enemies have left me, I resolved to pursue such measures as my present situation will justify.

“I could add more on this subject; but I learn this very moment, that violent measures are to be pursued against me. I recommend Orestilla to your protection: I leave her in your care. Shield her from oppression; I conjure you by the tender regard you have for your own children. Farewell.”

Having dispatched this letter, Catiline passed a few days with Caius Flaminius in the territory of Reaté, and during that time distributed arms to the insurgents whom he had allured to his party. From that place he proceeded with the forces, and all the pomp of a consular general, to join Manlius in his camp.

That step being known at Rome, the senate declared Catiline and Manlius public enemies, and by a decree promised a free pardon to such of the rebels as were not condemned for capital crimes, provided they laid down their arms within a time limited. Power was also given to the consuls to muster

new levies; Antonius had orders to proceed at the head of his army in quest of Catiline, and the good order of the city was committed to the vigilance of Cicero.

We are now at the point of time when the commonwealth was reduced to the most humiliating condition. She had carried her victorious arms from the rising to the setting sun: the city of Rome flourished in peace and affluence, the two great comforts of human life; and yet, in that very period, she harboured in her bosom a crew of desperate incendiaries; men determined with fatal obstinacy to overwhelm themselves and their country in one promiscuous ruin. It is worthy of notice, that after two decrees, one offering a reward to informers, and the other a free pardon to such as revolted, not a man was found to make a discovery, nor was there a single deserter from the enemy. Such was the malignity of the times; it spread like a contagion, and envenomed the minds of men against their country.

Nor was this dangerous spirit confined to the conspirators and their accomplices; it pervaded the lower class of citizens; and the rabble, with their usual levity, wished for a convulsion in the state. Nor is this to be received as matter of wonder: it is natural to men who have no means of subsistence, to view the opulent with an eye of envy; lavish of their encomiums on the leaders of faction, they traduce the good and worthy with envenomed rancour; they hate the established system, and pant for innovation; they are weary of their own condition, and hope to find relief in the distractions of their country. Tumult and sedition are to such men the season of plenty, and, in all events, poverty has nothing at stake.

There were, besides, various causes that conspired in that juncture to inflame the popular discontent. In the first place, all who had signalized themselves by their crimes; who by profusion had dissipated their substance; who were forced by their enormities to fly their country; and, in short, all the loose and abandoned, crowded in one general conflux to the city of Rome, as to the centre of corruption. To these were added the whole tribe that remembered Sylla's victory, and could name the common soldiers who rose to the dignity of senators, with a list of others who acquired immoderate

riches, and lived in all the splendour of royal magnificence. All these were ready to take up arms, expecting to enrich themselves with the plunder of a civil war.

Besides these pests of society, there was at Rome a number of young men, who had been used in the country to earn a livelihood by their daily labour, but being attracted to the city by the frequency of public and private largesses, they preferred an idle life to the unprofitable labours of the field. These, and all of their stamp, hoped to find their account in public commotions. That men like these, reduced to indigence, and void of morals, yet flushed with hopes of a reform in the senate, should make the interest of the state subservient to their own private views, was a natural consequence.

There was still another party, composed of those whose fathers had been ruined by Sylla's proscriptions, and lost the rights of citizens. Their descendants hoped to find in the calamities of war a redress of grievances, and wished for nothing so much as an opportunity to assert their rights.

The city, moreover, was divided into factions, and they who did not take part with the senate, could not bear to see their country in a more flourishing condition than themselves. Dissensions between the populace and the senate had been the old inveterate canker of the commonwealth, subdued, indeed, for a considerable time; but, after an interval of many years, revived with all the violence of former rancour.

The renewal of this mischief may be traced to the consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Under their administration, the tribunes of the people recovered their ancient rights, and all the powers annexed to their office. That magistracy, in a short time, fell to the lot of young men of fierce and turbulent dispositions, who began to disturb the proceedings of the senate, and by their contentions to inflame the people against the constituted authority of the state. To strengthen their influence, they distributed largesses with unbounded generosity, and by adding liberal promises, seduced the multitude into a league against the constitution. The tribunes were elate with success, they triumphed over all opposition, and were the first men in the state. The nobles exerted them-

selves to stem the torrent, with pretended zeal for the dignity of the senate, but in fact to promote their own grandeur. The truth is, the men who in those times appeared on the stage of public business, had the address to gloss their designs with specious colours, some pretending to be the friends of the people; others to maintain the rights of the senate. The public good was the ostensible motive of every faction, while ambition and the love of power were the secret springs that set the whole in motion. The contention between the parties was carried on with animosity; justice and moderation were discarded, and the side that occasionally prevailed, exulted with all the pride and insolence of victory.

At length, when Pompey was sent to command against the Pyrates, and afterwards to conduct the Mithridatic war, the popular party was no longer able to make head against the nobles. The reins of government were seized by a few leading men, who engrossed the honours of the magistracy, the administration of provinces, and preferment of every kind. Superior to their fellow-citizens, and above control, they lived in splendour and security, by the terror of prosecutions restraining all who presumed to take a part in public business, and, by consequence, leaving the people without a leader. In process of time, when the scene of affairs was changed, and men began to think a revolution not impracticable, the old dissension broke out with redoubled violence. The discontents of the populace rose to such a pitch, that if Catiline gained the first victory, or even left the fortune of the day undecided, the commonwealth would have been reduced to the brink of danger. The war would have continued with alternate vicissitudes, without a decisive blow to end the conflict, till both sides, enfeebled and exhausted by repeated losses, would have fallen an easy prey to some ambitious chief who stood prepared in such a crisis to usurp the supreme power, to the utter ruin of public liberty.

There were numbers in the city of Rome, who for some time stood aloof from the conspiracy, but at last threw aside the mask, when they saw the standard of rebellion actually raised, and went over to Catiline. Among these was Aulus Fulvius, the son of a senator. He was taken on his way to

the camp, and conveyed back to Rome, where he suffered death by order of his father.

Lentulus, in the mean time, attentive to the instructions left by Catiline, made it his business, either by his own management, or the address of his agents, to engage in his faction all who by their dissolute life, or the ruin of their affairs, were fit to be employed in the grand undertaking. The citizens of Rome were not the only objects of his choice. He enlisted foreigners of every nation, whom he found capable of carrying arms. With this view, he employed a man of the name of Publius Umbranus to tamper with the deputies from the state of the Allobrogians, and, if possible, to draw them into a league with Catiline. In this negotiation he had no doubt of success, when he considered that the Allobrogian state was encumbered with a vast load of public debt, and that the inhabitants groaned under the same distress. The turbulent and warlike genius of the people, which resembled the rest of Gaul, he judged would be an additional motive to make the ambassadors enter into the plot. Umbranus had been a trader in Gaul, and in the course of his transactions had become acquainted with the principal men in various parts of that nation, and therefore, without hesitation, undertook the business. He met the Allobrogians in the forum, and immediately entered into conversation. He inquired about the situation of their affairs, and seeming to be much affected by their misfortunes, desired to know what prospect they had of an end of all their difficulties. The deputies stated their sufferings under the magistrates sent to govern them, and, in bitterness of heart, accused the senate of being deaf to their remonstrances. They had no hopes of relief. Death, they said, and death only, could end their misery. Umbranus made answer, "If you find a spirit within you, and are determined to act like men, I can shew you the way to redress your grievances." Roused by those animating words, the Allobrogians solicited the friendship of Umbranus, declaring that there was no enterprise so bold and arduous, that they were not ready to undertake, provided it tended to deliver their country from the pressure of its debts. Umbranus led them to the house of Decius Brutus, who at that

time was absent from Rome. The place was every way fit for a dark transaction: it bordered on the forum, and Sempronius, who was privy to the conspiracy, took care to accommodate her friends with an apartment proper for so deep a consultation. To give importance to the solemnity of the meeting, Umbranius called in the assistance of Gabinus, and in his presence laid open the secrets of the plot. He mentioned the principal conspirators by name, and, to animate the deputies, added a number of others, all of eminent rank, but no way implicated in the business. The deputies promised their assistance, and Umbranius adjourned the meeting.

The Allobrogians retired to their lodgings, and there began to waver. Having weighed all circumstances, they were in doubt what part to act. They felt the oppression of their debts; with the spirit of their country they were fond of war, and the advantages of victory dazzled their imaginations. On the other hand, they saw superior strength on the side of the senate, a regular plan of well-concerted councils, and in the place of deceitful promises, a bright and certain recompense. They continued for some time fluctuating between hope and fear, when the good genius of the commonwealth gained the ascendant. They applied to Quintus Fabius Sanga, the patron of their country, and gave him a detail of all that came to their knowledge. The whole was communicated to Cicero. That minister directed the deputies to act the part of men firm and ardent in the cause of rebellion. He desired that they might hold frequent interviews with the conspirators, and, by amusing them with a show of zeal, gain their confidence; and, by that artifice, obtain full proof against them all.

During these transactions, violent commotions broke out in the Nether and Ulterior Gaul, and likewise in the territory of Picenum, in Bruttium, and Apulia. The agents whom Catiline had sent into those parts, conducted themselves with headlong violence, and like frantic men threw every thing into confusion. They held nocturnal meetings; they ordered arms to be distributed, and by hurry and constant bustle spread a general alarm, when, in fact, there was no real danger. The prætor, Quintus Metellus Celer, seized a number of the

most active incendiaries, and loaded them with irons. The same step was taken by Caius Muræna, who commanded in Cisalpine Gaul, in the character of lieutenant-general.

Meanwhile Lentulus, in conjunction with the chiefs that remained at Rome, concluding that the party was in sufficient force, came to a resolution, that, as soon as Catiline entered the territory of Fæsulæ at the head of his army, Lucius Bestia, one of the tribunes, should call an assembly of the people, and after declaiming with virulence against Cicero, should arraign that most excellent consul as the author and sole cause of an unprovoked and dangerous war. This invective was to be a signal to the conspirators, as soon as night came on, to begin their work, and execute what had been committed to their charge.

The parts in this horrible tragedy were cast as follows: Statilius and Gabinius, with a crew of their accomplices, were to set fire to the city in twelve convenient quarters. In the hurry of a general conflagration, they concluded that it would not be difficult to reach the consul with an assassin's dagger, with many others of rank, who were devoted to destruction. The attack on Cicero's house was committed to Cethegus: he was to force an entrance, and imbrue his hands in the blood of the consul. Others in different parts of the city were to add to the horrors of the scene. There was besides a number of young men, the sons of illustrious families, who had it in charge to turn parricides, and cut the throats of their fathers. The incendiaries, as soon as they carried fire and sword through all quarters of the city, were to rush forth at once, and rally round the standard in Catiline's camp.

While these measures were in agitation, Cethegus shewed the most violent impatience. He complained that he was embarked with men who gave no proofs of zeal and ardour in the cause. By their cold delay, he said, the best opportunities were lost. In a daring enterprise the surest way is to act, and not linger in debate. For his part, he was ready, at the head of a few brave and gallant men, to unsheath the sword, and make the senate-house a theatre of blood. Cethegus was by nature fierce and determined; a bold and active

hand in the hour of danger. Dispatch, and not deliberation, was his favourite measure.

In this state of affairs, the Allobrogians, as directed by Cicero, contrived, through the management of Gabinius, to have an interview with the chiefs of the conspiracy. At that meeting, Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius being present, the deputies demanded a solemn obligation, under the sanction of an oath, duly signed and sealed, that they might carry it with them as an authentic document to their native city. Without such a deed, they said it would not be in their power to engage their countrymen in a project of that importance. The three conspirators first mentioned above, having no suspicion of a snare, agreed to the proposals. Cassius thought it sufficient to assure the Gallic agents, that in a short time he should be present in person among their countrymen; and in fact he departed from Rome while the deputies still remained. Lentulus thought it of moment that the treaty with the Allobrogians should be ratified by new obligations between them and Catiline, and, with that intent, he appointed Titus Vulturcius, a man born at Crotona, to accompany the Allobrogian deputies to the rebel army. By the same messenger he sent a letter to Catiline, of which the following is a copy:

“You will learn from the bearer, who it is that now writes to you. Remember the danger you have incurred, and never forget what is worthy of a man. Neglect nothing that the crisis of your affairs demands; avail yourself of all that can be enlisted, and do not reject the assistance of the meanest.”

With this letter he sent a verbal message, the substance of which was, that since Catiline was declared a public enemy, there could be no good reason for not causing an insurrection of the slaves. All things, he added, were in readiness at Rome, according to Catiline's own directions, and it would now behove him to urge on by rapid marches to the walls of Rome.

Matters being thus arranged, and the night fixed for the departure of the Allobrogian deputies, Cicero, to whom they had imparted every circumstance, ordered the prætors, Lucius

Valerius Flaccus, and Caius Pomptinus, to place themselves in ambush near the Milvian bridge, in order to seize the whole party. He explained to the two prætors the nature and cause of their commission, and left them to act as exigencies might require. In conformity to those orders, a military guard, without noise or parade, invested the bridge. As soon as the Allobrogians, with Volturcius, their guide, arrived at the place, a shout was set up on both sides. The Gallic agents, aware of the scheme, surrendered to the prætors without hesitation. Volturcius stood on his defence, exhorting his followers, and for some time determined to cut his way sword in hand; but perceiving himself deserted by his party, he endeavoured to make terms with Pomptinus, to whom he was well known; but finding that his supplications had no effect, and thinking his life in danger, he surrendered at discretion.

Intelligence was immediately conveyed to Cicero. The consul heard the detail with transports of joy, but a joy mingled with anxiety. To see the conspiracy detected with the clearest evidence, and the commonwealth rescued from destruction, was undoubtedly matter of triumph; but how to proceed against so many of the first eminence, who had proved themselves traitors to their country, was a consideration big with doubt and perplexity. If he acted with all the rigour due to such atrocious crimes, he plainly saw a storm of the bitterest resentment already gathering over his head; and, on the other hand, should guilt of that magnitude be treated with lenity, it were on his part nothing short of conniving at the public ruin. Having weighed all circumstances, he summoned up his resolution, and ordered Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Gabinius, to be brought before him. At the same time he sent for Ceparius of Terracina, who was preparing to set out with intent to raise an insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. The four who had been first mentioned, appeared without delay, but it happened that Ceparius was not to be found at his own house. In his walk he heard that the conspiracy was brought to light, and thereupon made his escape.

Lentulus being at that time invested with the character of prætor, Cicero took him by the hand, and walked with him

to the Temple of Concord, where he had convened the senate. The other conspirators were conducted under a strong guard. A full meeting of the Fathers being assembled, the consul ordered Volturcius and the Allobrogians to be called in. Flaccus, the prætor, attended with the packet of letters which had been delivered to him at the Milvian bridge.

Volturcius was interrogated concerning his intended journey, the papers in his possession, the nature of his undertaking, and the motives on which he acted. His answers were evasive. He endeavoured, under various pretences, to cloak his design, disclaiming all knowledge of the conspiracy. Being told, that under the sanction of the public faith he might speak with impunity, he gave an account of the whole, in regular order, exactly as things happened. It was, he said, but a few days since he was apprized of the conspiracy: Gabinius and Ceparius were the men that seduced him: he knew no more of the general plan than the Allobrogian deputies, except one particular circumstance: he had been frequently told by Gabinius, that Publius Autronius, Servius Sylla, and Lucius Vargunteius, with a number of others, were involved in the same guilt.

The Gallic deputies confirmed the evidence of Volturcius. Lentulus pleaded ignorance of the whole, but his letters were evidence against him; and by the testimony of the ambassadors it appeared, that in common discourse his constant topic was a prediction of the Sibylline books, "by which the sovereignty of Rome was promised to three of the name of Cornelius; that the prophecy was verified in the persons of Cinna and Sylla, and now remained to be fulfilled in himself, the third predestined master of Rome." It was moreover proved, that Lentulus was in the habit of boasting, "that the current year was the twentieth from the burning of the capitol, and, according to the prediction of soothsayers and augurs, would be remarkable for a disastrous civil war."

The letters already mentioned were produced, and, the several seals being acknowledged by the prisoners, were read to the senate. The Fathers ordered by a decree, that Lentulus should abdicate his office of prætor, and thereupon that he and his associates should be detained in custody of persons

appointed for the purpose. Lentulus was consigned to the care of Publius Lentulus Spinther, one of the ædiles; Cethegus was committed to Quintus Cornificius; Statilius to Caius Cæsar; Gabinius to Marcus Crassus; and Ceparius, who had been taken on the road and brought back to Rome, to the custody of Cneius Terentius, of senatorian rank.

The whole of this scene of iniquity being thus fully laid open, the common people, who with their usual love of innovation had till that time pampered their hopes of a civil war, began to act with different sentiments. They talked of Catiline and his black design with execration; they extolled Cicero to the skies; they considered their own case as an escape from the tyranny of a desperate faction; they celebrated the glorious event with unbounded demonstrations of joy. According to their way of reasoning, a war of civil dissension would afford the sweets of plunder, but would not end in public ruin; but a general conflagration was horrible in its nature, barbarous in the project, and utterly destructive to themselves, who had nothing but their common utensils, and the clothes on their backs.

On the following day one Lucius Tarquinius was led to the bar of the senate. This man was apprehended on his way to Catiline's army, and brought in custody to Rome. He offered to make important discoveries, if he might speak with safety under the promise of a public pardon. Being satisfied on this point by the consul, he gave an account in effect the same as Volturcius had done, stating the intended fire of the city, the massacre of the worthiest citizens, and the route by which the rebels were to advance to Rome. He added, that "he was dispatched by Crassus to inform Catiline, that, so far from being discouraged by the imprisonment of Lentulus and Cethegus, with the other conspirators, he ought to expedite his march towards Rome, in order to revive the courage of his party, and rescue his friends from confinement."

As soon as the informer mentioned the name of Crassus, a man of the first consideration in the state, distinguished by his illustrious birth, his vast riches, and his power and influence, a murmur of disapprobation was heard from all quarters

of the senate. Numbers pronounced the charge altogether incredible; others were of the opinion that it was not destitute of foundation, but that in such a crisis it would be more prudent to temporize, than to provoke the resentment of a great and powerful citizen. The majority of the Fathers had their private reasons for taking part with Crassus: they were under pecuniary obligations, and did not hesitate to pronounce the charge a false and malicious calumny. Upon that point they desired that the question might be put. Cicero collected the voices, and the Fathers decreed unanimously, that "the information was false and groundless, and that Tarquinius should stand committed, never to be heard again, unless he first discovered the person by whose procurement he had fabricated so vile a falsehood."

There was at that time a current opinion, that Publius Autronius was the author of the charge, under the idea that Crassus, finding himself implicated in the plot, would be a shield to protect the rest of the conspirators.

Others would have it, that Cicero suborned the witness, apprehending that Crassus might be induced, according to his custom, to undertake the defence of pernicious citizens. By involving him in the general guilt, it was supposed that his voice would be silenced. Since that time, Crassus has averred in my hearing, that he was indebted to Cicero for that dark imputation.

It must be acknowledged, that Quintus Catulus and Caius Piso were not able by their weight and influence, by entreaty, or any other inducement, to prevail on Cicero to suffer a cloud of suspicion to be thrown on Julius Cæsar by the Allobrogians, or any other witness. Those two great men were, in that juncture, the avowed enemies of Cæsar; the former, because on his return from Cisalpine Gaul, in a prosecution carried on against him for being corrupted by a bribe to pass judgment of death upon a native of the country beyond the Po, Cæsar took a decided part in that affair, and obtained judgment against him. The mind of Catulus was embittered by his disappointment when he stood candidate for the office of high pontiff. Cæsar opposed his election; and that so young a man should enter into competitions, and

be able to defeat an ancient citizen in the evening of his days, when he had almost closed the career of public honours, was a reflection that inflamed him with resentment. Their time for framing an accusation against Cæsar was not ill chosen: Cæsar, by private liberality, and a profusion of largesses, had contracted an immense load of debt, and by that circumstance gave his enemies a fair opportunity.

Cicero, however, refused to enter into their designs; but still Piso and Catulus, though they found their solicitations ineffectual, persisted in their malevolent purpose. They caballed with individuals, framing from their own invention the foulest imputations, and, to give them colour, pretending that they had all their intelligence from Volturcius and the Allobrogians. By these artifices they excited the popular odium, and made Cæsar so obnoxious, that a band of Roman knights, who had ranged themselves under arms to guard the avenues of the Temple of Concord, drew their swords, and brandished them in a menacing manner, as Cæsar went forth from the senate. By this act of violence the knights declared their detestation of the conspiracy, or, perhaps, acted with a nobler motive, to announce their ardour in the cause of their country.

The Fathers, finding ample reason to be satisfied with the testimony of the Allobrogians and Volturcius, proceeded to consider of the recompense due to them for their services. In the mean time, the freedmen and clients of Lentulus were busy in various parts of the city, with a design to collect a party of slaves and labouring men, in order to rescue their patron out of custody. Others went about the streets in quest of certain seditious declaimers, on all occasions ready incendiaries for hire, and consequently well practised in the arts of raising popular tumults. Cethegus also had his emissaries, who endeavoured to stir up his domestic slaves and freedmen, an abandoned crew, ever ready for any desperate mischief. They were to proceed in a body, and sword in hand set their master at liberty.

The consul, informed of all that was in agitation, disposed his guards at proper stations, as the exigence seemed to require, and without delay convened the senate. To that

assembly he opened the case of the prisoners. They had been all adjudged traitors and public enemies; he now moved for a decree, to determine finally what ought to be done with men in their situation. The question being put, Decius Junius Silanus, at that time consul elect, was the first in order to deliver his opinion. His advice was, that not only those in actual custody, but also Lucius Cassius, Publius Furius, Publius Umbranus, and Quintus Annius, as soon as taken, should all be condemned to suffer death. Julius Cæsar opposed that proposition: his speech on the occasion made such an impression on Silanus, that his resolution failed, and he went over to the opinion of Tiberius Nero, who was for strengthening the guard, and adjourning the debate for further consideration. Cæsar in his turn, when called upon by the consul, spoke in effect as follows:

“In all debates, conscript Fathers, when the matter under deliberation is in its nature doubtful, it is the duty of every senator to bring to the question a mind free from animosity and friendship; from anger and compassion. When those emotions prevail, the understanding is clouded, and truth is scarcely perceived. To be passionate and just at the same time, is not in the power of man. Reason, when unbiassed, and left to act with freedom, answers all our purposes: when passion gains the ascendant, reason is fatigued, and judgment lends no assistance.

“Were it necessary, conscript Fathers, to cite examples from history, of kings and nations hurried away by resentment or commiseration, an ample field lies before me: but I choose rather to call to mind the conduct of our ancestors, who, in various instances, acted a dispassionate part, and resolved with wisdom.

“In the Macedonian war, which was carried on against king Perses, the city of Rhodes, which had grown under the protection of Rome, and was at that time rich and powerful, acted towards us with perfidy and ingratitude. But at the close of the war, when the conduct of the Rhodians was taken into consideration, our ancestors, unwilling to have it said that they had waged a war of avarice, and not with a nobler motive to vindicate their rights, generously granted an

amnesty to that misguided people. Again, in all our Punic wars, though the Carthaginians, in the season of profound peace, and, at other times, during a suspension of arms, had been guilty of the most violent breach of the laws of nations, our ancestors, though many opportunities offered, scorned to act with a spirit of retaliation. They considered what was worthy of the Roman name, not the vengeance due to a barbarous enemy.

“ In the case now before us, let it be our wisdom, conscript Fathers, not to suffer the crimes of Lentulus and his accomplices to hurry you beyond the bounds of moderation. Indignation may operate on your minds, but a due sense of your own dignity, I trust, will preponderate. My opinion is this: if you know of any pains and penalties adequate to the guilt of the conspirators, pronounce your judgment; I have no objection. If you think death a sufficient punishment, I concur with Silanus: but if the guilt of the prisoners exceeds all forms of vindictive justice, we should rest contented with the laws known to the constitution.

“ The senators who have gone before me, exhausted the colours of rhetoric, and in a pathetic style have painted forth the miseries of their country. They have displayed the horrors of war, and the wretched condition of the vanquished; the youth of both sexes suffering violation; children torn from the mother’s arms; virtuous matrons exposed to the brutal passions of the conqueror; the houses of citizens, and the temples of the gods, pillaged without distinction; the city made a theatre of blood and horror; in a word, desolation and massacre in every quarter.

“ But why, immortal gods! why all that waste of eloquence? Was it to inflame our passions? to kindle indignation? to excite a detestation of rebellion? If the guilt of these men is not of itself sufficient to fire us with resentment, is it in the power of words to do it? I answer, No: resentment is implanted in our hearts by the hand of nature; every man is sensible of injury and oppression; many are apt to feel too intensely. But we know, conscript Fathers, that resentment does not operate alike in all the ranks of life: he who dwells in obscurity, may commit an act of violence, but the conse-

quence is confined to a small circle. The fame of the offender, like his fortune, makes no noise in the world. It is otherwise with those who figure in exalted stations; the eyes of mankind are upon them; and the wrong they do is considered as an abuse of power. Moderation is the virtue of superior rank. In that pre-eminence no apology is allowed for the injustice that proceeds from partiality, from anger, aversion, or animosity. The injury committed in the lower classes of life, is called the impulse of sudden passion; in the higher stations, it takes the name of pride and cruelty.

“I am willing, conscript Fathers, to admit that the keenest torments are in no proportion to the guilt of the conspirators. But let it be remembered, that in all cases of punishment, it is the catastrophe that makes the deepest impression on the minds of the people. Is the criminal treated with severity? his crimes are forgotten, and his sufferings become the general topic. What has been proposed to you by Decius Silanus, sprung, I am persuaded, from his patriot zeal; I know the character of the man; integrity and honour are the principles that direct his conduct. Neither partiality, nor private resentment, can govern his opinion. But what he has proposed, appears to me, I will not say cruel, (for in the case of such malefactors, what can be cruel?) but I am free to declare, that it is contrary to the laws established by our ancestors.

“But let me ask you, Silanus, had your fears for the public no influence on your judgment? or was it the enormity of the crime that roused your indignation. Our fears may now subside: the vigilance of a great and enlightened consul has provided against every danger: the guards, properly stationed by his orders, afford us ample security.

“With regard to capital punishment, it is a truth well known, that to the man who lives in distress and anguish of heart, death is not an evil; it is a release from pain and misery; it puts an end to the calamities of life; and after the dissolution of the body, all is peace; neither care nor joy can then intrude. But tell me, Silanus, in the name of the immortal gods I ask you! why did you not add, that, before the mortal stroke, the prisoners should suffer pain and torment

under the scourge of the executioner? Those penalties, you will say, are forbidden by the Porcian law: and have we not laws, in express terms declaring that the life of a Roman citizen shall remain inviolable, and that banishment is the only sentence that can be enforced? Shall it be said that the lictor's rod is worse than death? be it so; and what can be too severe in the case of men convicted of the most horrible crimes? If, on the other hand, stripes and lashes are the slightest punishment, with what colour of reason are we to respect a prohibitory law on a point of no importance, and yet violate it in a matter of the greatest moment?

“It may be said, who will object to a decree against the enemies of their country? The answer is obvious: time may engender discontent; a future day may condemn the proceeding; unforeseen events, and even chance, that with wild caprice perplexes human affairs, may give us reason to repent. The punishment of traitors, however severe, cannot be more than their flagitious deeds deserve; but it behoves us, conscript Fathers, to weigh well the consequences before we proceed to judgment. Acts of state, that sprung from policy, and were perhaps expedient on the spur of the occasion, have grown into precedents often found to be of evil tendency. The administration may fall into the hands of ignorance and incapacity; and in that case, the measure, which at first was just and proper, becomes by misapplication to other men and other times, the rule of bad policy and injustice.

“Of this truth, the Lacedæmonians have left us a striking example; they conquered the Athenians, and, having established a supreme council of thirty, introduced a new form of government. Those magistrates began their career by seizing the loose and profligate, and, without a regular trial, sending them to immediate execution. The people beheld the scene with exultation, and applauded the proceeding. But arbitrary power, thus established, knew no bounds: honest men were seized without distinction, and put to death with the vile and infamous. The city of Athens was covered with consternation, and the people had reason to repent of their folly, in not foreseeing that discretion is the law of tyrants.

“At Rome, within our own memory, the victorious Sylla

ordered Damasippus, and others of the same stamp, who had enriched themselves by the spoils of the commonwealth, to be strangled in prison: who at that time did not consider the measure as an act of justice! all ranks of men proclaimed with one voice, that a set of incendiaries, who by their seditious practices had embroiled the state, had justly paid the forfeit of their crimes. What was the consequence? a general massacre followed. Whoever coveted his neighbour's house in the city, or his villa in the country; whoever panted for a well-wrought vase, a splendid garment, or any other valuable effects; his stratagem was to insert the owner in the list of the proscribed. It followed by consequence, that the very men who applauded the execution of Damasippus, perished afterwards by the same violence. Nor did the carnage cease, till Sylla satisfied the rapacity of his followers.

“It must be admitted, that, in times like the present, when Marcus Tullius Cicero conducts the administration, scenes of that tragic nature are not to be apprehended. But in a large populous city, when the minds of men are ever in agitation, a variety of jarring opinions must prevail. At a future day, and under another consul, who may have an army at his back, falsehood may appear in the garb of truth, and gain universal credit. In such a juncture, should the consul, encouraged by our example, and armed with power by the decree of the senate, think proper to unsheath the sword, who shall stop him in his career? who will be able to appease his vengeance?

“Our ancestors, conscript Fathers, never wanted wisdom or courage; nor were they ever so elate with pride, as to be above imitating the wholesome institutions of other nations. They borrowed the make of their arms, and the use of them, from the Samnites; from the Tuscans they adopted the robes and ensigns of the magistracy; and in short, whatever they saw proper and useful among their allies, and even their enemies, that they were sure to transplant for their own advantage. They wished to improve by good example, and they were above the little passion of envy.

“In that early period, and with that generous disposition, they looked towards Greece, and from that nation imported

the custom of punishing some offences by the lictor's rod, and in capital cases they pronounced judgment of death. In process of time, when the state rose to power and grandeur, and the people, as will always be the case in prodigious multitudes, were divided into contending factions, innocent men were often oppressed, and grievances increased and multiplied; it was then that the Porcian law, and others of a similar nature, repealed the power of inflicting capital punishment, and left to the condemned the privilege of going into exile.

“By these examples, and this train of reasoning, I am led to this conclusion: consult your own dignity, conscript Fathers, and beware of innovation. I believe I may assume, without fear of being contradicted, that the eminent men of a former day, who from small beginnings raised this mighty empire, possessed a larger portion of wisdom and virtue than has fallen to the lot of their descendants. What our ancestors obtained with glory, we of the present day find too much for our decayed abilities; we sink under the weight.

“But you will say, what is the scope of this long argument? Shall the conspirators be discharged, and suffered to strengthen Catiline's army? Far from it: my advice is this; let their estate and effects be confiscated; detain their persons in separate prisons, and for that purpose choose the strongest of the municipal towns; declare, by a positive law, that no motion in their favour shall be brought forward in the senate, and that no appeal shall be made to the people. Add to your decree, that whoever shall presume to espouse the cause of the guilty, shall be deemed an enemy to the commonwealth.”¹

¹ Sallust has left us reason to conclude that Crassus, with views of ambition, favoured the conspiracy: with regard to Cæsar, he is not so explicit. That Cæsar was suspected, appears beyond a doubt, and the artful speech which he made in favour of the conspirators, gives colour to the charge. He wished to save the lives of Roman citizens: this was the popular side, and he embraced it. His design, perhaps, lay deeper. If, pursuant to his advice, the malefactors had been committed to different prisons, a public clamour would have been the consequence, and their partisans would have been at work to rescue them.

As soon as Cæsar closed his speech, the senators appeared to be variously inclined. Some freely spoke their minds; others were content by different ways to signify their sentiments, and opposite opinions seemed to prevail. At length Marcus Cato was called upon in his turn. The substance of his speech was as follows:

“Upon the question now before you, conscript Fathers, I feel myself affected by different sentiments. When I view the circumstances of the times, and the dangers that surround us, I see reason to be alarmed; when I consider what has been said by some who have gone before me, their arguments appear to me ill-timed, and of little weight. The reasoning of those senators was altogether confined to the degree of punishment due to men who have conspired to levy war against their country, their parents, their altars, and their gods. But the true point in debate should be, before we think of pains and penalties, what measures ought to be pursued in order to avert calamity and ruin. Crimes of a different nature from the present are tried and condemned after the commission of the fact; at present our business is to ward off the impending danger. Suffer the incendiaries to execute their purpose, and the tribunals of justice must be silent. When the city is taken by assault, nothing is left to the vanquished.

“To you, who have always set the highest value on your splendid mansions and magnificent villas; who have been delighted with your pictures and your statues; who have had your pleasures more at heart than the interest of your country; to you I now address myself. If you still cherish your possessions; if, whatever their value may be, you still wish to enjoy them, I conjure you by the immortal gods! awake from your lethargy, and stand forward in the cause of your country. We are not now in a debate about the revenue; the complaints and grievances of our allies are not the subject of our inquiry; our lives and liberties are at stake; all that is dear to us is in danger.

“I have often had occasion, conscript Fathers, to deliver my sentiments in this assembly: I have often remonstrated against luxury and avarice, those darling passions of the

time; and by speaking my mind with freedom, I know that I have given umbrage to many. But how was I to act? in my own conduct I have been a rigid censor of myself; and could it be expected that I should see the transgressions of others without reproof? It is true, that my sentiments made no impression; but the commonwealth was not in danger; it subsisted by its own internal vigour. The flourishing state of our affairs made an apology for the weakness of government. The debate at present is not about good or evil manners! the grandeur of the Roman empire is not part of our inquiry: the question is, whether the state, such as it is, shall remain in our hands, or fall with ourselves in one common ruin, a prey to our enemies?

“In such a juncture, are we to hear of mercy and moderation? We have lost, for a long time have lost, the true names of things: to be lavish of the property of others, is called liberality; to be daring in guilt, is fortitude; and by these steps we are led to the brink of ruin.

“Let those who approve of the reigning manners, pursue their error; let them be merciful to the plunderers of the revenue; but let them spare the effusion of our blood, and let them not, by extending mercy to a set of abandoned culprits, involve honest men in sure destruction.

“Cæsar has delivered his sentiments concerning life and death, and he treated the subject with force and elegance. He, it should seem, considers all we have heard about a state of future existence, as a vulgar error; the places assigned to good and evil spirits are to him a mere fable; gloomy, waste, and dreary regions, the abode of guilt and sorrow, are no part of his creed. His opinion, therefore, is that the effects of the malefactors should be confiscated, and they themselves confined in the jails of different municipal towns; and this measure he recommends, as I conceive, from an apprehension, that, if detained at Rome, they may be rescued by their accomplices, or by a mob hired for the purpose. But let me ask, is Rome the only place that harbours traitors and incendiaries? Are not men of that stamp to be found all over Italy? Is not the place where the authority of government is least in force, the most likely to be disturbed by tumults and insurrections?

“From these premises it follows, that Cæsar’s advice, if he believes that a conspiracy has been actually formed, is feeble and ineffectual: on the other hand, if, amidst the general consternation, he alone sees nothing to fear, that very circumstance is to me a new cause of alarm: I fear for myself, and my fellow-citizens.

“For these reasons, conscript Fathers, when we pronounce sentence on Lentulus, and the rest of his faction, let us remember, that we decide the fate of Catiline and his followers. Act with vigour, and the enemy shrinks back dismayed. If you remain languid, and do not adopt the most vigorous measures, the rebels will advance upon us with redoubled fury.

“Our ancestors, it is well known, raised an infant state to a vast and flourishing empire; but let us not imagine that this great work was accomplished by the mere force of arms. If a warlike spirit was the sole cause of our grandeur, the state at this day would be more secure and flourishing than ever. We have a larger body of citizens; our allies are more numerous, and our store of arms, our horses, and military preparations, exceed all that was known in former times. But there were other causes of their success and grandeur, and those causes exist no longer. Our ancestors were distinguished by industry at home; they administered justice abroad; they brought with them to public debate firm integrity, and minds free from vice, unbiassed by passion.

“What has the present age to boast of? Luxury and avarice form the characteristic of the times; we have private wealth and public poverty; we idolize riches, and sink down in torpid indolence; between good and bad men no distinction is made; the rewards of virtue are the quarry of ambition. Nor can this be matter of wonder; each individual thinks for himself only; self-interest is the spring of his actions: at home, he leads a life of voluptuous pleasure, and in the senate, corruption and private influence warp and disgrace his conduct. Of all this what is the consequence? We are lulled to sleep, while our enemies are busy, active, and vigilant, to involve us all in ruin.

“But I wave these complaints, and pass to what presses

more: a conspiracy has been formed by men of illustrious rank, to lay waste the city with fire and sword. The Gauls, a people ever hostile to the Roman name, have been invited to join the league; the rebel chief at the head of his army is near at hand, and hovers over his prey. Yet we sit here in tame debate, uncertain what course to take with parricides who have been seized in the heart of the city.

“Is this a time for compassion? indulge it, if you will; grant a free pardon to the traitors; they are young men, led astray by false ambition; release them from confinement; let them issue forth to rally round the standard of rebellion. But let me entreat you, pause for a moment: it were false compassion, and inevitable ruin will be the consequence. We are now in a crisis big with danger; and would you persuade me that you are free from apprehension? I know the contrary: you are all alarmed, and yet, fluctuating in doubt, you watch each other’s motions with effeminate weakness, unwilling to decide for yourselves.

“You rely, perhaps, on the immortal gods, for that protection which they have extended to the commonwealth in the hour of danger. But do not deceive yourselves: the favour of Providence is not obtained by occasional vows and womanish lamentation; it is by vigilance, by the wisdom of councils, and by vigorous measures, that the efforts of men are crowned with success. The supplications of sloth and indolence are offered up in vain: the gods look down with indignation.

“In an early period of our history, when the Gauls carried on a fierce and bloody war against the state, Aulus Manlius Torquatus condemned his own son to death for having presumed to attack the enemy without orders. That excellent young man died for his excess of valour; and in a time like this, when the guilt of unnatural traitors calls aloud for vengeance, will you linger here in doubt, undecided, wavering, and irresolute?

“Am I to be told, that the former conduct of these unhappy men pleads in their favour? If that is your opinion, spare the dignity of Lentulus: I consent, if he ever spared his character, his honour, or his fame; if in any one instance he ever shewed the least regard for gods or men. Extend your

mercy to Cethegus; excuse the rashness of youth, if this is not the second time of his being in arms against his country. What shall I say of Gabinius, Statilius, and Ceparius? no more than this: had they ever listened to the dictates of truth and honour, the crime of treason would not now be laid to their charge.

“Let me now assure you, conscript Fathers, that if I saw you in danger of nothing more than a simple error, I should willingly leave it to time to correct your judgment. But we are beset on every side; the danger presses; the enemy draws near; Catiline is at your gates; traitors lurk in the heart of the city; you cannot deliberate in private; your measures are known abroad; and for all those reasons you have no time to lose.

“To conclude; since by the pernicious practices of abandoned men the commonwealth is involved in danger; since the agents in this scene of iniquity stand detected by the evidence of Titus Volturcius and the Allobrogian deputies, as well as their own confession; and since it is now in proof, that they were all engaged in a black conspiracy to lay a scene of blood, of massacre, and a general conflagration, my settled opinion is, that, in conformity to ancient usage, the several malefactors, like criminals capitally convicted, should be condemned to suffer death. My voice is for their immediate execution.”

As soon as Cato concluded, all of consular rank, and, indeed, the majority of the Fathers, went over to his opinion. They extolled his spirit and greatness of soul with the warmest applause; they fell into mutual reproaches, and accused one another of pusillanimity. The house resounded with the praises of Cato, and a decree was passed in form and substance as he proposed.

A reflection occurs in this place, which may claim some attention. The brave exploits and upright policy of the Romans have filled the page of history. After studying that page with diligence, and attending to the observations of others, I was led by curiosity to inquire what were the resources of the commonwealth, and what the principles that contributed to raise and support so vast a fabric. I was aware, that with inferior armies Rome had often made head

against great and powerful nations; I knew that mighty monarchs had been obliged to yield to the superior valour of well-disciplined forces, and that the Roman legions were not to be subdued by adverse fortune. The Greeks had made the palm of eloquence their own, and the Gauls were at one time famous for a more warlike spirit.

The result of my inquiries was, that the Roman name owes all its lustre to the patriot spirit of a few great and eminent men, who by their virtue enabled poverty to cope with the wealth of nations, and inferior numbers to triumph over numerous armies. But when, after a long series of success, luxury diffused its baneful influence, and the minds of men grew torpid in ease and indolence, the commonwealth by its own inward energy was still able to stand on a solid basis, firm and unshaken by the vices of her commanders abroad, and the intrigues of her magistrates at home. But the season of public virtue has declined, and for several years Rome, like a superannuated matron, did not produce one great and eminent character.

Of late indeed, we have seen flourishing among us two illustrious citizens, both of the first order, adorned with superior talents, but different in their manners. The persons whom I have in view, are Marcus Cato and Caius Julius Cæsar. Two such characters ought not to be passed by in silence. They naturally present themselves to the historian's observation, and since the opportunity is so fair, I shall here endeavour, with all the skill I am master of, to give the prominent features of each.¹

In point of birth, age, and eloquence, they were nearly equal. Greatness of soul was the characteristic of both. They attained the summit of glory, but by different means.

¹ Sallust in this place takes his opportunity to pay his court by a studied encomium on two of his favourite characters, viz. Cato and Julius Cæsar. His design, it seems, lay deeper: by passing by in silence the great man of that age, MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, his idea probably was, that he should sink into obscurity the great consul, whom he held in detestation. However, the great orator's own works have not only defeated the malice of Sallust, but placed his name among the first and ablest writers of antiquity, to be admired

Cæsar came upon mankind by acts of friendship and public munificence: Cato stood distinguished by his moral conduct, and the integrity of his life. Humanity and benevolence were the virtues of Cæsar: severity of manners added dignity to the name of Cato. The former gained the affections of mankind by liberal donations, by generosity to his friends, and by forgiving his enemies; the latter distributed no favours, and on that reserved temper founded his glory. One was the protector of the unhappy; the other, the scourge of bad men. Cæsar was admired for the facility of his manners; Cato for his unshaken constancy. In a word, Cæsar entered on a career of vigilance, of active industry, and laborious application; he devoted his time to the interest of his friends, regardless of his own; whatever he possessed worthy of acceptance, he gave as a present; ambition was his ruling passion; he aimed at prodigious things; he desired to have the command of armies; he considered war as his element, and panted for some bright occasion, which might lay open to him the field of glory. Cato, on the other hand, was careful to observe the rules of moderation, of regular conduct, and, above all, an inflexible severity of manners. In point of riches he vied with no man; with the factious he entered into no competition; an honest emulation inspired his soul; the constant rival of the good and worthy, he struggled for the palm of courage with the brave; in simplicity of life he contended with the modest, and in a constant course of virtue, with the most pure and innocent. To be, and not to seem, was his settled principle. He disregarded popularity, and his glory rose the higher.

As soon as the senate concurred, as has been mentioned, with the sentiments of Cato, the consul thought that no time ought to be lost, and accordingly, to prevent seditious attempts

as long as philosophy and true genius shall enrich the world. Sallust's praise of Julius Cæsar is gross flattery to the man who overturned the constitution of his country: allowing him all the praise Sallust bestows upon him, we still may say, "*Curse on his virtues, they've undone his country.*" Sallust knew this, and yet chose to offer incense to the usurper. With regard to Cato, the historian has done him justice.

during the night, which was then approaching, he ordered the triumvirs to prepare for the immediate execution of the condemned malefactors; he himself, having first disposed his guards at proper stations, conducted Lentulus to the prison. The prætors attended the rest of the conspirators.

In the jail, as you ascend on the left hand, there is a place called the Tullian dungeon, sunk about twelve feet under ground, enclosed on all sides with strong walls, and covered over with a stone arch; a dark and dismal vault, exhaling a fetid stench, the last stage of guilt and misery. Lentulus was conducted to that hideous cavern, and there strangled by the officers of justice.

Such was the dismal catastrophe of a man descended from an illustrious branch of the Cornelian family, who had been invested with the consular dignity. He closed his days by an ignominious death, the just retribution due to his crimes. Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, and Ceparius, suffered in like manner.

While these transactions passed at Rome, Catiline, with the forces which he had collected, and those that listed under Manlius, was able to form two legions. He allotted to each cohort as many soldiers as his numbers would allow. Afterwards, when volunteers arrived, and recruits were sent to the camp by his various agents, he distributed his new levies in equal proportions, and by degrees his legions had their full complement. His whole number at first did not exceed two thousand. When his army was reinforced, not more than a fourth part was supplied with military weapons; the rest were armed with what chance threw in their way; some with darts, others with spears, and the rest with stakes sharpened to a point.

Antonius advanced at the head of his army; but Catiline, declining an engagement, wheeled off towards the mountains, at times directing his march towards Rome, and soon after shifting his route, as if determined to penetrate into Gaul. To force him to a decisive action was impossible. He flattered himself, if his adherents at Rome succeeded in their machinations, that he should soon receive a strong reinforcement. Flushed with these expectations, he resolved to reject

the slaves, who from the first crowded to his standard. For this conduct he had political reasons: the war, he pretended, was undertaken to reform the senate, and restore the rights of the people: the cause of freedom, he thought, ought not to be dishonoured by an alliance with men of the lowest rank in society.

It was not long before intelligence from Rome reached the camp. It was there known that the conspiracy was detected, and that Lentulus, with Cethegus and the rest, had suffered death. The consequence was, that Catiline soon found himself abandoned by a number of those ready tools of rebellion, whom the love of innovation, and a passion for plunder, had induced to follow his banners. In that posture of affairs, he thought it advisable to lead his army, by forced marches, over craggy mountains into the territory of Pistorium; and thence his plan was to wind through the defiles of the country, and find a passage into Cisalpine Gaul.

It happened, however, that Quintus Metellus Celer, with three legions under his command, was stationed in the country near Picenum. The difficulties to which Catiline was reduced, made it probable that he would endeavour to elude the Roman general. Accordingly, Metellus, informed by the deserters, of the march of the rebels, moved forward without delay, and pitched his camp at the foot of the mountains, in a situation that commanded the passage into Gaul. At the same time Antonius, at the head of a large army, having an open country before him, pursued by rapid marches, and hung upon the rear of the enemy.

In that crisis of his affairs, Catiline found himself enclosed on one side by inaccessible mountains, and on the other hemmed in by the legions. He knew that his partisans were undone, and executed at Rome; no way for flight and no hope for succour remaining, he resolved to stand the hazard of a battle with Antonius. His plan thus settled, he drew out his army, and, to inflame their ardour, addressed them in the following manner:

“I am not now to learn, my fellow-soldiers, that true courage and heroic fortitude can never be inspired by the power of words: if an army is void of spirit; if the men do

not feel a generous impulse in their own hearts, no speech that a general can make, will rouse them to deeds of valour. Courage is the gift of nature. When it burns like an inward fire, and expands the breast, it is sure to blaze out in the field of battle. He whom neither danger nor glory can excite, will never be roused by exhortations. His fears have made him deaf to the call of honour. It is for a different purpose that I have now assembled you: I mean to give you my best instructions, and open to you the reasons that incline me to vigorous and decisive measures.

“You have heard what a dreadful disaster the temper of Lentulus has brought upon himself, and our glorious cause; you know, that, being amused with hopes of a reinforcement from Rome, I lost the opportunity of marching into Gaul. I need not say anything of our present situation; the posture of affairs is visible to you all. Two hostile armies are at hand; one holds us in check on the side of Rome; the other obstructs our march into Gaul; to tarry longer in our present situation, even if we wished it, is not in our power. Provisions to support an army cannot be procured. Turn which way you will, you must open a passage sword in hand.

“I desire you, therefore, I entreat you, my fellow-soldiers, to call forth all your ardour; let this day give proofs of your heroic spirit. When you rush to the attack, let each man remember that on his arm depend riches, honours, immortal glory, and, what is more, liberty, and the cause of his country. Plenty of every thing is the sure fruit of victory; the colonies and municipal towns will be ready to open their gates to us. If we shrink back, no resource is left; not a friend will stretch a hand to protect the men who acted like traitors to themselves.

“Let me further desire you to compare your own case with that of your enemy: in the opposite army the men have not our incentives to animate their valour. We take the field for liberty and our country; we fight in defence of our own lives. What are the motives that combine against you? the adverse ranks have no interest in the quarrel; they draw their swords to support the pride and grandeur of a few tyrannical masters. Let this reflection inspire you with new ardour;

let it edge your swords; and when you advance to the charge, remember that you are this day to crown your former exploits by a great and glorious victory.

“Had you preferred a life of ignominy, you might have passed your days in exile, and there you might crawl on in want and beggary; or you might have remained at Rome, without money, without effects, without a prospect of relief, all wretched dependents on the bounty of your masters. But you scorned a life of servitude, and resolved, like men, to obtain a radical reform of cruel and oppressive laws. If at this moment it were possible for you to abandon your glorious enterprise, could you, do you think, secure your retreat? The attempt would demand your firmest valour. Peace is obtained by victory only; in flight there is no safety: when the arms which are in our hands for self-defence are turned from the enemy, carnage and destruction follow. The man in battle who fears the most, is in the greatest danger; courage is a tower of strength.

“When I survey you all, my fellow-soldiers, and call to mind your past exploits, I am sanguine enough to anticipate a glorious victory. From your youthful vigour and undaunted courage I expect every advantage. Even the difficulties of our situation inspire me with confidence; for difficulties have often produced prodigies of valour. The superior numbers of the enemy will not be able in these narrow defiles to surround our lines. Should it be our lot to experience the malignity of fortune, let us determine to sell our lives at the dearest rate, rather than be seized like a herd of cattle, to be sacrificed at the will of a barbarous conqueror. Resolve to act like men, and if we must fall, let us not fall unrevenged; let us resolve to die sword in hand, and leave a victory, for which the conqueror may have reason to mourn.”

Having closed this spirited harangue, Catiline paused to arrange all his measures, and, in a short time, the signal for advancing sounded through the ranks. The army marched in order of battle to the open plain. The cavalry had orders to dismount. Their horses were led to a remoter ground. By this measure, all being placed in one common danger, Catiline hoped that a bolder spirit would pervade the whole

army. He himself proceeded through the lines on foot, and formed the best disposition that his numbers and the nature of the place would allow. The plain was bounded on the left by a steep range of mountains, and towards the right by a sharp-pointed rock. Eight cohorts formed their lines in the centre; the rest of the troops took post in the rear, as a body of reserves to support the broken ranks. A select number of centurions and resumed veterans, with such of the common soldiers as were distinguished by their brave exploits, advanced as a chosen band to the front of the lines. The command of the right wing was given to Caius Manlius, and of the left to a native of Fæsulæ. Catiline himself, at the head of the freedmen, and the recruits from the colonies, took his station near his favourite eagle, said to be the same that Marius displayed in the war against the Cimbrians.

Antonius, the commander of the Roman army, was attacked by a fit of the gout, and, by consequence, unable to conduct the battle. He gave the honour of the day to Marcus Petreius, his lieutenant-general. By the directions of that officer the army was drawn up in the following order: the veterans, who had been called out to serve in the exigence of the times, were stationed in the front; the rest of the army formed their lines in the rear. Petreius rode through the ranks, calling on the men by name: he exhorted, he conjured them to exert their former courage. "You see," he said, "a band of freebooters, of robbers, and murderers, a vile collection of incendiaries almost naked and disarmed. When you advance to the charge, remember that you draw the sword in the cause of your country, your children, your altars, and your household gods." Petreius had been a military man for more than thirty years: he rose to eminence through the several gradations of tribune, præfect, lieutenant-general, and prætor, having served during all the time with the highest honour. In the several stations through which he passed, he had a fair opportunity of knowing most of the veterans; he called to mind their former conduct, and by holding to view their acts of valour, inspired them with a resolution to act in a manner worthy of themselves.

Having arranged his measures, Petreius ordered the trum-

pets to sound to battle. The cohorts advanced with a slow pace in regular order. Catiline's soldiers did the same. As soon as the two armies drew so near, that the light-armed troops could begin the onset by a volley of darts, both sides set up a warlike shout, and rushed on to the attack. A close engagement followed. None relied on their missive weapons; they fought sword in hand. The veterans, eager to preserve their renown in arms, advanced into the heat of the action. The rebels received them with a steady countenance. A fierce and obstinate conflict ensued. Catiline, at the head of his light-armed infantry, shewed himself in the front of the lines; he fought in the thickest ranks; he succoured all that gave ground; he supplied the place of the wounded with fresh soldiers; wherever the enemy pressed, he was ready to support the ranks; he charged in person, and enacted prodigies of valour, at once a gallant soldier and an able general.

Petreius, seeing that Catiline disputed the field with more obstinacy than he at first expected, led his prætorian cohort into the thick of the battle. The rebels were thrown into disorder, and a dreadful slaughter followed. All who resisted were put to the sword. The Roman wings, at the same time, attacked the enemy in flank. Manlius, and the commander from Fæsulæ, both fighting bravely, fell in the first onset. Catiline saw his troops routed on every side, and nothing but desolation round him. Having only a handful of his followers left, he was still determined not to forget his illustrious birth, and the dignity of his rank. He rushed among the closest ranks, and, exerting himself with fury and brave despair, fell under repeated wounds.

When the battle was ended, the fierce and obstinate spirit that animated Catiline's army, appeared manifest to view. The spot on which the soldier took his stand during the action, was covered with his body when he expired. A few, whom the prætorian cohort overpowered, were driven from their post, but they fell under honourable wounds. Catiline was found at a distance from his men, amidst heaps of slain. His breath had not quite left him: the same ferocity that

distinguished him when living, was still visible in his countenance.

It may be further observed, that in his whole army not one free citizen was taken prisoner, either during the battle, or after the defeat. Determined to give no quarter, they were prodigal of their own lives. Nor could the army of the commonwealth boast of having gained a cheap victory. They paid the price of their blood. The bravest among them were either slain in the action, or carried from the field covered with wounds. Numbers went from the camp to survey the field of battle, led either by curiosity, or in search of plunder. Employed in moving the dead bodies, they found among the slain a friend, a relative, or an intimate companion. Some discovered their particular enemies stretched on the ground. The impressions made by this melancholy scene were various: mixed emotions of joy and sorrow, regret and congratulation, prevailed throughout the army.

THE
SECOND PUNIC WAR

[EVENTS CONCLUDING WITH THE
BATTLE OF CANNÆ]

BY
TITUS LIVIUS

TRANSLATED BY
GEORGE BAKER, A.M.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY THE SAME

INTRODUCTION

ADVERTISEMENT

THERE are many reasons for regarding Livy as the greatest of the ancient historians. His fame has had its fluctuations; but the extraordinary attention directed by the scholars of the nineteenth century to the annals of Rome—the investigations of Niebuhr, Arnold, Messirole, and other learned men—have, on the whole, justly increased and firmly established his reputation as one of the greatest masters of historical art. His style may be pronounced almost faultless; and a great proof of its excellence is, that the charms with which it is invested are so little salient and so equally diffused, that all the parts in their proportion seem to unite to produce a form of the rarest beauty and grace. But it is not for his style, however much and however wisely that has been praised, that he is principally admired. His sagacious views of the human heart, his just development of the principles of action, his delicate touches of nature, his love of liberty, and the moral sensibility that mingles with all his descriptions, are qualities which must ever render him a favorite with that large class whose love of truth is so incorporated with a love of beauty, that they can seek for either with a true enjoyment, only when they are both attainable in combination. The charms of his manner and spirit, the truth of his statements, and the justness of his views, will forever preserve his work among the most delightful and most valuable products of genius and intellectual toil.

The translation which follows is decidedly the best ever made into English. It preserves much of the tone, and is singularly faithful to the sense, of the illustrious Roman. The notes embrace whatever useful learning has been contributed by scholars for the best appreciation of the author and his subject. The present edition, in fine, may be regarded as the best ever printed of Livy in English.

LIFE OF LIVY

TITUS LIVIUS, the illustrious author of the Roman History, descended from a noble family in Rome, and was born at Patavium, now called Padua, in Italy, in the 694th year of Rome, fifty-eight years before the commencement of the Christian era.

Like many other literary men, his life was contemplative, rather than active; very few particulars, therefore, concerning him have come down to us. He resided at Rome for a considerable time, where he was much noticed, and highly honoured, by Augustus; to whom he was previously known, it is said, by some writings which he had dedicated to him. Seneca, however, is silent upon the subject of this supposed dedication, though he mentions the work itself, which, he says, consisted of moral and philosophical dialogues.

He appears to have conceived the project of writing his history immediately upon his settling at Rome; or, perhaps, he came thither for the purpose of collecting the necessary materials for that great work.

Augustus appointed him preceptor to his grandson Claudius, afterwards emperor. But he seems not much to have attended to the advantage which might have resulted from so advantageous a connexion, and to have occupied himself, entirely, in the composition of his history; parts of which, as they were finished, he read to Augustus and Mæcenas.

Distracted with the tumult, and disgusted, it may be, with the intrigues and cabals of Rome, he sought retirement and tranquillity in the beautiful country, and delightful climate, of Naples. Here, enjoying uninterrupted literary ease and quiet, he continued his labour and finished his work, comprising, in a hundred and forty-two books, the history of Rome, from the foundation of that city to the death of Drusus, containing a period of seven hundred and forty-three years, ending nine years before the birth of our Saviour. Having completed this great work, he returned to pass the remainder of his days in his native country, where he died, A.D. 17, at the age of seventy-five years.

What family he left behind him, is not known. Quintilian, however, mentions that he had a son, for whose instruction he drew up some excellent observations on rhetoric, and there is also reason to suppose that he had a daughter, married to Lucius Magius, an orator, who is advantageously spoken of by Seneca.

How highly his works were esteemed, and himself personally honoured and respected, may be gathered from the manner in which he is mentioned by many ancient authors. Tacitus tells us in his *Annals* that "T. Livius, that admirable historian, not more distinguished by his eloquence than by his fidelity, was so lavish in his praise of Pompey, that Augustus called him the Pompeian: and yet his friendship for him was unalterable." The younger Pliny informs us, that "a certain inhabitant of the city of Cadiz was so struck with the illustrious character of Livy, that he travelled to Rome on purpose to see that great genius; and as soon as he had satisfied his curiosity, returned home."

Of the hundred and forty-two books, of which the history of Rome originally consisted, thirty-five only have come down to us. The contents of the whole, the hundred and thirty-seventh and eighth excepted, have been preserved; compiled, as some, without any good reason, have supposed, by Livy himself; while others, with equal improbability, have asserted them to be the works of Lucius Florus, author of a portion of Roman history. Whoever may have been the compiler, a fact as useless as it is now impossible to ascertain, they are highly curious; and although they contain but a faint outline, yet they serve to convey some idea of the original, and greatly excite regret at the loss of so large a portion of this valuable work.

The parts of this history which we now possess, are, the first decade: for it appears, from his having prefixed separate prefatory introductions to each portion, that the author had divided his work into distinct parts, consisting each of ten books. The first decade commences with the foundation of the city of Rome, and rapidly runs over the affairs of four hundred and sixty years. The second decade is lost; it comprised a period of seventy-five years; the principal occurrence

in it was the first Punic war, in which the Romans, after a long and arduous struggle, were finally victorious. The third decade is extant: it contains a particular and well-detailed account of the second Punic war; the longest, as our author himself observes, and the most hazardous war, the Romans had ever been engaged in; in the course of which they gained so many advantages, and acquired so much military experience, that no nation was ever able, afterwards, to withstand them. The fourth decade contains the Macedonian war against Philip, and the Asiatic against Antiochus. These are related at considerable length, insomuch that the ten books comprise a space of twenty-three years only. Of the fifth decade, the first five books only remain, and these very imperfect. They give an account of the war with Perseus, king of Macedonia, who gains several advantages against the Romans, but is at length subdued, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a Roman province; of the corruption of several Roman governors in the administration of the provinces, and their punishment; and of the third Punic war, which lasted only five years.

Of the remaining books, it has been already said, that the contents only have been preserved; and they serve to show us the greatness of our loss, the greatest literary loss, perhaps, owing to the ravages of the times. Livy had employed forty-five books in the history of six centuries; but so many, so various, and so interesting were the events, which he had before him for selection, in the latter period of the Republic, that it took him above double that number to relate the occurrences of little more than a hundred and twenty years. From the admirable manner in which he has written the former part of his History, we may judge of what must have been the merit of this latter part, which fails us, unfortunately, at a most remarkable period, when rational curiosity is raised to the highest pitch. Nor can we doubt the excellence of its execution, when we consider how much better, and how much more copious his materials must have been; for, besides what he could draw from his own personal knowledge, having lived among, and conversed familiarly with, the most considerable men in the empire, who were themselves principal actors in

the important transactions which he relates, he had access to the best possible written materials; to the memoirs of Sylla, Cæsar, Labienus, Pollio, Augustus, and many others which were then extant. What would we not give for the picture, finished by so able a hand, from the sketches of such masters? What delight would it not afford us, to see the whole progress of the government from liberty to servitude?—the whole series of causes and effects, apparent and real, public and private;—those which all men saw, and all good men opposed and lamented, at the time; and those which were so disguised to the prejudices, to the partialities of a divided people, and even to the corruption of mankind, that many did not, and that many could pretend they did not, discern them, till it was too late to resist them; I own, says a noble author [Bolingbroke] I should be glad to exchange what we have of this history, for what we have not.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

[TO THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ]

INTRODUCTION

I AM going to write of a war, the most memorable of all that were ever waged; that which the Carthaginians, under the conduct of Hannibal, maintained with the Roman people. For never did any other states and nations of more potent strength and resources, engage in a contest of arms: nor did these same nations at any other period, possess so great a degree of power and strength. The arts of war also practised by each party, were not unknown to the other; for they had already gained experience of them in the first Punic war; and so various was the fortune of this war, so great its vicissitudes, that the party, which proved in the end victorious, was, at times, brought the nearest to the brink of ruin. Besides, they exerted, in the dispute, almost a greater degree of rancour than of strength; the Romans being fired with indignation at a vanquished people presuming to take up arms against their conquerors: the Carthaginians, at the haughtiness and avarice, which they thought the others showed in their imperious exercise of the superiority which they had acquired.

THE YOUNG HANNIBAL

We are told that, when Hamilcar was about to march at the head of an army into Spain, after the conclusion of the war in Africa, and was offering sacrifices on the occasion, his son Hannibal, then about nine years of age, solicited him with boyish fondness, to take him with him, whereupon he brought him up to the altars, and compelled him to lay his hand on the consecrated victims, and swear, that as soon as it should be in his power, he would show himself an enemy to the Roman people. Being a man of high spirit, he was

deeply chagrined at the loss of Sicily and Sardinia: for he considered Sicily as given up by his countrymen through too hasty despair of their affairs; and Sardinia as fraudulently snatched out of their hands by the Romans, during the commotions in Africa, with the additional insult of a farther tribute imposed on them.

His mind was filled with these vexatious reflections; and during the five years that he was employed in Africa, which followed soon after the late pacification with Rome; and likewise during nine years which he spent in extending the Carthaginian empire in Spain, his conduct was such as afforded a demonstration that he meditated a more important war than any in which he was then engaged; and that, if he had lived some time longer, the Carthaginians would have carried their arms into Italy under the command of Hamilcar, instead of under that of Hannibal. The death of Hamilcar, which happened most seasonably for Rome, and the unripe age of Hannibal, occasioned the delay. During an interval of about eight years, between the demise of the father, and the succession of the son, the command was held by Hasdrubal; whom, it was said, Hamilcar had first chosen as a favourite, on account of his youthful beauty, and afterwards made him his son-in-law, on account of his eminent abilities; in consequence of which connection, being supported by the interest of the Barcine faction; which among the army and the commons, was exceedingly powerful, he was invested with the command in chief, in opposition to the wishes of the nobles. He prosecuted his designs more frequently by means of policy than of force; and augmented the Carthaginian power considerably, by forming connections with the petty princes; and through the friendship of their leaders, conciliating the regard of nations hitherto strangers. But peace proved no security to himself. One of the barbarians, in resentment of his master having been put to death, openly assassinated him, and being seized by the persons present, showed no kind of concern; nay, even while racked with tortures, as if his exultation, at having effected his purpose, had got the better of the pains, the expression of his countenance was such as carried the appearance of a smile. With this Hasdrubal, who possessed

a surprising degree of skill in negotiation, and in attaching foreign nations to his government, the Romans renewed the treaty, on the terms, that the river Iberus should be the boundary of the two empires, and that the Saguntines, who lay between them, should retain their liberty.

There was no room to doubt that the suffrages of the commons, in appointing a successor to Hasdrubal, would follow the directions pointed out by the leading voice of the army, who had instantly carried young Hannibal to the headquarters, and with one consent, and universal acclamations, saluted him general. This youth, when scarcely arrived at the age of manhood, Hasdrubal had invited by letter to come to him; and that affair had even been taken into deliberation in the senate, where the Barcine faction showed a desire that Hannibal should be accustomed to military service, and succeed to the power of his father. Hanno, the leader of the other faction, said, "Although what Hasdrubal demands, seems reasonable, nevertheless, I do not think that his request ought to be granted;" and, when all turned their eyes on him, with surprise at this ambiguous declaration, he proceeded, "Hasdrubal thinks that he is justly entitled to demand, from the son, the bloom of youth, which he himself dedicated to the pleasures of Hannibal's father. It would however be exceedingly improper in us, instead of a military education, to initiate our young men in the lewd practices of generals. Are we afraid lest too much time should pass, before the son of Hamilcar acquires notions of the unlimited authority, and the parade of his father's sovereignty: or that after he had, like a king, bequeathed our armies, as hereditary property to his son-in-law, we should not soon enough become slaves to his son? I am of opinion that this youth should be kept at home, where he will be amenable to the laws and to the magistrates; and that he should be taught to live on an equal footing with the rest of his countrymen; otherwise this spark, small as it is, may hereafter kindle a terrible conflagration."

A few, particularly those of the best understanding, concurred in opinion with Hanno; but, as it generally happens, the more numerous party prevailed over the more judicious.

Hannibal was sent into Spain, and on his first arrival attracted the notice of the whole army. The veteran soldiers imagined that Hamilcar was restored to them from the dead, observing in him the same animated look and penetrating eye; the same expression of countenance, and the same features. Then, such was his behaviour, and so conciliating, that, in a short time, the memory of his father was the least among their inducements to esteem him. Never man possessed a genius so admirably fitted to the discharge of offices so very opposite in their nature as obeying and commanding: so that it was not easy to discern whether he were more beloved by the general or by the soldiers. There was none to whom Hasdrubal rather wished to entrust the command in any case where courage and activity were required; nor did the soldiers ever feel a greater degree of confidence and boldness under any other commander. With perfect intrepidity in facing danger, he possessed, in the midst of the greatest, perfect presence of mind. No degree of labour could either fatigue his body or break his spirit: heat and cold he endured with equal firmness: the quantity of his food and drink was limited by natural appetite, not by the pleasure of the palate. His seasons for sleeping and waking were not distinguished by the day, or by the night; whatever time he had to spare, after business was finished, that he gave to repose, which, however, he never courted, either by a soft bed or quiet retirement; he was often seen, covered with a cloak, lying on the ground in the midst of the soldiers on guard, and on the advanced posts. His dress had nothing particular in it, beyond that of others of the same rank; his horses, and his armour, he was always remarkably attentive to: and whether he acted among the horsemen, or the infantry, he was eminently the first of either, the foremost in advancing to the fight, the last who quitted the field of battle. These great virtues were counterbalanced in him by vices of equal magnitude; inhuman cruelty; perfidy beyond that of a Carthaginian; a total disregard of truth, and of every obligation deemed sacred; utterly devoid of all reverence for the gods, he paid no regard to an oath, no respect to religion. Endowed with such a disposition, a compound of virtues and vices, he served

under the command of Hasdrubal for three years, during which time he omitted no opportunity of improving himself in every particular, both of theory and practice, that could contribute to the forming of an accomplished general.

THE SIEGE OF SAGUNTUM

But, from the day on which he was declared chief, he acted as if Italy had been decreed to him as his province, and he had been commissioned to wage war with Rome. Thinking every kind of delay imprudent; lest, while he procrastinated, some unforeseen event might disconcert his design, as had been the case of his father Hamilcar, and afterwards of Hasdrubal, he determined to make war on the Saguntines. And, as an attack on them would certainly call forth the Roman arms, he first led his army into the territory of the Olcadians, a nation beyond the Iberus, which, though within the boundaries of the Carthaginians, was not under their dominion, in order that he might not seem to have aimed directly at the Saguntines, but to be drawn on into a war with them by a series of events, and by advancing progressively, after the conquest of the adjoining nations, from one place to the next contiguous. Here he took and plundered Althea, the capital of the nation, abounding in wealth; and this struck such terror into the smaller cities, that they submitted to his authority, and to the imposition of a tribute. He then led his army, flushed with a victory, and enriched with spoil, into winter-quarters, at New Carthage. Here, by a liberal distribution of the booty, and by discharging punctually the arrears of pay, he firmly secured the attachment both of his own countrymen and of the allies; and, at the opening of the spring, carried forward his arms against the Vaccæans, from whom he took, by storm, the cities Hermandica and Arbacala. Arbacala, by the bravery and number of its inhabitants, was enabled to make a long defence. Those who escaped from Hermandica, joining the exiles of the Olcadians, the nation subdued in the preceding summer, roused up the Carpetans to arms, and attacking Hannibal, as he was returning from the country of the Vac-

cæans, not far from the river Tagus, caused a good deal of disorder among his troops, encumbered, as they were, with spoil. Hannibal avoided fighting, and encamped on the bank; then, as soon as the enemy afforded him an opportunity, he crossed the river by a ford, and carried his ramparts to such a distance from its edge, as to leave room for the enemy to pass over, resolving to attack them in their passage. He gave orders to his cavalry, that as soon as they should see the troops advance into the water, they should fall upon them: his infantry he formed on the bank, with forty elephants in their front. The Carpetans, with the addition of the Olcadians and Vaccæans, were one hundred thousand in number, an army not to be overcome, if a fight were to take place in an open plain. These being naturally of an impetuous temper, and confiding in their numbers, believing also that the enemy's retreat was owing to fear, and thinking that there was no obstruction to their gaining an immediate victory, but the river lying in their way, they raised the shout, and without orders, rushed from all parts into it, every one by the shortest way. At the same time a vast body of cavalry pushed from the opposite bank into the river, and the conflict began in the middle of the channel, where they fought upon very unequal terms: for in such a situation the infantry, not being secure of footing, and scarcely able to bear up against the stream, were liable to be borne down by any shock from the horse, though the rider were unarmed, and took no trouble; whereas a horseman having his limbs at liberty, and his horse moving steadily, even through the midst of the eddies, could act either in close fight, or at a distance. Great numbers were swallowed up in the current; while several, whom the eddies of the river carried to the Carthaginians' side, were trodden to death by the elephants. The hindmost, who could more safely retreat to their own bank, attempting to collect themselves into one body, from the various parts to which their terror and confusion had dispersed them, Hannibal, not to give them time to recover from their consternation, marched into the river with his infantry in close order, and obliged them to fly from the bank. Then, by ravaging their country, he reduced the Carpetans also, in a few days, to submission.

And now, all parts of the country beyond the Iberus, except the territory of Saguntum, was under subjection to the Carthaginians.

[Y. R. 534,¹ B.C. 218.] As yet there was no war with the Saguntines; but disputes, which seemed likely to be productive of war, were industriously fomented between them and their neighbours, particularly the Turdetans: and the cause of these latter being espoused by the same person, who first sowed the seeds of the contention, the plain proofs appearing, that not an amicable discussion of rights, but open force was the means intended to be used, the Saguntines despatched ambassadors to Rome, to implore assistance in the war, which evidently threatened them with immediate danger. The consuls at Rome, at that time, were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus; who, after having introduced the ambassadors to the senate, proposed, that the state of the public affairs should be taken into consideration. It was resolved, that ambassadors should be sent into Spain, to inspect the affairs of the allies; instructed, if they saw sufficient reason, to warn Hannibal not to molest the Saguntines, the confederates of the Roman people; and also to pass over into Africa, to represent, at Carthage, the complaints of these to the Romans. After this embassy had been decreed, and before it was despatched, news arrived, which no one had expected so soon, that Saguntum was besieged. The business was then laid entire before the senate, as if no resolution had yet passed. Some were of opinion, that the affair should be prosecuted with vigorous exertions, both by sea and land, and proposed, that Spain and Africa should be decreed as the provinces of the consuls: others wished to direct the whole force of their arms against Spain and Hannibal; while many thought that it would be imprudent to engage hastily in a matter of so great importance, and that they ought to wait for the return of the ambassadors from Spain. This opinion being deemed the safest, was adopted; and the ambassadors, Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Bæbius Pamphitus, were on that account despatched, with the greater speed, to

¹ Y. R. means, Year of Rome, or since the foundation of the city.

Saguntum, to Hannibal; and, in case of his refusing to desist from hostilities, from thence to Carthage, to insist on that general being delivered up, to atone for the infraction of the treaty.

While the Romans were employed in these deliberations and preparatory measures, the siege of Saguntum was prosecuted with the utmost vigour. This city, by far the most wealthy of any beyond the Iberus, stood at the distance of about a mile from the sea: the inhabitants are said to have come originally from the island Zacynthus, and to have been joined by some of the Rutulian race from Ardea. They had grown up, in a very short time, to this high degree of opulence, by means of a profitable commerce, both by sea and land, aided by the increase of their numbers, and their religious observance of compacts, which they carried so far as to maintain the faith of all engagements inviolate, even should they tend to their own destruction. Hannibal marched into their territory in a hostile manner, and, after laying all the country waste, attacked their city on three different sides. There was an angle of the wall which stretched down into a vale, more level and open than the rest of the ground round the place: against this he resolved to carry on his approaches, by means of which the battering ram might be advanced up to the walls. But although the ground, at some distance, was commodious enough for the management of his machines, yet, when the works came to be applied to the purpose intended, it was found to be no way favourable to the design: for it was overlooked by a very large tower; and, as in that part danger was apprehended, the wall had been raised to a height beyond that of the rest. Besides, as the greatest share of fatigue and danger was expected there, it was defended with the greater vigour by a band of chosen young men. These, at first with missile weapons, kept the enemy at a distance, nor suffered them to carry on any of their works in safety. In a little time, they not only annoyed them from the tower and the walls, but had the courage to sally out on the works and posts of the enemy; in which tumultuary engagements the Saguntines generally suffered not a greater loss of men than the Carthaginians. But Hannibal himself happening, as he approached the wall

with too little caution, to be wounded severely in the forepart of the thigh with a heavy javelin, and falling in consequence of it, such consternation and dismay spread through all the troops around him, that they were very near deserting their posts.

For some days following, while the general's wound was under cure, there was rather a blockade than a siege. But although, during this time, there was a cessation of arms, there was no intermission of the preparations, either for attack or defence. Hostilities therefore commenced anew, with a greater degree of fury, and the machines began to be advanced, and the battering rams to be brought up, in a greater number of places, so that in some parts there was scarcely room for the works. The Carthaginian had great abundance of men, for it is credibly asserted that the number of his troops was not less than one hundred and fifty thousand: the townsmen were obliged to have recourse to various shifts, in order, with their small numbers, to execute every necessary measure, and to make defence in so many different places; nor were they equal to the task: for now the walls began to be battered with the rams; many parts of them were shattered; in one place, a large breach left the city quite exposed: three towers, in one range, together with the whole extent of wall between them, tumbled down with a prodigious crash, and so great was the breach, that the Carthaginians looked on the town as already taken. On which, as if the wall had served equally for a covering to both parties, the two armies rushed to battle. Here was nothing like the disorderly kind of fight, which usually happens in the assault of towns, each party acting as opportunity offers advantage, but regular lines were formed, as if in the open plain, on the ground between the ruins of the walls and the buildings of the city, which stood at no great distance. Their courage was animated to the greatest height; on one side by hope, on the other by despair; the Carthaginian believing, that only a few more efforts were necessary to render him master of the place; the Saguntines forming, with their bodies, a bulwark to their native city, instead of its wall, of which it had been stripped; not one of them giving ground, lest he should make room for

the enemy to enter by the space. The greater therefore the eagerness of the combatants, and the closer their ranks, the more wounds consequently were received, no weapon falling without taking place, either in their bodies or armour.

The Sanguntines had a missile weapon called Falarica, with a shaft of fir, round, except towards the end, to which the iron was fastened: this part, which was square, as in a javelin, they bound about with tow and daubed with pitch; it had an iron head three feet long, so that it could pierce both armour and body together: but what rendered it most formidable, was, that being discharged with the middle part on fire, and the motion itself increasing greatly the violence of the flame, though it struck in the shield without penetrating to the body, it compelled the soldier to throw away his arms, and left him, without defence, against succeeding blows. Thus the contest long continued doubtful, and the Saguntines, finding that they succeeded in their defence beyond expectation, assumed new courage; while the Carthaginian, because he had not obtained the victory, deemed himself vanquished. On this, the townsmen suddenly raised a shout, pushed back the enemy among the ruins of the wall, drove them off from that ground, where they were embarrassed and confused, and, in fine, compelled them to fly in disorder to their camp.

In the mean time, an account was received, that ambassadors had arrived from Rome; on which Hannibal sent messengers to the sea-shore, to meet them, and to acquaint them, that it would not be safe for them to come to him, through the armed bands of so many savage nations; and besides, that in the present critical state of affairs, he had not leisure to listen to embassies. He saw clearly, that on being refused audience, they would proceed immediately to Carthage; he therefore despatched messengers and letters, beforehand, to the leaders of the Barcine faction, charging them to prepare their friends to act with spirit, so that the other party should not be able to carry any point in favour of the Romans. Thus the embassy there proved equally vain and fruitless, excepting that the ambassadors were received and admitted to audience. Hanno alone in opposition to the sentiments of the senate, argued for their complying with the terms of the

treaty, and was heard with great attention, rather out of the respect paid to the dignity of his character, than from the approbation of the hearers. He said, that "he had formerly charged and forewarned them, as they regarded the gods, who were guarantees and witnesses of the treaties, not to send the son of Hamilcar to the army. That man's shade," said he, "cannot be quiet, nor any one descended from him; nor will treaties with Rome subsist, as long as one person of the Barcine blood and name exists. As if with intent to supply fuel to fire, ye sent to your armies a young man, burning with ambition for absolute power, to which he could see but one road, the exciting of wars, one after another, in order that he might live surrounded with arms and legions. You yourselves therefore have kindled this fire, with which you are now scorched: your armies now invest Saguntum, a place which they are bound by treaty not to molest. In a short time, the Roman legions will invest Carthage, under the guidance of those same deities, who enabled them, in the former war, to take vengeance for the breach of treaties. Are you strangers to that enemy, or to yourselves, or to the fortune attending both nations? When ambassadors came from allies, in favour of allies, your worthy general, disregarding the law of nations, refused them admittance into his camp. Nevertheless, after meeting a repulse, where ambassadors, even from enemies, are not refused access, they have come to you, requiring satisfaction in conformity to treaty. They charge no crime on the public, but demand the author of the transgression, the person answerable for the offence. The more moderation there appears in their proceedings, and the slower they are in beginning a warfare, so much the more unrelenting, I fear, will prove the fury of their resentment, when they do begin. Place before your eyes the islands Ægates and Eryx, the calamities which you underwent, on land and sea, during the space of twenty-four years; nor were your troops then led by this boy, but by his father Hamilcar, another Mars, as those men choose to call him. But at that time we had not, as we were bound by treaty, avoided interfering with Tarentum in Italy, as, at present, we do not avoid interfering with Saguntum. Wherefore gods and men

united to conquer us, and the question which words could not determine, 'Which of the nations had infringed the treaty?' the issue of the war made known, as an equitable judge giving victory to that side on which justice stood. Hannibal is now raising works and towers against Carthage; with his battering rams he is shaking the walls of Carthage. The ruins of Saguntum (oh! that I may prove a false prophet!) will fall on our heads and the war commenced against the Saguntines must be maintained against the Romans. Some will say, Shall we then deliver up Hannibal? I am sensible that, with respect to him, my authority is of little weight, on account of the enmity between me and his father. But as I rejoiced at the death of Hamilcar, for this reason, that had he lived, we should now have been embroiled in a war with the Romans, so do I hate and detest this youth as a fury and a firebrand kindling the like troubles at present. Nor is it my opinion, merely, that he ought to be delivered up, as an expiation for the infraction of the treaty, but that, if no one demanded him, he ought to be conveyed away to the remotest coasts, whence no accounts of him, nor even his name, should ever reach us, and where he would not be able to disturb the tranquillity of our state. I therefore move you to resolve, that ambassadors be sent instantly to Rome, to make apologies to the senate; others, to order Hannibal to withdraw the troops from Saguntum, and to deliver up Hannibal himself to the Romans, in conformity to the treaty; and that a third embassy be sent, to make restitution to the Saguntines." When Hanno had ended his discourse, there was no occasion for any one to enter into a debate with him, so entirely were almost the whole body of the senate in the interest of Hannibal, and they blamed him as having spoke with greater acrimony than even Valerius Flaccus, the Roman ambassador. They then answered the Roman ambassadors, that "the war had been begun by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal, and that the Roman people acted unjustly and unwisely, if they preferred the interest of the Saguntines to that of the Carthaginians, their earliest allies."

While the Romans wasted time in sending embassies, Hannibal finding his soldiers fatigued with fighting and la-

bour, gave them a few days to rest, appointing parties to guard the machines and works. This interval he employed in re-animating his men, stimulating them at one time with resentment against the enemy, at another, with hope of rewards; but a declaration which he made in open assembly, that, on the capture of the city, the spoil should be given to the soldiers, inflamed them with such ardour, that, to all appearance, if the signal had been given immediately, no force could have withstood them. The Saguntines, as they had for some days enjoyed a respite from fighting, neither offering nor sustaining an attack, so they had never ceased, either by day or night, to labour hard in raising a new wall, in that part where the city had been left exposed by the fall of the old one. After this, the operations of the besiegers were carried on with much greater briskness than before; nor could the besieged well judge, whilst all places resounded with clamours of various kinds, to what side they should first send succour, or where it was most necessary. Hannibal attended in person, to encourage a party of his men who were bringing forward a movable tower, which exceeded in height all the fortifications in the city. As soon as this had reached the proper distance, and had, by means of the engines for throwing darts and stones,¹ disposed in all its stories, cleared the ramparts of all who were to defend it, then Hannibal, seizing the opportunity, sent about five hundred Africans, with pickaxes, to undermine the wall at the bottom; which was not a difficult work, because the cement was not strengthened with lime, but the interstices filled up with clay, according to the ancient method of building: other parts of it therefore fell down, together with those to which the strokes were applied, and through these breaches several bands of soldiers made their way into the city. They likewise there took possession of the eminence, and collecting thither a number of engines for throwing darts and stones, surrounded it with a wall, in order

¹ The *ballista* was an engine for throwing large stones; *catapulta*, a smaller one for throwing the *falarica*, and other large kinds of javelins; the *scorpio* was a still smaller one, for throwing darts of lesser size.

that they might have a fortress within the city itself, a citadel, as it were, to command it. The Saguntines on their part raised an inner wall between that and the division of the city not yet taken. Both sides exerted themselves to the utmost, as well in forming their works as in fighting. But the Saguntines, while they raised defences for the inner parts contracted daily the dimensions of the city. At the same time the scarcity of all things increased, in consequence of the long continuance of the siege, while their expectations of foreign aid diminished; the Romans, their only hope, being at so great a distance, and all the countries round being in the hands of the enemy. However, their sinking spirits were for a short time revived, by Hannibal setting out suddenly on an expedition against the Oretans and Carpetans. For these two nations, being exasperated by the severity used in levying soldiers, had, by detaining the commissaries, afforded room to apprehend a revolt; but receiving an unexpected check, from the quick exertions of Hannibal, they laid aside the design of insurrection.

In the mean time the vigour of the proceedings against Saguntine was not lessened; Maharbal, son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had left in the command, pushing forward the operations with such activity, that neither his countrymen, nor the enemy, perceived that the general was absent, he not only engaged the Saguntines several times with success, but, with three battering rams, demolished a considerable extent of the wall; and when Hannibal arrived, he showed him the whole ground covered with fresh ruins. The troops were therefore led instantly against the citadel, and after a furious engagement, in which great loss was suffered on both sides, part of the citadel was taken. Small as were the hopes of an accommodation, attempts were now made to bring it about by two persons, Alcon a Saguntine, and Alorcus a Spaniard. Alcon, thinking that he might effect something by submissive entreaties, went over to Hannibal by night, without the knowledge of the Saguntines; but, his piteous supplications making no impression, and the terms offered by his enemy being full of rigour, and such as might be expected from an enraged and not unsuccessful assailant, instead of an advocate, he be-

came a deserter, affirming, that if any man were to mention to the Saguntines an accommodation on such conditions, it would cost him his life;—for it was required that they should make restitution to the Turdetans; should deliver up all their gold and silver; and, departing from the city with single garments, should fix their residence in whatever place the Carthaginians should order. When Alcon declared that his countrymen would never accept these conditions of peace, Alorcus, insisting, that when men's bodily powers are subdued, their spirits are subdued along with them, undertook the office of mediator in the negotiation. Now he was at this time a soldier in the service of Hannibal, but connected with the state of Saguntum in friendship and hospitality. Delivering up his sword to the enemy's guards, he passed openly through the fortifications, and was conducted at his own desire to the prætor. A concourse of people of every kind having immediately assembled about the place, the senate, ordering the rest of the multitude to retire, gave audience to Alorcus, who addressed them in this manner:

“If your countryman Alcon, after coming to the general to sue for peace, had returned to you with the offered terms, it would have been needless for me to have presented myself before you, as I would not appear in the character either of a deputy from Hannibal, or a deserter. But since he has remained with your enemy, either through his own fault, or yours: through his own, if he counterfeited fear; through yours, if he who tells you truth, is to be punished: I have come to you, out of my regard to the ties of hospitality so long subsisting between us, in order that you should not be ignorant that there are certain conditions on which you may obtain both peace and safety. Now, that what I say is merely out of regard to your interests, and not from any other motive, this alone is sufficient proof; that, so long as you were able to maintain a defence by your own strength, or so long as you had hopes of succour from the Romans, I never once mentioned peace to you. Now, when you neither have any hopes from the Romans, nor can rely for defence either on your arms or walls, I bring you terms of peace, rather unavoidable than favourable. And there may be some chance

of carrying these into effect, on this condition, that, as Hannibal dictates them, in the spirit of a conqueror, so you should listen to them with the spirit of men conquered; that you consider not what you part with as lost, for all things are the property of the victor, but whatever is left to you as a gift. The city, a great part of which is already demolished, and almost the whole of which he has in his possession, he takes from you: your lands he leaves to you, intending to assign a place where you may build a new town: all your gold and silver, both public and private property, he orders to be brought to him: your persons, with those of your wives and children, he preserves inviolate, provided you are satisfied to quit Saguntum, without arms, and with single garments. These are the terms, which, as a victorious enemy, he enjoins: with these, grievous and afflicting as they are, your present circumstances counsel you to comply. I do not indeed despair but that, when the entire disposal of every thing is given up to him, he may remit somewhat of the severity of these articles. But even these, I think it advisable to endure, rather than to suffer yourselves to be slaughtered, and your wives and children seized and dragged into slavery before your eyes, according to the practice of war."

The surrounding crowd, gradually approaching to hear his discourse, had formed an assembly of the people conjoined with the senate, when the men of principal distinction, withdrawing suddenly before any answer was given, collected all the gold and silver both from their private and public stores, into the forum, threw it into a fire hastily kindled for the purpose, and then most of them cast themselves headlong in after it. While the dismay and confusion, which this occasioned, filled every part of the city, another uproar was heard from the citadel. A tower, after being battered for a long time, had fallen down, and a cohort of the Carthaginians having forced their way through the breach, gave notice to their general, that the place was destitute of the usual guards and watches. Hannibal, judging that such an opportunity admitted no delay, assaulted the city with his whole force, and instantly, making himself master of it, gave orders that every person of adult age should be put to the sword: which cruel

order was proved, however, by the event, to have been in a manner induced by the conduct of the people: for how could mercy have been extended to any of those who, shutting themselves up with their wives and children, burned their houses over their heads; or who, being in arms, continued fighting until stopped by death?

In the town was found a vast quantity of spoil, notwithstanding that the greater part of the effects had been purposely injured by the owners; and that, during the carnage, the rage of the assailants had made hardly any distinction of age, although the prisoners were the property of the soldiers. Nevertheless, it appears, that a large sum of money was brought into the treasury, out of the price of goods exposed to sale, and likewise that a great deal of valuable furniture and apparel was sent to Carthage. Some writers have asserted, that Saguntum was taken in the eighth month from the beginning of the siege; that Hannibal then retired into winter quarters to New Carthage; and that, in the fifth month, after leaving Carthage, he arrived again in Italy. But if these accounts were true, it is impossible that Publius Cornelius, and Tiberius Sempronius could have been the consuls, to whom, in the beginning of the siege, the ambassadors were sent from Saguntum; and who, during their office, fought with Hannibal; the one at the river Ticinus, and both, a considerable time after, at the Trebia. Either all these matters must have been transacted in less time, or Saguntum must have been taken, not first invested, in the beginning of that year wherein Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius were consuls. For the battle at Trebia could not have happened so late as the year of Cn. Servilius and Caius Flaminius; because Caius Flaminius entered on the office of consul at Ariminum, having been elected thereto by Tiberius Sempronius, who, after the engagement at the Trebia, had gone home to Rome for the purpose of electing consuls; and, when the election was finished, returned into winter quarters to the army.

ROME PREPARES FOR WAR

The ambassadors returning from Carthage, brought information to Rome, that every thing tended to war; and,

nearly at the same time, news was received of the destruction of Saguntum. Grief seized the senate, for the deplorable catastrophe of their allies; and shame for not having afforded them succour; rage against the Carthaginians, and such apprehensions for the public safety, as if the enemy were already at their gates; so that their minds being agitated by so many passions at once, their meetings were scenes of confusion and disorder, rather than of deliberation. For "never," they observed, "had an enemy, more enterprising and warlike, entered the field with them; and at no other period had the Roman power been so unfit for great exertions, or so deficient in practice. As to the Sardinians, Corsicans, Istrians, and Illyrians, they had only roused the Roman arms, without affording them exercise; and with the Gauls the affair was really a tumult, rather than a war. The Carthaginians, another kind of foe, were crossing the Iberus; trained to arms during twenty-three years, in the most laborious service, among the nations of Spain; accustomed to conquer on every occasion; habituated to the command of a most able general; flushed with their late conquest of a very opulent city, and bringing with them many Spanish states; while the Gauls, ever glad of an opportunity of fighting, would doubtless be engaged in the expedition. War must then be waged against all the world, in the heart of Italy, and under the walls of Rome.

The provinces had been already named for the consuls, but now they were ordered to cast lots. Spain fell to Cornelius; Africa, with Sicily, to Sempronius. For the service of the year, six legions were decreed, with such a number of the troops of the allies as the consuls should deem requisite, and a fleet as great as could be fitted out. Of Romans were enlisted twenty-four thousand foot, and one thousand eight hundred horse; of the allies, forty thousand foot, and four thousand four hundred horse. The fleet consisted of two hundred and twenty ships of five banks of oars, and twenty light galleys. The question was then proposed to the people, whether "they chose and ordered, that war should be declared against the people of Carthage?" This being determined on, a general supplication was performed in the city, and

prayers offered to the gods, that the war which the Roman people had ordered might have a prosperous and a happy issue. The forces were divided between the consuls in this manner: to Sempronius were assigned two legions, containing each four thousand foot and three hundred horse, and of the allies sixteen thousand foot and one thousand eight hundred horse, with one hundred and sixty ships of war, and twelve light galleys. With these land and sea forces, Tiberius Sempronius was sent to Sicily, with intention that he should cross over to Africa, in case the other consul should be able to prevent the Carthaginians from entering Italy. The army assigned to Cornelius was less numerous, because Lucius Manlius, a prætor, was also sent into Gaul with a considerable force. Of ships, particularly, Cornelius's share was small: sixty quinqueremes only were given him, for it was not supposed either that the enemy would come by sea, or that he would exert himself on that element. Two Roman legions, with their regular proportion of cavalry, and, of the allies, fourteen thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse, were assigned to him. In this year, the province of Gaul, though not yet threatened with a Carthaginian war, had posted in it two Roman legions, and ten thousand confederate infantry, with one thousand confederate horsemen and six hundred Roman.

THE DECLARATION OF WAR

These adjustments being made, they yet determined, previous to the taking up arms, to send Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Amilius, Caius Licinius, and Quintus Bæbius, men venerable on account of their age, into Africa, as ambassadors, to require an explanation from the Carthaginians, whether Hannibal's attack on Saguntum had been authorised by the state; and, in case they should acknowledge it, as it was expected they would, and defend that proceeding, then to declare war against the people of Carthage. When the Romans arrived at Carthage, and were introduced to an audience of the senate, Quintus Fabius, without enlarging on the subject, simply proposed the question, as stated in their instructions; on which one of the Carthaginians replied,

“Romans, in your former embassy, ye were too precipitate, when you demanded that Hannibal should be delivered up, as attacking Saguntum of his own authority. But your present proceeding, though hitherto milder in words, is, in effect, more unreasonably severe. A charge was made against Hannibal, only when you required him to be delivered up: now, you endeavour to extort from us a confession of wrong committed, and at the same instant, as if we had already pleaded guilt, insist on reparation. For myself, I am of opinion, that the question proper to be asked is, not whether Saguntum was attacked by public authority, or private, but whether justly or unjustly? For with respect to a subject of our government, whether acting under direction of the public, or not, the right of inquiry, and of punishing, is exclusively our own. The only point, then, that comes into discussion with you, is, whether the act was allowable according to treaty? Wherefore, since you chose that a distinction should be made, between what commanders do by public authority, and what of their own will, there is a treaty subsisting between us, concluded by your consul Lutatius, in which provision is made for the interest of the allies of both nations. But there is no clause in favour of the Saguntines; for they were not at the time in alliance with you. But then, in the treaty entered into with Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are expressly exempted from hostilities. In answer to which, I shall urge nothing but what I have learned from yourselves. For you asserted, that the treaty which your consul Caius Lutatius at first concluded with us, inasmuch as it had been concluded without either the approbation of the senate, or an order of the people, was not binding on you; and that, for that reason, another treaty was ratified anew, under the sanction of public authority. Now, if your treaties do not bind you, unless sanctioned by your approbation and order, surely the treaty of Hasdrubal, under the same circumstances, cannot be binding on us. Cease therefore to talk of Saguntum, and the Iberus; and let your minds at length give birth to the burden of which they are long in labour.” The Roman then, folding up a corner of his robe, said, “Here we bring you peace, and, war; take which you choose.” Which proposal they answered with an

equal degree of peremptory heat, calling out, that "he should give whichever he chose." He then threw open the fold again, and said that "he gave war," they with one voice replied, that "they accepted it; and, with the same spirit with which they accepted it, would prosecute it."

THE SPANIARDS AND GAULS REJECT ALLIANCE WITH ROME

This mode of a direct demand, and declaration of war, was deemed suitable to the dignity of the Roman people, even before this time, but more particularly after the destruction of Saguntum, than to enter into a verbal disquisition concerning the construction of treaties. For, if the business were to be decided by argument, what similitude was there between the treaty of Hasdrubal and the former treaty of Lutatius, which was altered? Since in the latter, there was an express clause inserted, that "it should be valid, provided the people should ratify it;" but in that of Hasdrubal, there was no such provision. Besides, this treaty was confirmed, in such a manner, by the silent approbation of so many years, during the remainder of his life, that even after the death of its author, no alteration was made in it; although, even were the former treaty adhered to, there was sufficient security provided for the Saguntines, by the exempting from hostilities the allies of both nations; there being no distinction made of those who then were, or of those who should afterwards become such. And, as it was evidently allowable to form new alliances, who could think it reasonable, either that persons should not be received into friendship on account of any degree of merit whatever; or, that people, once taken under protection, should not be defended? The only restriction implied was, that the allies of the Carthaginians should not be solicited to revolt, nor, revolting of their own accord, should be received. The Roman ambassadors, in pursuance of their instructions received at Rome, passed over from Carthage into Spain, in order to make application to the several states of that country, and either to engage their alliance, or at least dissuade them from joining the Carthaginians. They came, first, to the Bargusian, by whom being favourably received, because that people were dissatisfied with the Cartha-

ginian government, they roused the spirits of many powers on the farther side of the Iberus, by the flattering prospect of a change in their circumstances. Thence they came to the Volscians, whose answer, which was reported with applause through every part of Spain, deterred the other states from joining in alliance with Rome. For thus the oldest member of their assembly replied, "Where is your sense of shame, Romans, when you require of us, that we should prefer your friendship to that of the Carthaginians? The Saguntines, who embraced it, have been abandoned by you: in which abandonment you, their allies, have shown greater cruelty, than the Carthaginians, their enemy, showed in destroying them. What I recommend is, that you seek connections where the fatal disaster of Saguntum is unknown. To the states of Spain, the ruins of that city will be both a melancholy, and a forcible warning, not to confide in the faith or alliance of Rome." They were then ordered to depart immediately from the territories of the Volscians; nor did they afterwards meet, from any assembly in Spain, a more favourable reception; therefore, after making a circuit through all parts of that country, without effecting anything, they passed over into Gaul.

At Ruscino they encountered a new and terrifying spectacle; the people coming in arms to the assembly, for such is the custom of that country. After displaying, in magnificent terms, the renown and the valour of the Roman people, and the greatness of their empire, they requested that the Gauls would not grant a passage through their cities and territories to the Carthaginian, who was preparing to invade Italy. On which, we are told, such a laugh was raised, accompanied by a general outcry of displeasure, that the magistrates and the elder members of the assembly could, with difficulty, bring the younger men into order, so unreasonable, and so absurd did it appear, to require that the Gauls should not suffer the war to pass into Italy, but should draw it on themselves, and expose their own lands to devastation, instead of those of strangers. When the uproar was at length appeased, an answer was given to the ambassadors, that "the Gauls had never received either any kindness from the Romans, or ill treatment from the Carthaginians, that should induce them to

take arms either in favour of the former, or in opposition to the latter. On the contrary, they had been informed, that their countrymen were expelled by the Roman people from their lands, and out of the limits of Italy, compelled to pay tribute, and subjected to indignities of every kind." To the same application, they received the same answer, from the other assemblies in Gaul; nor did they meet any very friendly or peaceable reception until they arrived at Marseilles. There, in consequence of the diligent inquiries made by those faithful allies, they learned, that "the minds of the Gauls had been already prepossessed in favour of Hannibal. But that even he would find that nation not very tractable, so ferocious and ungovernable were their tempers, unless he frequently revived the attachment of their chiefs with gold, of which that people were remarkably greedy." Having thus finished their progress through the states of Spain and Gaul, the ambassadors returned to Rome, shortly after the consuls had set out for their provinces, and found the passions of every man warmly excited by the prospect of the approaching war, for all accounts now agreed, that the Carthaginians had passed the Iberus.

HANNIBAL STRENGTHENS HIS POSITION IN SPAIN

Hannibal, after taking Saguntum, had retired into winter-quarters, at New Carthage; where, receiving information of all the transactions and resolutions which had passed at Rome, and at Carthage, and that he was not only the leader, but likewise the cause of the war, he determined no longer to defer his measures, and having distributed and sold off the remains of the plunder, he called together his Spanish troops, and spoke to this effect: "Fellow soldiers, as we have already established peace through all the states of Spain, we must either lay aside our arms, and disband our forces, or transfer the seat of war to other countries. For the way to make these nations flourish, with the blessings not only of peace, but of victory, is, for us to seek glory and spoil from others. Wherefore as we shall soon be called to service, at a distance from home, and as it is uncertain when you may see your families, and whatever is dear to you, if any choose

to visit your friends, I now give you leave of absence. At the beginning of spring, I charge you to attend here, in order that, with the aid of the gods, we may enter on a war, from which we shall reap abundance, both of honour and riches." This voluntary offer, of leave to revisit their homes, was highly pleasing to almost every one of them; for they already longed to see their friends, and foresaw a longer absence from them likely to happen. This interval of rest renewed the powers of their minds and bodies, enabling them to encounter every hardship anew; for the fatigues they had already sustained, and those they were soon to undergo, appeared to be little thought of. At the beginning of spring they therefore assembled according to orders. Hannibal, after reviewing the auxiliaries of the several nations, went to Gades, where he fulfilled his vows to Hercules, and bound himself to new ones, in case his future operations should be crowned with success. Then dividing his attention, between the measures requisite for annoying the enemy, and those necessary for defence, lest, while he should be making his way to Italy by land, through Spain and Gaul, Africa should be naked and open to an attack of the Romans from Sicily, he resolved to provide for its security by sending thither a strong body of forces. In the room of these, he required a reinforcement to be sent to him from Africa, consisting chiefly of light armed spearmen. This he did with the view, that the Africans serving in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa, where each would be better soldiers at a distance from home, they might be, as it were, mutual hostages for the good behaviour of each other. He sent into Africa, of infantry, thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty targeteers, with eight hundred and seventy Balearic slingers; of cavalry, collected from many nations, one thousand two hundred. Part of these forces he ordered to garrison Carthage, the rest to be distributed through Africa. At the same time he ordered four thousand chosen young men, whom he had enlisted by means of commissaries sent among the several states, to be conducted to Carthage, both as an addition of strength and as hostages.

Judging also, that Spain ought not to be neglected, in which opinion he was not the less confirmed by having been

acquainted with the tour made through it by the Roman ambassadors, for the purpose of engaging the friendship of the chiefs, he allotted that province to Hasdrubal his brother, a man of talents and activity; and he formed his strength mostly of the troops from Africa, giving him eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty African foot, with three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Balearians. To these bodies of infantry, were added four hundred and fifty horsemen, of the Liby-Phœnicians, a race composed of a mixture of Phœnicians with Africans; of Numidians and Mauritanians, who inhabit the coast of the ocean, to the number of one thousand eight hundred; a small band of the Ilergetans, a Spanish nation, amounting to two hundred horsemen; and, that he might not be destitute of any kind of force, which might be useful in operations on land, fourteen elephants. Also for the defence of the sea-coast, because, as the Romans had been formerly victorious at sea, it was probable that they would now likewise exert themselves in the same line, a fleet was assigned him of fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes; but, of these, only thirty-two quinqueremes, and the five triremes, were fully equipped and manned with rowers. From Gades he returned to Carthage, the winter quarters of the army. Then putting his troops in motion, he led them by the city of Etovissa to the Iberus, and the sea-coast. Here, as is said, he saw in his sleep a youth of divine figure, who told him that he was sent by Jupiter to guide him into Italy, and bade him therefore to follow, and not turn his eyes to any side. Filled with terror, he followed at first without looking to either side, or behind; but afterwards, out of the curiosity natural to mankind, considering what that could be at which he was forbidden to look back, he could no longer restrain his eyes: he then saw behind him a serpent of immense size, moving along and felling all the bushes and trees in its way: and after it, followed a dark cloud with loud thundering in the air. On which, asking what was the nature of this great commotion, or what it portended, he was told that it meant the devastation of Italy: he was then ordered to proceed in his course, and not to inquire farther, but let the decrees of the destinies remain in obscurity.

HANNIBAL MARCHES INTO GAUL

Overjoyed at this vision, he led his forces in three divisions over the Iberus, having sent forward emissaries to conciliate by presents, the friendship of the Gauls, through whose country the army was to pass, and to explore the passes of the Alps. The number of forces, which he brought across the Iberus, was ninety thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse. He then reduced the Ilergetans, the Bargusians, the Ausetanians, and the province of Lacetania, which lay at the foot of the Pyrenean mountains. The government of all this tract he gave to Hanno, with intention to retain the command of the narrow passes, which led from Spain into Gaul: and, to enable him to secure the possession of it, assigned him a body of forces, consisting of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. When the army began to pass the defiles of the Pyrenees, and a rumour spread with greater certainty among the barbarians, that the war was intended against the Romans, three thousand of the Carpetan foot left him, and marched away, actuated, as clearly appeared, not so much by dread of the enemy, as of the great length of the march, and the insuperable difficulty of crossing the Alps. Hannibal, considering that to recall or detain them by force, might be attended with dangerous consequences, and wishing to avoid every thing that might irritate the ferocious tempers of the rest, sent home above ten thousand men, in whom he had discovered an equal aversion from the service, pretending that he had in like manner dismissed the Carpetans.

Then, lest delay and idleness should inspire them with improper notions, he crossed the Pyrenees, with the rest of his forces, and pitched his camp near the town of Illiberis. The Gauls had been told that his operations were directed against Italy; nevertheless, having been informed, that the Spaniards on the other side of the Pyrenees had been reduced by force, and that a powerful guard was stationed in their country, they were so much alarmed for their liberty, that they hastily took arms, and several states formed a general meeting at Ruscino. When Hannibal was informed of this, dreading delay more than the power of the enemy, he despatched envoys to their

petty princes, acquainting them that he wished to confer with them in person, and proposing, that either they should come nearer to Illiberis, or that he would advance to Ruscino; that he would with great pleasure, receive them in his camp, or without hesitation go himself to theirs: for he came into Gaul as a friend, not as an enemy; and meant not to draw a sword, if the Gauls would allow him to hold his resolution, until he arrived in Italy. This passed through messengers: but the Gauls immediately removed their camp to Illiberis, came without reluctance to the Carthaginians, and were so highly captivated by his presents, that, with great cheerfulness, they conducted his army, by the town of Ruscino, through their territories.

REVOLT OF CIS-ALPINE GAULS

In Italy, at this time, nothing farther was known, than that Hannibal had passed the Iberus, intelligence of which had been brought to Rome by ambassadors from Marseilles; yet, as if he had already passed the Alps, the Boians engaging the concurrence of the Insubrians began a revolt, their motive for which, was not their ancient enmity towards the Roman people, but the offence which they lately conceived, at the establishment of the colonies on the Po, at Cremona, and Placentia, within the limits of the Gallic territories. For this reason, they hastily took arms, and making an irruption into those very soils, caused such terror and confusion, that not only the country people, but even the Roman commissioners, who had come thither to distribute the lands, doubting their safety within the wall of Placentia, fled to Mutina. These were Caius Lutatius, Caius Servilius, and Titus Annius. There is no doubt about the name of Lutatius; but some annals, instead of Caius Servilius and Titus Annius, have Quintus Acilius and Caius Herrenius: others, Publius Cornelius Asina, and Caius Papirius Maso. There is also an uncertainty, whether ambassadors, sent to expostulate with the Boians, suffered violence, or whether the ill treatment was offered to the commissioners, who were measuring out the lands. While they were shut up in Mutina, and the besiegers, a people quite unskilled in the arts of attacking towns,

and remarkably lazy with respect to all military operations, lay inactive round the walls, which they could not injure, a pretended treaty for an accommodation was set on foot, and the ambassadors being invited out to a conference by the chiefs of the Gauls, were, in violation not only of the laws of nations, but of the faith pledged on the occasion, seized and put into confinement, the Gauls declaring, that they would not set them at liberty, unless their own hostages were returned to them. On hearing of this treatment of the ambassadors, and the danger which threatened Mutina and the garrison, Lucius Manlius the prætor, inflamed with resentment, led his army in a rapid march towards that city. The ground, on both sides of the road, was, at that time, covered with woods, and mostly uninhabited. Advancing into these places, without having examined the country, he fell into an ambush, and with much difficulty, after losing a great number of men, made his way into the open plains. Here he fortified a camp, which the Gauls not having resolution to attack, the soldiers recovered their spirits, though it was evident that their strength was greatly diminished: they then began their march anew, and, as long as their road lay through open grounds, the enemy never appeared; but falling on their rear, when the Romans again entered the woods, they threw all into fright and disorder, slew eight hundred soldiers, and carried off six standards. As soon as the troops had got clear of that difficult and troublesome pass, the Gauls ceased from their attempts, and the Romans from their fears, and the latter afterwards, easily securing the safety of their march through the open country, proceeded to Tanetum, a small town on the Po. Here, by means of a temporary fortification, which they raised, the supply of provisions conveyed by the river, and the aid of the Brescian Gauls, they maintained their ground against the numerous forces of the enemy, though daily augmented.

HANNIBAL CROSSES THE RHONE

When news of this sudden insurrection arrived at Rome, and the senate understood, that, besides the Cartha-

ginian war, they had another to maintain with the Gauls, they ordered Caius Atilius, a prætor, to march to the relief of Manlius with one Roman legion, and five thousand allied troops, enlisted by the consul in the late levy; with these he arrived at Tanetum without any interruption, for the enemy, through fear, had retired at his approach. At the same time Publius Cornelius, having raised a new legion, in the room of that which had been sent with the prætor, set out from the city with sixty ships of war; and coasting along Etruria, Liguria, and the Salyan mountains, he arrived at Marseilles, and pitched his camp on the nearest mouth of the Rhone, for that river, dividing itself, flows into the sea through several channels; scarcely believing, yet, that Hannibal had passed the Pyrenean mountains. But when he learned that he was, even then, employed in preparations for passing the Rhone, being unable to determine in what place he might meet him, and his men being not yet sufficiently recovered from the fatigue of the voyage, he despatched three hundred chosen horsemen, guided by some Massilians and auxiliary Gauls, to gain information of every particular, and to take a view of the enemy, without danger. Hannibal procuring, either by threats or presents, an unmolested passage through the other provinces, had arrived at the country of the Volcæ, a powerful state. These possessed territories on both sides of the Rhone, but, doubting their ability to repel the Carthaginian from the country on the hither side, in order to avail themselves of the river as a defence, they had transported almost all their effects beyond it, and were ready in arms to defend the opposite bank. Hannibal, by means of presents, prevailed on the inhabitants of the other districts contiguous to the river, and even on those of that very state, who staid in their own habitations, to collect ships from every quarter, and to build others; themselves being desirous that his army should be transported, and their country freed, as speedily as might be, from the burthen of such a multitude of men. A vast number of vessels therefore were brought together, and boats rudely constructed for the purpose of short passages. Others were formed by hollowing single trees, the Gauls first showing the way; and afterwards the soldiers themselves, encouraged

by the plenty of timber, and likewise by the easiness of the work, hastily formed clumsy hulks to transport themselves and their effects, regardless of every other circumstance, provided they would but float, and contain a burthen.

And now, when all preparatory measures for effecting their passage were completed, the enemy, on the farther side, threatened them with violent oppression, covering the whole bank with horse and foot. But in order to remove these out of his way, Hannibal ordered Hanno, son of Bomilcar, to set out by night, at the first watch, with a body of forces composed mostly of Spaniards, to march up the river to the distance of one day's journey, and then crossing it, as secretly as possible, to lead round his detachment with all expedition, that he might fall on the rear of the enemy when so required. The Gauls, who were given him as guides on the occasion, informed him that, at the distance of about twenty-five miles above that place, the river, spreading round a small island, showed the passage, where it divided itself, broader, and the channel consequently shallower. At this place, felling timber with the utmost haste, they formed rafts for carrying over the men, horses, and other weighty matters. As to the Spaniards, they took no trouble about any means of conveyance, but thrusting their clothes into leathern bags, and resting their bodies on their bucklers placed under them, swam over the river. The rest of the troops, having also passed over on the rafts joined together, they encamped near the river, and being fatigued by the march during the night, and by the labour of the work, refreshed themselves with rest for one day, while their leader was earnestly studying how to execute the design in proper season. Next day, having marched from thence, they made a signal, by raising a smoke, that they had effected their passage, and were not far distant; which being perceived by Hannibal, he gave the signal for his troops to pass the river. The infantry had the boats equipped and in readiness, and a line of larger vessels, with the horsemen, most of whom had their horses swimming near them, crossed higher up the river, in order to break the force of the current, and thereby render the water smooth for the boats passing below. The horses for the most part were led

after the sterns by collars, those only excepted which had been put on board the ships bridled and accoutred, in order that the riders, on their landing, might have them ready for instant use.

The Gauls ran down the bank to meet them, with various kinds of cries and songs, according to their custom, tossing their shields above their heads, and with their right hands brandishing their javelins, notwithstanding the terrible appearance of such a vast number of ships, together with the loud roaring of the river, and the confused clamours of the mariners and soldiers, both of those who were struggling to force their way through the violent current, and of those who, from the opposite bank, encouraged their friends on their passage. While they saw sufficient cause of terror on their front, a more terrifying shout assailed them from behind, where their camp was taken by Hanno. Presently he came up; so that they were encompassed by dangers; such a vast number of soldiers being brought by the ships, and another army quite unexpected pressing on their rear. The Gauls finding that, instead of being the assailants as they had intended, they were even driven from their own ground, made off hastily through the clearest opening that they could find, and in the utmost confusion dispersed to their several towns. Hannibal now looked with contempt on the boisterous menaces of this people, and bringing over the rest of his forces at leisure, encamped on the spot. Various plans, I should suppose, were projected for conveying the elephants across the river, at least the accounts transmitted of the manner in which it was performed are various. Some relate, that being brought all together to the river side, the fiercest among them was provoked to anger by his keeper, who pursued him by swimming as he fled into the water: that this drew down the rest of the herd; and that each, as soon as he lost the bottom, was by the mere force of the stream hurried to the opposite bank. But it is more generally agreed, that they were carried over on rafts; and as this must have appeared the safer method, it is now more easy to believe, that the business was so effected. One raft, of two hundred feet in length and fifty in breadth, was extended from the bank into the river, the upper part of it being firmly fas-

tened to the shore with several strong cables, to prevent its being carried down with the stream, and this was covered with a layer of earth like a bridge, in order that the beasts might without fear, walk on it as on solid ground. Another raft of equal breadth, and one hundred feet long, was fastened to this, and when the elephants, being driven over the fixed raft as on a road, the females going foremost, passed over to the smaller one which was joined to it, then the ropes with which this latter had been slightly tied were instantly loosed, and it was towed away by several light vessels to the other bank. When the first were thus landed, it was brought back for the rest. As long as they were driven, as it were, on a bridge connected with the land, they showed no signs of fear: they first began to be frightened when, the raft being set loose, they were separated from the rest, and dragged into the deep: then pressing close on one another, as those on the outside drew back from the water, they occasioned a good deal of disorder; but terrified by seeing the water on every side of them, they soon became quiet. Some indeed, becoming outrageous, tumbled into the river, but their own weight rendering them steady, though their riders were thrown off, they cautiously searched out the shallow parts, and came safe to land.

ROMANS WIN CAVALRY FIGHT

While thus employed in transporting the elephants, Hannibal had despatched five hundred Numidian horsemen towards the camp of the Romans, to discover where they lay, what were their numbers, and, if possible, what their designs. This detachment of cavalry was met by the three hundred Roman horse, sent, as mentioned above, from the mouth of the Rhone. A battle ensued, more furious than common, between such small numbers: for, besides many wounds, there was a great loss of lives, nearly equal on both sides, and it was not until the Romans were thoroughly fatigued, that the dismay and flight of the Numidians yielded them the victory. On the side of the conquerors fell one hundred and sixty, not all Romans however, some of them being Gauls; and of the vanquished more than two hundred. As this prelude, and omen

likewise of the war, portended to the Romans a favourable issue on the whole, so did it a victory not unbloody, nor to be purchased without a dangerous struggle. After this action, the parties returned to their respective commanders. On the one hand, Scipio could form no determination, farther than to regulate his measures by the designs and proceedings of the enemy; and, on the other, Hannibal was in doubt, whether he should continue his march into Italy without intermission, or come to an engagement with the first Roman army that threw itself in his way. However, from the thoughts of an immediate engagement he was diverted by the arrival of ambassadors from the Boians, and of a chieftain called Magalus, who, assuring him that they would be his guides on the march, and companions in the dangers, recommended him to reserve the first essay of his entire force for the attack of Italy, and not previously, to hazard any diminution of his strength. His troops feared indeed the enemy, for the memory of the former war was not yet obliterated; but much more did they dread the extreme difficulty of the march, and the passage of the Alps, a matter exceedingly formidable, at least by report, and to people unacquainted with those mountains.

HANNIBAL CROSSES THE ALPS

Hannibal, therefore, as soon as he had determined to proceed forward, and direct his operations against Italy, called an assembly of the soldiers, and endeavoured, by the different methods of reproof and exhortation, to mould their minds to his purpose. "He wondered," he said, "what sudden terror could have taken possession of breasts hitherto always undaunted. During such a number of years in which they carried arms, they were constantly victorious; nor had left Spain until all the nations and countries comprehended between the two opposite seas were under subjection to Carthage. Then, seized with indignation at the Roman people demanding that every person, concerned in the siege of Saguntum, should be delivered into their hands as criminals, they had passed the Iberus, resolved to exterminate the Roman race, and to set the world at liberty. No one, at that time, thought the march

too long, though they were to continue it from the setting place of the sun to that of its rising. Now, when they saw by far the greater part of the journey accomplished, after conquering the obstructions of the Pyrenean forests, in the midst of the fiercest nations; after effecting their passage over so great a river as the Rhone, in the face of so many thousands of Gauls opposing them; nay, when they had the Alps within view, the other side of which was a part of Italy, just in the gates of their enemy's country, they grew weary and halted—Was it that they conceived the Alps to be any thing more than high mountains? Suppose them higher than the summits of the Pyrenees: surely no part of the earth reached to the heaven, nor was of a height insuperable by mankind. These eminences in reality were inhabited, cultivated, produced and supported animals. Were they passable by small parties, and impassable by armies? Those very ambassadors, before their eyes, had not been carried aloft on wings over the Alps. Neither had their ancestors been natives of the soil, but settlers, who came from other countries into Italy, and who crossed with safety those same hills, often in vast bodies, with their wives and children, as other colonies emigrate. To a soldier carrying nothing with him but the implements of war, what could be impassable or insuperable? In order to gain possession of Saguntum, what toils, what dangers did they not undergo, for the space of eight months? Now, when their object was Rome, the capital of the world, what difficulty or danger should be deemed capable of retarding the enterprise? The Gauls formerly made themselves masters of those places which the Carthaginians despaired of approaching. Either, therefore, they must yield the superiority in spirit and courage to that nation, which, during a short time past, they had so frequently overcome; or they must look for the termination of their march, in the field lying between the Tiber and the walls of Rome."

When by these exhortations he had re-animated their courage, he ordered them to take refreshment, and prepare for a march. On the following day, he proceeded upwards along the bank of the Rhone, directing his route towards the interior parts of Gaul; not because that was the more direct road

to the Alps, but because he thought that the farther he withdrew from the sea, the less probability there would be of his meeting with the Romans, with whom he did not intend to come to battle, until he should have arrived in Italy. After a march of four days, he came to the Island. Here the rivers Isara and Rhone, which run down from different parts of the Alps, after encompassing a pretty large tract of ground, unite their streams, and the plain enclosed between them is called the Island. The adjacent country is inhabited by the Allobroges, a nation, even in those times, inferior to none in Gaul in power and reputation, but at that juncture weakened by discord. Two brothers disputed the sovereignty. The elder, who had been invested with the government, by name Brancus, was dispossessed by the younger brother, and a combination of the younger men; on which side, though there was less justice, there was more strength. Most opportunely, the parties in this dissension referred their pretensions to the judgment of Hannibal, who being appointed arbitrator of the disputed sovereignty, gave a decision agreeable to the sense of the senate, and of the principal men in the state: that the government should be restored to the elder. In requital of which favour, he was assisted with a supply of provisions, and plenty of all kind of necessaries, particularly of clothing, which the terrible accounts of the cold of the higher regions made it necessary to provide. After settling the disputes of the Allobroges, though now bent on proceeding to the Alps, he took not the direct road thither, but turned to the left into the country of the Tricastines: thence, through the extreme boundaries of the Vocontian territory, he advanced into that of the Tricorians, meeting no obstruction until he came to the river Druentia. This also, deriving its source from the Alps, is, of all the rivers in Gaul, the most difficult to pass; for, though conveying a vast body of water, it admits not the use of ships; because, being confined by no banks, it flows in several, and not always the same channels, continually forming new shallows, and new whirlpools, so that a person is in danger of missing his way; and besides, rolling down loose gritty stones, the footing is unsteady. Happening too, at that time, to be swelled by rains, it caused the utmost disorder among the

troops on their passage, and which was much increased by their own hurry and confused clamours.

In about three days after Hannibal's moving from the bank of the Rhone, the consul Publius Cornelius [Scipio] had come with his forces, in order of battle, to the camp of the enemy, intending to fight them without delay. But finding the fortifications abandoned, and concluding that, as they had got the start of him so far, it would be difficult to overtake them, he marched back to the sea, where his ships lay; for he judged that he might thus with greater ease and safety meet Hannibal on his descent from the Alps. However, not to leave Spain, the province which the lots had assigned to his care, destitute of the aid of Roman troops, he sent his brother Cneius Scipio, with the greater part of his forces, against Hasdrubal, with the expectation not merely of protecting old allies, and acquiring new, but of driving him out of Spain. He himself, with a very small force, repaired to Genoa, proposing, with the army which was stationed on the Po, to provide for the security of Italy. From the Druentia, Hannibal, passing through a tract in general level, without any molestation from the Gauls inhabiting those regions, arrived at the Alps. And now, notwithstanding that the men had already conceived notions of the scene from report, which, in cases capable of misrepresentation, generally goes beyond the truth, yet the present view exhibited such objects as renewed all their terrors; the height of the mountains, the snows almost touching the sky, the wretched huts standing on the cliffs, the cattle and beasts shivering with the cold, the people squalid and in uncouth dress, all things, in short, animate and inanimate, stiffened with frost, besides other circumstances more shocking to the sight than can be represented in words. As they marched up the first acclivities, they beheld the eminences which hung over them covered with parties of the mountaineers, who, if they had posted themselves in the valleys out of view, and, rushing out suddenly, had made an unexpected attack, must have occasioned the most terrible havoc and dismay. Hannibal commanded the troops to halt, and having discovered from some Gauls, whom he sent forward to examine the ground, that there was no passage on

that side, encamped in the widest valley which he could find, where the whole circuit around consisted of rocks and precipices. Then, having gained intelligence by means of the same Gauls, (who differed not much from the others in language or manners, and who had entered into conversation with them,) that the pass was blocked up only by day, and that, at night, they separated to their several dwellings, he advanced at the first dawn to the eminences, as if with the design of forcing his way through the pass. This feint he carried on through the whole day, his men at the same time fortifying a camp in the spot where they were drawn up. As soon as he understood that the mountaineers had retired from the heights, and withdrawn their guards, he made, for a show, a greater number of fires than was proportioned to the troops who remained in the camp, and, leaving behind the baggage, with the cavalry and the greater part of the infantry, he himself, with a light-armed band, composed of the most daring men in the army, pushed rapidly through the pass, and took post on the very eminences of which the enemy had been in possession.

At the first dawn of the next day, the rest of the army began to march forward. By this time the mountaineers, on a signal given, were coming together out of their fortresses to their usual station; when, on a sudden, they perceived a part of the enemy over their heads in possession of their own strong post, and the rest passing along the road. Both these circumstances striking them at once, they were for some time incapable of thought, or of turning their eyes to any other object. Afterwards, when they observed the confusion in the pass, and that the body of the enemy was disordered on their march, by the hurry among themselves, and particularly by the unruliness of the affrighted horses, it was imagined that, to augment in any degree the terror under which they already laboured, were effectually to destroy them: they therefore ran down the rocks in an oblique direction through pathless and circuitous ways, which habitual practice rendered easy to them: and now the Carthaginians had to contend at once, with the Gauls and the disadvantage of the ground; and there was a greater struggle among themselves than with the enemy,

for every one strove to get first out of danger. But the greatest disorder was occasioned by the horses, which affrighted at the dissonant clamours, multiplied by the echoes from the woods and valleys, became nearly unmanageable; and when they happened to receive a stroke or a wound, grew so unruly as to overthrow numbers of men, and heaps of baggage of all sorts; and as there were abrupt precipices on each side of the pass, their violence cast down many to an immense depth, so that the fall of such great masses produced a dreadful effect. Although these were shocking sights to Hannibal, yet he kept his place for a while, and restrained the troops that were with him, lest he should increase the tumult and confusion. Afterwards seeing the line of the enemy broken, and that there was danger of their being wholly deprived of their baggage, in which case the effecting of their passage would answer no purpose, he hastened down from the higher ground; and while, by the mere rapidity of the motion, he dispersed the forces of the enemy, he at the same time increased the confusion among his own. But this, when the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers, was instantly remedied, and the whole army was soon brought through the pass not only without disturbance, but almost without noise. He then seized a fort, which was the capital of that district, and several villages that lay round it, and fed his army for three days with cattle taken from the fugitives. During these three days, as he was not incommoded by the mountaineers, nor much by the nature of the ground, he made a considerable progress in his march.

He then reached the territory of another state, which was thickly inhabited for a mountainous country: there, he was very near suffering a defeat, not by open force, but by his own arts, treachery, and ambush. Some men of advanced age, governors of their forts, came to the Carthaginian as ambassadors, with humble representations, that "as the calamities of others had afforded them a profitable lesson, they wished to make trial of the friendship, rather than of the strength of the Carthaginians. That they were, therefore, resolved to yield obedience to all his commands, and requested him to accept of provisions and guides on his march, and hostages to

insure the performance of their engagements." Hannibal neither hastily crediting, nor yet slighting their offers, lest, if rejected, they might declare openly against him, after returning a favourable answer, accepted the hostages, and made use of the provisions which they had, of their own accord, brought to the road: but followed the guides, not as through a friendly country, but with the strictest order in his march. The elephants and cavalry composed the van, and he himself followed with the main body of the infantry, carefully inspecting every particular. On their coming into a road narrower than the rest, confined, on one side, by an impending hill, the barbarians rising up on all sides from places where they had lain concealed, assailed them in front and rear, in close and in distant fight, rolling down also huge rocks on the troops. The most numerous body pressed on the rear. There, the main force of infantry was ready to oppose them; but had not that been very strong, it must undoubtedly, in such a difficult pass, have suffered very great loss; even as the case stood, it was brought to the extremity of danger, and almost to destruction. For whilst Hannibal hesitated to lead down his horsemen into the narrow road, though he had left no kind of support at the back of the infantry, the mountaineers, rushing across and breaking through between the two divisions of the army, took possession of the pass, and Hannibal spent one night separated from his cavalry and baggage.

Next day, the barbarians having relaxed the violence of their attacks in the centre, the troops were re-united, and carried through the defile, but not without loss; the destruction, however, was greater among the beasts of burthen than among the men. Thence forward, the mountaineers made their attacks in small parties, more like robbers than an army; at one time, on the van; at another, on the rear; just as the ground happened to afford them an advantage, or as stragglers advancing before the rest, or staying behind, gave them an opportunity. As the driving the elephants through the narrow roads, even with all the haste that could be made, occasioned much loss of time, so wherever they went, they effectually secured the troops from the enemy, who being unaccustomed to such creatures, dared not to come near them.

On the ninth day the army completed the ascent to the summit of the Alps, mostly through pathless tracts and wrong roads, into which they had been led, either by the treachery of their guides, or, when these were not trusted, rashly, on the strength of their own conjectures, following the courses of the valleys. On the summit they remained encamped two days, in order to refresh the soldiers, who were spent with toil and fighting; and, in this time, several of the beasts, which had fallen among the rocks, following the tracts of the army, came into the camp. Tired as the troops were, of struggling so long with hardships, they found their terrors very much increased by a fall of snow, this being the season of the setting of the constellation of the Pleiades.¹ The troops were put in motion with the first light; and as they marched slowly over ground which was entirely covered with snow, dejection and despair being strongly marked in every face, Hannibal went forward before the standards, and ordering the soldiers to halt on a projecting eminence, from which there was a wide extending prospect, made them take a view of Italy, and of the plains about the Po, stretching along the foot of the mountains; then told them, that "they were now scaling the walls, not only of Italy, but of the city of Rome. That all the rest would be plain and smooth, and after one, or, at most, a second battle, they would have the bulwark and capital of Italy in their power and disposal." The army then began to advance, the enemy now desisting from any farther attempts on them, except by trifling parties for pillaging, as opportunity offered. But the way was much more difficult than it had been in the ascent; the declivity, on the Italian side of the Alps, being, in most places, shorter, and consequently more perpendicular; while the whole way was narrow and slippery, so that the soldiers could not prevent their feet from sliding, nor, if they made the least false step, could they, on falling, stop themselves in the place; and thus men and beasts tumbled promiscuously over one another.

They then came to a ridge much narrower than the others, and composed of rocks so upright, that a light-armed soldier,

¹ The beginning of November.

making the trial, could with much difficulty, by laying hold of bushes and roots, which appeared here and there, accomplish the descent. In this place the precipice, originally great, had by a late falling away of the earth, been increased to the depth of at least one thousand feet. Here the cavalry stopped, as if at the end of their journey, and Hannibal wondering what could be the cause of the troops halting, was told that the cliff was impassable. Then going up himself to view the place, it seemed clear to him that he must lead his army in a circuit, though ever so great, and through tracts never trodden before. That way, however, was found to be impracticable. The old snow, indeed, had become hard, and being covered with the new of a moderate depth, the men found good footing as they walked through it; but when that was dissolved by the treading of so many men and beasts, they then trod on the naked ice below. Here they were much impeded, because the foot could take no hold on the smooth ice, and was besides the more apt to slip, on account of the declivity of the ground; and whenever they attempted to rise, either by aid of the hands or knees, these slipping, they fell again; add to this, that there were neither stumps nor roots within reach, on which they could lean for support; so that they wallowed in the melted snow on one entire surface of slippery ice. This the cattle sometimes penetrated as soon as their feet reached the lower bed, and sometimes, when they lost their footing, by striking more strongly with their hoofs in striving to keep themselves up, they broke it entirely through; so that the greatest part of them, as if caught in traps, stuck fast in the hard and deep ice.

At length, after men and beasts were heartily fatigued to no purpose, they fixed a camp on the summit, having with very great difficulty cleared even the ground which that required, so great was the quantity of snow to be dug and carried off. The soldiers were then employed to make a way down the steep, through which alone it was possible to effect a passage; and, as it was necessary to break the mass, they felled and lopped a number of huge trees which stood near; which they raised into a vast pile, and as soon as a smart wind arose, to forward the kindling of it, set it on

fire, and then, when the stone was violently heated, made it crumble to pieces by pouring on vinegar. When the rock was thus disjoined, by the power of the heat, they opened a way through it with iron instruments, and inclined the descents in such a manner, that not only the beasts of burthen, but even the elephants, could be brought down. Four days were spent about this rock, during which the cattle were nearly destroyed by hunger; for the summits are, for the most part, bare, and whatever little pasture there might have been was covered by the snow. In the lower parts are valleys and some hills, which, enjoying the benefit of the sun, with rivulets at the side of the woods, are better suited to become the residence of human beings. There the horses were sent out to pasture, and the men, fatigued with their labour on the road, allowed to rest for three days. They then descended into the plains, where the climate, and likewise the temper of the inhabitants, were of a still milder cast.

In this manner, as nearly as can be ascertained, they accomplished their passage into Italy, in the fifth month, according to some authors, after leaving New Carthage, having spent fifteen days in crossing the Alps. As to what number of forces Hannibal had when he arrived in Italy, writers by no means agree. Those who state them at the highest make them amount to one hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse; while those who state them at the lowest say twenty thousand foot, and six of horse. The authority of Lucius Cincius Alimentus, who writes that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would have the greatest weight with me, did he not confound the number, by adding the Gauls and Ligurians. He says that, including these, (who it is more probable, however, flocked to him afterwards, and so some writers assert,) there were brought into Italy eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse; and that he heard from Hannibal himself, that from the time of his passing the Rhone, he had lost thirty-six thousand men, together with a vast number of horses, and other beasts of burthen, before he left the country of the Taurinians, the next nation to the Gauls, as he went down into Italy. That he came through this state, is agreed on by all. I am therefore the more surprised at its remaining

doubtful by what road he crossed the Alps; and that the opinion should commonly prevail, that he passed over the Pennine hill, and that from thence that summit of these mountains got its name. Cœlius says, that he passed over the hill of Cremo. Either of these passes would have led him, not into the territory of the Taurinians, but through that of the mountaineers, called Salassians, to the Libuan Gauls. Nor is it probable that those roads into hither Gaul should, at that time, have been open: those, especially, which led to the Pennine hill would have been blocked up by nations half German. And besides, if the assertions of the inhabitants be admitted as an argument of any weight, it must be allowed, that the Veragrians, the inhabitants of that very hill, deny that the name was given to these mountains from any passage of the Carthaginians, and allege that it was so named from a person, called by the mountaineers Penninus, worshipped as a divinity on the highest top.

SCIPIO ADVANCES AGAINST HANNIBAL

Hannibal had now a favourable opportunity for commencing his operations; the Taurinians, the nation lying nearest in his way, being at war with the Insubrians. But he could not put his forces under arms to assist either party, because they now felt most sensibly, while endeavouring to remedy them, the maladies which they had before contracted. For rest after toil, plenty after scarcity, and care of their persons after a course of filth and nastiness, produced little effect in the various disorders of those whose bodies were grown squalid and filthy to a degree of brutality. This consideration induced the consul Publius Cornelius [Scipio], as soon as he arrived with the fleet at Pisæ, though the army which he received from Manlius and Atilius was composed of raw troops, and dispirited by their late disgrace, to hasten to the Po, in order that he might engage the enemy before he should recover his vigour. But by the time the consul came to Placentia, Hannibal had moved from his post, and had taken by storm a city of the Taurinians, the metropolis of the nation, because it had refused an offer of his friendship; and he would have drawn over to his side, either by their fears or inclina-

tions, all the Gauls dwelling near the Po, had not the sudden arrival of Cornelius, when they were watching for an occasion of revolting, put a stop to their measures. Hannibal likewise advanced towards them from the country of the Taurinians, in expectation that, as they had not yet resolved what party they would join, his presence might determine them in his favour. The armies were now almost within view of each other, and the leaders, though not yet thoroughly acquainted, brought with them a degree of mutual admiration: for the name of Hannibal, even before the destruction of Saguntum, was highly famed among the Romans; and the very circumstance of Scipio having been particularly chosen for the command, supposed him a person of extraordinary merit. They were exalted still higher in each other's opinion: Scipio, by the celebrity with which, though left behind in Gaul, he had met Hannibal at his coming down into Italy: Hannibal, by having not only formed but executed the daring design of passing over the Alps. Scipio, however, first crossed the Po, and removed his camp to the river Ticinus; where, wishing to encourage his soldiers before he led them out to battle, he addressed them in a speech to this effect.

SCIPIO ADDRESSES HIS TROOPS

“Soldiers, if I were marching to battle at the head of the army which I had with me in Gaul, I should have thought it needless to use any words to you: for why exhort either those horsemen, who, without difficulty defeated the enemy's cavalry at the river Rhone; or those legions, with whom I pursued this same enemy, and obtained, by their refusing to fight, and actually flying before us, an acknowledgment of victory? In the present state of things, as that army, which was enlisted for the province of Spain, is employed with my brother Cneius Scipio, under my auspices, in the place where it was the will of the senate, and people of Rome, that it should be employed; and that I, in order that you might have a consul to lead you against Hannibal and the Carthaginians, have taken a voluntary part in this contest: as a new commander, I think it requisite to speak a few words to soldiers who are

new to me. Now that you should not be unacquainted either with the nature of the war, or with the enemy; know, soldiers, that you are to fight against men whom, in the former war, you conquered both on land and sea; from whom you have exacted tribute for twenty years past; from whom you took, and still hold, Sicily and Sardinia, the prizes of your victory. In the present dispute, consequently, the spirit of the parties will be—yours, that of the conquerors; theirs, that of men conquered. Nor is it confidence, but necessity, which now prompts them to fight: unless you suppose, that those, who avoid fighting, when their force was entire, have acquired greater confidence, after the loss of two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry, in the passage over the Alps; after greater numbers have perished than survived. But it may be said, they are few indeed, but vigorous in mind and body, having a power and strength no force can withstand. On the contrary, they are but the resemblance, mere shadows of men, rendered lifeless by hunger, cold, filth, and nastiness: battered and disabled among the rocks and precipices. Add to this, their joints benumbed, their sinews stiffened, their limbs shrivelled by the frost, their armour shattered and broken, their horses lamed and enfeebled. Such is the infantry, such the cavalry, with whom you are to fight. You will have to deal, not with enemies, but the remains of enemies. And nothing do I fear more, than lest, before you come to battle, the Alps may appear to have conquered Hannibal. But perhaps it was right that it should be so; that, against a nation and commander, guilty of a breach of treaties, the gods themselves should commence the war, and break the force of the enemy; and that we who, next to the gods, were the party injured, should then take it up, and carry it on to a conclusion.

“In what I say on this head, I am not afraid of being suspected of ostentatious boasting, for the purpose of encouraging you, while my real sentiments are different. I might have proceeded with my army into Spain, my own province, to which I had gone part of the way; where I should have had my brother to assist me in council, and to share the danger; and, instead of Hannibal, I should have had Hasdrubal to contend with; and, certainly, a less difficult war to manage.

Nevertheless, as I sailed along the coast of Gaul, having heard of the approach of this enemy, I landed, sent forward my cavalry, and moved my camp to the Rhone. In a battle, fought by the cavalry, the only part of my forces which had an opportunity of fighting, the enemy was routed; and because I could not, on land, overtake their body of infantry, which was carried away with all the rapidity of flight, I returned to my ships, and with the utmost expedition that I could make, through such a long circuit by sea and land, I have met him at the foot of the Alps. Now, whether do I appear to have fallen in unawares with this formidable foe, while I wished to decline the contest with him, or to have designedly thrown myself in the way of his route, to challenge and force him to a trial of strength? I feel a strong desire to try whether, in these twenty years past, the earth has all at once produced a new breed of Carthaginians; or whether they are the same with those who fought at the islands Ægates, whom you ransomed at Eryx at a valuation of eighteen denarii [\$3.] a head; and whether this Hannibal be, as he represents himself, another Hercules, equally renowned for his expeditions; or one left by his father, a subject, a tributary, and slave to the Roman people; who, if he were not struck with madness, as a punishment for the guilt of his behaviour at Saguntum, would reflect, if not on the conquest of his country, at least on the acts of his own family; on his father, on the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar; who, in obedience to the commands of our consul, withdrew his forces from Eryx: who, agitated with extreme sorrow, accepted the burthensome conditions imposed on the conquered Carthaginians, and signed an engagement to evacuate Sicily, and to pay tribute to the Roman people. Wherefore, soldiers, I wish that you may fight, not only with the same spirit which you usually show against other foes, but with a degree of resentment and indignation, as if you saw your own slaves suddenly taking arms against you. We might have kept them shut up at Eryx, until they perished with hunger, the severest suffering that man can undergo; we might have carried over our victorious fleet to Africa; and in the space of a few days, without opposition, have demolished Carthage. At their supplications, we granted

pardon: we gave them liberty to depart from the place where we held them confined; after conquering them, we made peace with them; afterwards, when they were distressed by a war in Africa, we considered them as entitled to our protection. In return for these favours, they follow the lead of a hot-brained youth, and come to invade the country. I wish, that on our side, the contest was merely for glory, and not for safety. We are not to fight about the possession of Sicily and Sardinia, the subjects of the former dispute, but in defence of Italy; neither is there another army behind us, which, if we fail to conquer, might withstand the enemy; nor are there other Alps, during his passage over which new forces might be procured. Here, soldiers, we must make a stand, as if we were fighting under the walls of Rome. Let every one persuade himself, that he is protecting with his arms, not only his own person, but his wife, and his infant children. Nor let him consider, solely, his own domestic concerns, but frequently reflect, that the senate and people of Rome look for safety at our hands; that our strength, and our courage, are now to determine, what will henceforth be the condition of that city and of the Roman empire."

HANNIBAL INCITES HIS SOLDIERS WITH BATTLE LUST

Thus, on the side of the Romans, was the consul employed. Hannibal, choosing to rouse the courage of his soldiers by the exhibition of facts before he made use of words, formed his troops in a circle, and then placed in the middle the prisoners taken on the mountains, bound in fetters; when, such arms as are used by the Gauls being thrown at their feet, he ordered an interpreter to ask, whether any of them were willing, on the condition of being released from bonds,—and, in case of proving victorious, of receiving each a horse and armour,—to hazard his life in a combat; they all, to a man, called for arms and the combat, and when lots were cast to single out the parties, every one wished himself to be the fortunate person who should be chosen for the trial: while he on whom it had fallen, dancing according to their custom, eagerly snatched up the arms, full of spirit, and exulting with joy, his compan-

ions congratulating him on his good fortune. While they were fighting, such were the sensations excited in the breasts, not only of their comrades, but of the spectators in general, that the fate of those who died bravely, was deemed not less happy than that of the successful combatants.

HANNIBAL ADDRESSES HIS TROOPS

The minds of his men being thus affected by the sight of several pairs of combatants, he dismissed the remainder; and then, summoned an assembly, addressed them, it is said, in the following manner: "If, soldiers, you form a judgment of your own circumstances, on the same principles which actuated you just now, on the exhibition of a case wherein others were concerned, we are conquerors. For that spectacle was not intended as a gratification to you, but a picture in some sort of your own situation. Indeed, I know not whether fortune has not imposed on you still stronger bonds, and a more powerful necessity, for using arms than on your prisoners. You are inclosed, on the right and left, by two seas, without so much as even a single ship to aid an escape: hemmed in on the front by the Po, a river larger and more violent than the Rhone; and behind by the Alps, which, in your full strength and vigour, you passed not without the utmost difficulty. Here, soldiers, where you have first met the enemy, you must conquer or die: and the same fortune which compels you to fight, holds out to you prizes of victory; greater than which, men seldom wish for at the hands of the immortal gods. Were we, by our bravery, to recover only Sicily and Sardinia, ravished from our fathers, these would be a very ample recompense. But whatever the Romans have acquired and amassed, in consequence of their numerous triumphs, the whole of this, together with the owners, is to become your property. Animated, then, by the prospect of so rich a spoil, take arms, with the favour of the gods. You have been, hitherto, employed in the pursuit of cattle through the waste mountains of Lusitania and Caltiberia, without any prospect of emolument from so many toils and dangers. It is now time to make profitable and rich campaigns; and that, after measuring such a length of way, through so many mountains and rivers, and so many

armed nations, you be at last abundantly rewarded for your labour. Here fortune has fixed the period of your toils; here, on your finishing your course of service, will she give you ample retribution. And do not imagine the victory to be as difficult, as the character of the war is important. Often has a despised enemy maintained a bloody contest, and renowned nations and kings been vanquished by exertions of very moderate force. For, setting aside singly the present splendour of the Roman name, in what one particular are they to be compared with you? Not to mention your service, for the last twenty years, performed with so great bravery and so great success, you have effected a march to this place from the pillars of Hercules, from the ocean, and the remotest limits of the world; opening your way, with your victorious arms, through so many of the fiercest nations of Spain and Gaul. You will now fight with an army of raw troops, who, during this very summer, were beaten, routed, and besieged by the Gauls; who, as yet, neither knew nor are known by their commanders. Ought I, if not born, at least educated, in the very tent of that most illustrious general my father; I, who have subdued both Spain and Gaul; the conqueror, likewise, not only of the Alpine tribes, but what is much more, of the Alps themselves; ought I to put myself in comparison with such a commander as theirs; a general of six months' standing, who ran away from his own army; to whom, if any one, taking away the ensigns from both, should show this day the Carthaginians, and the Romans, I am confident that he would not know of which army he was consul. On my part, soldiers, I esteem it a circumstance of no trivial import, that there is not one of you who has not often been an eye-witness of my performing some military exploit; and to whom, on the other hand, I cannot, as having been a spectator and witness of his bravery, recount his own honourable acts, with the marks of time and place. At the head of troops whom I have a thousand times honoured with praises and presents, I, who have been a pupil to you all, before I became your commander, shall enter the field against men unknowing and unknown to each other.

“On whatever side I turn my eyes I see spirit and firm-

ness; a veteran body of infantry, cavalry composed of the most gallant nations: you, our most brave and faithful allies, and you, Carthaginians, ready to fight in the cause of your country, and at the same time with the justest resentment. We are the assailants in the war, and are carrying an invasion into Italy; we shall fight, therefore, with so much the greater boldness and courage, as he who makes the attack, has ever more confidence and spirit than he who stands on the defensive. Besides, we are inflamed and stimulated by reflections on past sufferings, by injuries and indignities: for, first, they insisted, that I, your leader, should be delivered up to punishment, with every one concerned in the siege of Saguntum. Had we been put into their hands, there is no degree of torture which they would not have made us suffer. That nation, so unbounded are its cruelty and arrogance, would have the whole world at its disposal; thinks it has a right to impose regulations on us, and to prescribe with whom we are to have peace, with whom war; circumscribes and shuts us up within boundaries of mountains and rivers, which we must not pass; yet observes not itself the limits which it establishes. You must not pass the Iberus; you must not meddle with the Saguntines; Saguntum is on our side of the Iberus; you must not stir a foot. Is it not enough that you take Sicily and Sardinia, provinces which have been mine from the earliest times? Will you take Spain also? when I shall have retired thence, you will pass over into Africa. Will pass, did I say! of the two consuls of the present year they have sent one to Africa, the other to Spain. There is nothing left to us any where, unless we make good our claim by arms. They may be timid and dastardly, who can look for refuge behind them, who can fly through safe and quiet roads, and be received into their own territories and their own lands. For your part, necessity obliges you to be brave; and, since every mean between victory and death is sunk out of reach, you must resolve to conquer, or should fortune be unfavourable, to meet death in battle rather than in flight. If this determination be firmly fixed in every one of your breasts, I affirm again, you are conquerors. The immortal gods never gave to man a more invigorating incentive to conquest."

HANNIBAL WINS BATTLE AT THE RIVER TICINUS

The courage of the soldiers on both sides being animated to the contest by these exhortations, the Romans threw a bridge over the Ticinus, and erected a fort on it for its security. While they were employed in this work, the Carthaginian sent Maharbal, with a squadron of five hundred Numidian horse, to ravage the lands of the allies of the Roman people. He ordered him to spare the Gauls, as much as possible, and to endeavour, by persuasion, to bring over the chiefs to his side. When the bridge was finished, the Roman army marched over into the country of the Insubrians, and sat down at a distance of five miles from Victumviæ. At this place lay Hannibal's camp, who, perceiving the approach of a battle, hastily recalled Maharbal, and the horsemen, and thinking that he could never apply too many arguments and encouragements to inspirit his soldiers, called them to an assembly, with promises of several kinds of rewards to be conferred on them, that the certain hope of these might animate their exertions in the fight. "He would give them land," he told them, "in Italy, Africa, or Spain, wherever they should choose; exempt from all charges, to the person who should receive it, and to his children. Should any prefer money to land, he would give him an equivalent in silver. To such of the allies as wished to become citizens of Carthage, that privilege should be granted. With regard to those who chose rather to return to their native homes, he would take care that they should not have cause to wish for an exchange of situation with any one of their countrymen." To the slaves also who attended their masters he promised liberty; engaging to give the owners two slaves, in the room of each of these. Then, to give them full security for the performance of all this, holding in his left hand a lamb, and in his right hand a flint stone, he prayed to Jupiter and the rest of the gods, that if he did not fulfil these engagements, they would slay him, in like manner as he slew that lamb; and after this imprecation, he broke the animal's head with the stone. This had such an effect, that all the soldiers, as if they had now received the surety of the gods for the ratification of their hopes, and thinking that nothing

delayed the enjoyment of their wishes, but the battle not being begun, with one mind, and one voice, demanded the fight.

Nothing like the same alacrity appeared among the Romans, who, besides other matter, were dispirited by some late prodigies. A wolf had entered the camp, and after tearing such as he met, made his escape unhurt. A swarm of bees also had pitched on a tree, which hung over the general's tent. After expiating these prodigies, Scipio, at the head of his cavalry and light spearmen, set out towards the camp of the enemy, in order to discover, by a rear view of their forces, how great and of what kind they were; and was met by Hannibal, who had likewise advanced with his cavalry to reconnoitre the adjacent grounds. For some time neither party descried the other. Afterwards the dust being raised in thicker clouds by the moving of so many men and horses, gave notice of approaching enemies: both detachments halted, and made ready for battle. Scipio placed his spearmen and Gallic cavalry in front, keeping the Romans and the body of allies which accompanied him as a reserve. Hannibal drew the bridled cavalry into the centre, strengthening his wings with the Numidians. The shout was scarcely raised before the spearmen fled to the second line; then the battle was maintained by the cavalry, for a considerable time with doubtful success; but afterwards, in consequence of the confusion caused among the horses by the footmen being intermixed with them, many of the riders fell from their seats, and others, on seeing their friends surrounded and distressed, dismounted to assist them; so that the fight was now carried on mostly on foot, until the Numidians, posted on the wings, taking a small compass, showed themselves on the rear. This terrified and dismayed the Romans, whose fears were augmented by a wound received by the consul, who was rescued from farther danger by the speedy intervention of his son, just arrived at the age of maturity. This is the same youth, who is afterwards to enjoy the renown of terminating this war, and to receive the title of Africanus, on account of his glorious victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians. However, very few fled precipitately, except the spearmen, on whom the Numidians made the first charge. The rest formed

a compact body of cavalry; who, taking the consul into their centre, and covering him, not only with their arms, but with their bodies, without any disorder or precipitation in their retreat, brought him back to the camp. Coelius attributes the honour of saving the consul to a slave, by nation a Ligurian: but I rather wish the account to be true which gives it to his son; and so the fact is represented by most authors, and generally believed.

HANNIBAL CROSSES THE PO

Such was the first battle with Hannibal, in which it manifestly appeared that the Carthaginian was superior in cavalry; and consequently, that open plains, such as those between the Po and the Alps, were unfavourable to the Romans in their operations. Wherefore the consul, on the night following, ordering his men to prepare in silence for a march, decamped from the Ticinus, and hastened to the Po, in order that, before the rafts should be loosened, of which he had formed the bridge over that river, he might carry over his forces without tumult or interruption from the enemy's pursuit. They got as far as Placentia, before Hannibal received any certain information of their departure from the Ticinus. Nevertheless, he made prisoners six hundred men, who delayed on the hither bank, spending too much time in unbinding the raft. He could not pass over the bridge, because, as soon as the extremities were untied, the whole collection of rafts floated down with the current. Coelius relates, that Mago, with the cavalry and the Spanish infantry, immediately swam over the river; and that Hannibal himself led over the rest of the army, through fords somewhat higher up, forming the elephants in a line above them, to break the force of the current. These accounts can hardly gain credit with people acquainted with the river Po: for it is not credible, that the cavalry could stem such a violent current, without losing their arms and horses, even allowing that all the Spaniards were conveyed over on leathern bags inflated; besides, that it would have cost a circuit of many days' march to find fords in the Po, through which an army, heavily encumbered with bag-

gage, could make a passage. Those authors seem to me more worthy of credit, who relate, that, with difficulty, after two days' search, a place was found where a bridge of rafts could be constructed; and that over this the cavalry and light-armed Spaniards were sent forwards under Mago. While Hannibal, who waited on the same side of the river to give audience to embassies from the Gauls, was bringing over the heavy troops, Mago and his horsemen, in one day's march after passing the river, came up with the enemy at Placentia. In a few days after, Hannibal fortified a camp within six miles of Placentia; and next day, drawing up his forces in the enemy's view, offered them battle.

HANNIBAL WINS CAVALRY SKIRMISH AT THE RIVER TREBIA

On the night following, there was a violent outrage committed in the Roman camp by the auxiliary Gauls; which, however, was attended with greater tumult than loss of lives. A number of them, amounting to two thousand foot and two hundred horse, killing the guards at the gates, deserted to Hannibal. The Carthaginian received them with expressions of much kindness; and after animating their zeal by prospects of vast rewards, dismissed them to their respective states, to engage the rest of their countrymen in his interest. Scipio, apprehending that this outrage was a signal for a general revolt of the Gauls; and that, infected with the same treacherous spirit, they would run like madmen to arms, though still very ill of his wound, marched away in silence, at the fourth watch of the following night, toward the river Trebia, and removed his camp to higher grounds, and hills less advantageous to the operations of cavalry. His departure was not so secret, as at the Ticinus; Hannibal, therefore, sending on first the Numidians, afterwards all his cavalry, would have caused great disorder, at least in the rear of the army, had not the Numidians, out of their greediness for plunder, turned aside into the forsaken camp of the Romans. While searching narrowly every part of it, without finding any prize to compensate for the loss of time, they let the enemy slip out of their hands. Afterwards, coming within sight of the Ro-

mans, when they had already passed the Trebia, and were pitching their camp, they cut off a few, who loitered behind the rest on that side of the river. Scipio, unable to endure any longer the pain of his wound, which was exasperated by the rough motion in travelling, and at the same time judging it prudent to wait for his colleague, (for he had by this time heard that he was recalled from Sicily,) chose a spot near the river, which seemed the safest for a fixed station, and there fortified his camp. Hannibal took post at a small distance; and though he felt much joy at the success of his cavalry, yet finding no less cause of anxiety in the scarcity of necessaries, daily increasing as he marched through the enemy's country without magazines prepared, he sent a detachment to the small town of Clastidium, where the Romans had collected a large store of corn. Here, while the troops were preparing for an assault, a prospect offered of the town being betrayed to them, and accordingly the commander of the garrison, one Dasius, a Brundusian, for a bribe of no great amount, only four hundred pieces of gold [\$130], surrendered Clastidium to Hannibal. This served the Carthaginians as a granary, while they lay encamped on the Trebia. The prisoners, who fell into his hands on the surrender of the garrison, he treated without severity, being desirous that, at the commencement of his proceedings, a good opinion should be conceived of his clemency.

ROMAN NAVAL VICTORIES

While the operations of the land forces on the Trebia were at a stand, much was effected by land and sea, in and round Sicily, and the other islands adjacent to Italy, both by Sempronius the consul, and before his arrival. Of twenty quinqueremes, sent by the Carthaginians with one thousand soldiers, to ravage the coast of Italy, nine arrived at Liparæ, eight at the island of Vulcan, and three were driven by the current into the streight. As soon as these were seen from Messina, twelve ships were despatched by Hiero, king of Syracuse, who happened to be then in that city waiting for the Roman consul, and these took them without opposition,

and brought them into port to Messana. From the prisoners it was discovered that, besides the fleet of twenty ships to which they belonged, and which had been sent against Italy, another of thirty-five quinqueremes was on its way to Sicily, to rouse their ancient allies in their cause; that their principal object was the getting possession of Lilybæum, and it was the opinion of the prisoners that the same storm by which they had been dispersed, had driven the other fleet to the islands Ægates. This intelligence, just as he received it, the king despatched in a letter to Marcus Æmilius, the prætor, whose province Sicily was, and cautioned him to secure Lilybæum with a strong garrison. Immediately the lieutenants-general and tribunes, who were with the prætor, were sent off to the several states, with orders to keep their men attentive and alert in guarding their posts; and that, above all things, Lilybæum should be effectually secured. A proclamation was also published, that, besides every warlike preparation, the mariners¹ should bring on board the ships provisions for ten days ready dressed, so that no one should have any delay to prevent his embarking the moment the signal should be given; and that, through the whole extent of the coast, those stationed at the watch-towers should be vigilant in looking out for the approach of the enemy's fleet. In consequence of these precautions, notwithstanding that the Carthaginians purposely slackened the course of their ships, designing to reach Lilybæum a little before day, they were observed on their approach; for the moon shone through the whole night, and they came with their sails aloft; in the same instant the signal was made on the watch-towers, the alarm given in the town, and the men embarked in the ships; one half of the soldiers mounted guard on the walls and the gates, the other were on board the fleet. On the other hand, the Carthaginians perceived that preparations were made for their reception, remained until day-break at the mouth of their harbour, employing the intermediate time in taking down rigging, and fitting their ships for action. When day appeared, they drew back their fleet into the open sea, in order that they might

¹ Either the rowers and sailors, or the marines.

have room for fighting, and give the enemy's ships free egress from the harbour. Nor did the Romans decline an engagement, being emboldened by the recollection of their former successes near that very spot, and by confidence in the number and bravery of their men.

When they got into the open sea, the Romans showed a desire of coming up with the enemy, and trying their strength with them in close fight. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, wished to elude their attacks, to effect the business by skill, not by force, and to make it a contest by ships, not of men or arms; for there was on board their fleet an abundance of mariners, but a scarcity of soldiers, and when a ship was grappled, their number of fighting men to defend it was by no means equal to that of the enemy. This circumstance being discovered, the Romans assumed additional courage from the fulness of their numbers; and while the others were dispirited by their deficiency in that respect, seven Carthaginian ships were quickly surrounded, and the rest betook themselves to flight. In the captured ships, there were of soldiers and mariners one thousand seven hundred, among whom were three Carthaginian nobles. The Roman fleet without loss returned into the harbour, one ship only being bulged, and even that brought into port. Very soon after this battle, before those who were at Messana had heard of it, Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, came to that city. On his entering the streight, king Hiero, with a fleet completely equipped, sailed to meet him, and going from the royal galley on board that of the consul, congratulated him on his safe arrival with his ships and army. After praying for a successful and happy issue to his expedition into Sicily, he represented to him the state of the island and the attempt lately made by the Carthaginians, assuring him, that, as he had, in the early part of his life, supported the Roman people in the former war, so would he now, advanced as he was in years, support them still with the same degree of spirit; that he would, at his own expense, furnish the consul's legions, and the crews of his ships, with corn and clothing; and then, acquainting him that Lilybæum and all the maritime states were exposed to

imminent danger, he informed him that there were many to whom a revolution would be highly agreeable. For these reasons the consul judged that he ought without making any delay, to sail on directly to Lilybæum, whither he was accompanied by the king and his fleet. On their passage, they received the news of the fight of Lilybæum, of the discomfiture of the enemy, and the capture of their ships.

From Lilybæum, the consul, after dismissing king Hiero with his fleet, and leaving the prætor to defend the coast of Sicily, sailed over to the island of Melita, which was in the possession of the Carthaginians. Immediately on his arrival, Hamilcar, son of Gisgo, commander of the garrison, and somewhat less than two thousand soldiers, together with the town and the island, were surrendered into his hands. From thence he returned in a few days to Lilybæum, where all the prisoners taken by the consul, and by the prætor, except those who were of distinguished birth, were sold by public auction. When the consul thought that side of Sicily sufficiently secured, he sailed over to the islands of Vulcan, because there was a report that the Carthaginian fleet lay there; but he met with none at those islands, for it happened that they had already passed over to ravage the coast of Italy, and, after laying waste the territory of Vibo, were now threatening that city. When he was on his return to Sicily, he was informed of the descent made by the enemy on the territory of Vibo. Letters were at the same time delivered to him from the senate, containing an account of Hannibal's having entered Italy, and also orders to come to the support of his colleague with all possible expedition. So many objects demanding his attention at once, he instantly embarked his troops, and sent them by the upper sea to Ariminum; appointed Sextus Pomponius, lieutenant-general, with twenty ships of war, to defend the territory of Vibo and the sea-coast of Italy; made up a fleet of fifty sail for the prætor Marcus Æmilius; and, after settling the affairs in Sicily, sailed himself with ten ships along the coast of Italy to Ariminum, from whence he marched his army to the river Trebia, and formed a junction with his colleague.

SEMPRONIUS JOINS SCIPIO AND MAKES SUCCESSFUL RAID

And now, both the consuls and the whole of the Roman strength being opposed to Hannibal, afforded sufficient reason to suppose either that the Roman empire would be effectually protected by that force, or that there would be no room for any farther hopes. Nevertheless, Scipio, dispirited by the event of the battle between the cavalry, and by his own wound, wished to defer coming to action; while Sempronius, whose spirit had yet met no check, and who therefore possessed the greater confidence, was impatient of any delay. The lands between the Trebia and the Po were at that time inhabited by Gauls, who during this struggle between two such potent nations, showed no partiality to either party, evidently intending to court the favour of the conqueror. With this conduct the Romans were well satisfied, provided they kept themselves entirely quiet; but the Carthaginian was highly displeased, giving out that he had come thither on an invitation from the Gauls, to set them at liberty. In order to gratify his resentment on that account, and at the same time to maintain his troops with plunder, he ordered two thousand foot and one thousand horse, mostly Numidians, with some Gauls intermixed, to ravage the whole country, from thence onward to the banks of the Po. The Gauls, destitute of support, though they had hitherto kept their inclinations doubtful, being now compelled by necessity, declared against the authors of their sufferings in favour of those who were to avenge them; and sent ambassadors to the consul to implore the aid of the Romans for a country which was suffering severely, in consequence of the too faithful attachment of its inhabitants to the people of Rome. Scipio approved not either of the cause or of the season for undertaking it; for he doubted the sincerity of that people, both on account of many instances of treacherous behaviour, and particularly though the others through length of time might have been forgotten, on account of the recent perfidy of the Boians. Sempronius on the contrary, was of opinion, that it would be the strongest tie on the fidelity of the allies, to let them see that the first who stood in need of aid had

found protection. He then, while his colleague hesitated, despatched his own cavalry, joined by one thousand foot, mostly light spearmen, over the Trebia, to protect the lands of the Gauls. These falling unexpectedly on the enemy, while they were struggling in disorder, and most of them loaded with spoil, caused great consternation, slew many, and drove the rest flying before them to their camp. Though repulsed by the multitude which sallied out, yet, as soon as the rest of their party came up, they again renewed the fight. Success afterwards remained doubtful; sometimes they retreated, sometimes pursued; but though, at last, the advantages were equal on both sides, yet the honour of the victory was more generally attributed to the Romans.

But to no one did it appear more important and complete, than to the consul himself. He was transported with joy, at having obtained a victory with that part of the troops, which, under his associate, had been defeated. "The spirits of the soldiers," he said, "were now revived; nor was there any one, except his colleague, who wished a delay of action. He, more disordered in mind than in body, and reflecting on his wound, shuddered at the thoughts of fighting and of arms. But others ought not to sink into feebleness along with a sick man. For to what purpose was farther delay, or waste of time? What third consul or what other army was to be waited for? The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy, almost within sight of the city. Their designs did not aim at Sicily and Sardinia, which were taken from them, nor at the parts of Spain on this side of the Iberus, but at the expulsion of the Romans from the land of their fathers, from the soil in which they were born. What sighs would it draw from these," said he, "who were accustomed to carry war to the very walls of Carthage, if they were to see us, their offspring, at the head of consular armies, skulking within our camps in the heart of Italy; and a Carthaginian possessed of the dominion over the whole extent of country between the Alps and the Apennine?" In this manner did he argue, sitting with his colleague, and also at the head quarters, as if he were haranguing an assembly. He was, besides, incited to expeditious measures by the approach of the time of

the elections, for he feared lest the war should be protracted until the new consuls came into office; wishing, likewise, to secure the present opportunity, and while his colleague was indisposed, of engrossing to himself the whole of the glory. For these reasons, while Scipio remonstrated in vain, he issued orders to the soldiers to be ready for battle at a short warning. Hannibal, plainly perceiving what line of conduct would be more advantageous to the enemy, scarcely entertained any distant hope that the consuls would enter on any action without caution and foresight; but understanding, first from report, and afterwards from experience, that the temper of one of them was fiery and presumptuous, and supposing his presumption augmented by the success of the battle with the plundering party, he then made little doubt but that he should soon have an opportunity of coming to action—an occasion which he was earnestly solicitous to improve, while the troops of the enemy were raw, while the more able of their commanders was, by his wound, rendered incapable of exertion, and while the Gauls were disposed to act with vigour; for he well knew that these, whose number was very great, would follow him with the less zeal, in proportion as they were drawn away to a greater distance from home. Thus wishing for a speedy engagement, he intended, should any delay be given, to use every means to bring it about. The Gauls, whom he employed as spies, (because they were the better fitted for it, especially as men of that nation served in both camps,) brought intelligence that the Romans were prepared for battle; on which the Carthaginian began to look about for a place where he might form an ambuscade.

HANNIBAL ROUTS THE ROMANS AT THE RIVER TREBIA

In the middle, between the camps, ran a rivulet, whose banks were uncommonly steep; the adjacent ground was covered with such herbs as grew in marshes, with bushes and brambles, which usually overspread uncultivated ground. On examining the place himself, and finding it to be capable of concealing even horsemen, he said to Mago his brother,

“This is the spot which you must occupy. Choose out from the whole number of horse and foot an hundred men of each, and come with them to me at the first watch. It is now time to take refreshment.” Thus, the attending officers were dismissed. In some little time Mago, came with his chosen band, and Hannibal said, “I see you are very able men; but that you may be strong, not only in spirit, but in number, let each of you choose nine like yourselves out of the troops and companies; Mago will show you the place where you are to lie in wait. You will have to deal with an enemy who is blind with respect to these stratagems of war.” Having thus sent off this detachment of one thousand horse and one thousand foot under Mago, Hannibal ordered the Numidian cavalry to cross the river Trebia at the first light; to ride up to the enemy’s gates, and, discharging their weapons against their men on guard, to draw them out to battle, and then, as soon as the fight should be commenced, to retreat leisurely, and by that means draw them on to the other side of the river. These were his orders to the Numidians. To the other officers, both of cavalry and infantry, he gave directions to cause their men to take refreshment; and then, under arms, and with their horses accoutred, to wait the signal. On the alarm first given by the Numidians, Sempronius, eager for action, led out, first, all the cavalry, being full of confidence in that part of his force; then six thousand foot, and at last the whole body of infantry, to the ground previously fixed upon in the plan which he had adopted. It was then winter, and the weather snowy, in those places which lie between the Alps and the Appenine, and the cold was rendered exceedingly intense by the proximity of rivers and marshes. Besides this, both men and horses being drawn out in a hurry, without having first taken food, or used any precaution to guard against the intemperature of the air, were quite chilled, and as they approached the river, the more piercing were the blasts which assailed them. But having, in pursuit of the flying Numidians, entered the river, which by rain in the night was swelled so high as to reach their breasts, their bodies, on coming out, were all so perfectly benumbed, that they were scarcely capable of holding their

arms, and, as the day advanced, they also grew faint through hunger.

Meanwhile Hannibal's soldiers had fires made before their tents; oil was distributed to every company to lubricate their joints, and they had at leisure refreshed themselves with food. As soon, therefore, as intelligence was brought, that the enemy had passed the river, they took arms with sprightly vigour both of mind and body, and thus, advanced to battle. Hannibal placed in the van the Balearians and light-armed troops, amounting to about eight thousand; and, in a second line, his heavier-armed infantry, the main power and strength of his army. The flanks he covered with ten thousand cavalry: and, dividing the elephants, placed half of them on the extremity of each wing. The consul seeing his cavalry, who pressed the pursuit with disorderly haste, taken at a disadvantage by the Numidians suddenly turning upon them, recalled them by the signal for retreat, and posted them on the flanks of the foot. His army consisted of eighteen thousand Romans, twenty thousand of the allies and Latine confederates, besides the auxiliary troops of the Cenomanians, the only Gallic state that continued faithful to their cause. This was the force employed in that engagement. The battle was begun by the Balearians, who being too powerfully opposed by the legions, the light-armed troops were hastily drawn off to the wings; which circumstance proved the cause of the Roman cavalry being quickly overpowered: for being in number but four thousand, they had before been hardly able to maintain their ground against ten thousand; especially as they were fatigued, and the others mostly fresh; but now they were overwhelmed under a cloud as it were of javelins thrown by the Balearians. Besides this, the elephants, advancing in the extremities of the wings, so terrified the horses, as to occasion a general rout. The fight between infantry was maintained by an equality of spirit rather than of strength; for with respect to the latter, the Carthaginians had brought theirs fresh into the battle, invigorated by food; the Romans, on the contrary, were enfeebled by fasting and fatigue, and their limbs stiffened and benumbed with cold. They would, notwithstanding, have maintained their ground

by dint of courage, had the conflict rested solely between them and the infantry. But the Balearians, after the discomfiture of the cavalry, poured darts on their flanks, and the elephants had now made their way to the centre of the line of infantry; while Mago, with his Numidians, as soon as the army had passed by their lurking place without observing them, started up at once, and caused dreadful confusion and terror in the rear.

Encompassed by so many perils, the line, notwithstanding, stood for a long time unbroken, even (which was most surprising to all) by the attack of the elephants. The light infantry, stationed for that purpose, plying these briskly with iron javelins, made them turn back; and then, following them behind, darted their weapons into them, under the tails, in which part, the skin being softest, it is easy to wound them. When they were by these means put into disorder, and ready to vent their fury on their own party, Hannibal ordered them to be driven away from the centre towards the extremity of the left wing against the auxiliary Gauls. These they instantly put to open flight, which spread new terror among the Romans. They were now obliged to fight in the form of a circle; when about ten thousand of them, having no other means of escape, forced their way, with great slaughter, through the centre of the African line, which was composed of the Gallic auxiliaries; and, as they could neither return to their camp, from which they were shut out by the river, nor, by reason of the heavy rain, discover in what part they could assist their friends, they proceeded straight to Placentia. After this, several similar interruptions were made from all quarters, and those who pushed towards the river were either drowned in the eddies, or hesitating to enter the water, were cut off. Some, who, in their flight, dispersed themselves over the country, falling in with the tracks of the body of troops which had retreated, following them to Placentia; others, from their fears of the enemy, assumed boldness to attempt the stream, and, accomplishing their passage, arrived at the camp. The rain, mixed with snow, and the intolerable severity of the cold, destroyed great numbers of men and horses, and almost all the elephants. The Carthaginians con-

tinued the pursuit no further than the river Trebia, and returned to their camp so benumbed with the cold, as to be scarcely capable of feeling joy for the victory; insomuch that though, during the following night, the guard of the Roman camp, and a great part at least of their soldiers, passed the Trebia on rafts, the Carthaginians either perceived nothing of the matter through the noise made by the rain, or being, by weariness and wounds, disabled to move, pretended that they did not perceive it; and the enemy lying quiet, the consul Scipio led the troops in silence to Placentia, and thence across the Po to Cremona, lest the two armies, wintering in one colony, should be too great a burden.

HANNIBAL TAKES VICTUMVÆ

The news of the disaster caused such consternation in Rome, that people supposed the enemy would come directly to attack the city; and they could see no hope nor aid to enable them to repel an assault from the walls and gates. One consul had been defeated at the Ticinus, the other recalled from Sicily; and now that both the consuls, and two consular armies had been defeated, what other commanders, what other legions were there whom they could call to their support? While they were possessed by such desponding fears, the consul Sempronius arrived; for though the enemy's cavalry were scattered over the whole face of the country in search of plunder, yet he had passed through the midst of them with the utmost hazard, and with a greater degree of boldness than of prudence, or of hope either of escaping notice, or of being able to make resistance in case he was discovered. After holding the election of consul, the only business which rendered his presence particularly necessary at the time, he returned to his winter-quarters. The consuls elected were Cneius Servilius and Caius Flaminius. Even in their winter-quarters the Romans were not allowed to rest, the Numidian cavalry spreading themselves round on every side; the Celtiberians and Lusitanians doing the same, where the ground was too difficult for the horse; so that no provisions of any kind could be brought in, except what

were conveyed on the Po in ships. There was, near Placentia, a magazine fortified with strong works, and supplied with a numerous garrison. In hopes of gaining possession of this stronghold, Hannibal marched at the head of his cavalry and light infantry; and judging that the success of the enterprise would depend, principally, on the design being kept secret, made the attack by night; but he did not escape the vigilance of the guards, as a shout was instantly raised so loud that it was heard even at Placentia. In consequence of this, the consul came to the spot before day with his cavalry, having ordered the legions to follow in order of battle.¹ Meanwhile the action began between the cavalry, in which Hannibal being wounded, and retiring from the fight, his men became dispirited; and the defence of the fortress was effectually maintained. After this, taking but a few days to rest, and scarcely allowing time for his wound to be thoroughly healed, he set out to lay siege to Victumviæ. This had been fortified by the Romans for a magazine, in the time of the Gallic war. Afterwards, numbers of people, from all the neighbouring states, fixed their residence round it, made it a populous place, and at this juncture, fear of the enemy's depredations had driven into it the greater part of the country people. The multitude thus composed, being excited to a warmth of courage by the report of the gallant defence made by the garrison near Placentia, snatched up arms, and marched out to meet Hannibal. The parties engaged on the road, in the order of march, rather than of battle, and as there was, on one side, nothing more than a disorderly crowd, on the other a leader confident of his soldiers, and a soldiery confident of their leader, a number, not less than thirty-five thousand, was routed by a small party. Next day they capitulated, and received a garrison within their walls. They were then ordered to deliver up their arms, with which they had no sooner complied, than the signal was suddenly given to the conquerors to sack the city, as if taken by storm. Nor have

¹ *i. e.* the troops marched in the same order in which they were formed in the field of battle, the Velites in front, and then the Hastati, Principes, and Triarii, in their order.

writers, in cases of the like nature, mentioned any one calamity which was not suffered on this occasion: every outrage, which lust, cruelty, and inhuman insolence could dictate, being practised on those wretched people. Such were Hannibal's enterprises during the winter.

THE CARTHAGINIANS ARE HARASSED BY A STORM.

After this he gave rest to his troops, but not for any great length of time, only while the cold was intolerable. Upon the first and even uncertain appearance of spring, he left his winter quarters, and marched towards Etruria, determined, either by force or persuasion, to prevail on that nation to join him, as he had already managed the Gauls and Ligurians. As he was attempting to cross the Apennine, he was encountered by a storm so furious, that its effects almost equalled in severity the disasters of the Alps. The rain, which was attended with high wind, being driven directly into the men's faces, they at first halted, because they either must have cast away their arms, or, if they persisted to struggle forward, would be hurled round by the hurricane, and thrown on the ground. Afterwards, scarcely able to respire, they turned their backs to the wind, and for a while sat down. But now the whole atmosphere resounded with loud thunder, and lightning flashed between the tremendous peals, by which all were stunned, and reduced, by terror, nearly to a state of insensibility. At length the violence of the rain abating, and the fury of the wind increasing, the more necessary it was judged to pitch their camp on the very spot, where they had been surprised by the tempest. But this was, in a manner, beginning their toils anew. For neither could they well spread their canvass, nor fix the poles; and such tents as they did get raised, they could not keep standing, the wind tearing and sweeping off every thing in its way. And soon after, the water being raised aloft by the force of the wind, and congealed by the cold which prevailed above the summits of the mountains, came down in such a torrent of snowy hail, that the men, giving over all their endeavours, threw themselves flat on their faces, buried under, rather than protected by, their

coverings. This was followed by cold so intense, that when they wished to rise from among the wretched crowd of prostrated men and cattle, they were for a long time unable to effect it, their sinews being so stiffly frozen that they were scarcely able to bend their joints. In some time, when, after many efforts, they at length regained the power of motion, and recovered some degree of spirits, and when fires began to be kindled in a few places, every one who was unable to assist himself had recourse to the aid of others. Two days they remained in that spot, as if pent up by an enemy. Great numbers of men and cattle perished, and likewise seven of the elephants, which had survived the battle at the Trebia.

DRAWN BATTLE BETWEEN HANNIBAL AND SEMPRONIUS

Descending therefore from the Apennine, he directed his route back towards Placentia; and, having marched ten miles, pitched his camp. Next day he led out against the enemy twelve thousand foot, and five thousand horse. Nor did the consul Sempronius (for he had by this time returned from Rome) decline a battle; and, during that day, the armies lay encamped within three miles of each other. On the following, they fought with the greatest bravery, and with variable success. At the first onset, the superiority was so great on the side of the Romans, that they not only had the better of the fight, but drove the enemy from their ground, pursued them to their camp, and presently attacked the camp itself. Hannibal, after posting a few to defend the rampart and gates, collected the rest in close order, in the middle of the camp, ordering them to watch attentively the signal for sallying forth. It was now near the ninth hour of the day, when the Roman, having fatigued his troops without effect, and seeing no prospect of success, gave the signal for retreat. As soon as Hannibal perceived that they slackened their efforts, and were retiring from the camp, he instantly sent out his cavalry against them, on the right and left; and he himself, at the head of the main body of infantry, rushed out in the middle. Seldom has there been a fight more desperate, and never perhaps one more remarkable for the loss on both sides

than this would have been, had the day-light allowed it to continue; but night put a stop to the battle, while its fury was at the highest. The numbers slain, therefore, were not great, in proportion to the violence of the conflict; and as both parties had met nearly equal success, so they separated with equal loss. On neither side fell more than six hundred foot, and half that number of horse. But the loss of the Romans was more considerable in regard of the quality, than of the number of their slain; for among the killed were several of equestrian rank, five military tribunes, and three præfects of the allies. Immediately after this battle, Hannibal removed into Liguria; Sempronius, to Luca. On Hannibal's arrival among the Ligurians, that people in order to convince him of their sincerity in the treaty of peace and alliance which they had concluded, delivered into his hands two Roman quæstors, Caius Fulvius and Lucius Lucretius, with two military tribunes, and five persons of equestrian rank, mostly the sons of senators, all of whom they had seized in a treacherous manner.

CNEIUS SCIPIO DEFEATS HANNO IN SPAIN AND SUBDUES SPANISH ALLIES OF CARTHAGE

While these transactions passed in Italy, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent with the fleet and army into Spain, after his departure from the mouth of the Rhone, sailing round the Pyrenean mountains, put into Emporiæ, where he disembarked his army; and beginning with the Lacetans, partly by renewing old treaties, partly by forming new ones, he brought under the dominion of the Romans, the whole coast, as far as the river Iberus. The reputation of clemency which he acquired by these means, had the most powerful effect, not only on the maritime states, but on the more barbarous nations in the interior and mountainous parts; insomuch that, besides agreeing to terms of peace, they concluded also an alliance with him, and several strong cohorts of auxiliaries were raised among them. The country on this side of the Iberus was the province of Hanno, whom Hannibal had left behind for the defence of that tract. Seeing, therefore, a necessity, before the whole country should join the enemy, of exerting himself

to obviate that evil, he encamped his forces within sight of them, and offered them battle; this offer the Roman did not hesitate to accept; for, knowing that he must fight Hanno and Hasdrubal, he was better pleased to engage each of them separately, than to have to deal with both together. Nor was the dispute very strongly contested. Six thousand of the enemy were slain and two thousand taken, besides the guard of the camp, for that also was stormed, and the general himself, and many principal officers made prisoners. The town of Scissis too, which stood not far from the camp, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The spoils of this town consisted of articles of trifling value; the furniture was mean, suiting barbarians, and the slaves of little price. But the camp amply enriched the soldiers with the effects, not only of the army just now conquerors, but likewise with those of the army serving under Hannibal, who, to avoid being encumbered on their march with heavy baggage, had left almost all their valuable substance on that side of the Pyrenees.

Hasdrubal, before any certain account of this disaster reached him, had crossed the Iberus with eight thousand foot and one thousand horse, intending to meet the Romans at their first arrival; as soon as he was informed of the ruin of affairs at Scissis, and the loss of the camp, he turned his route toward the sea. Not far from Tarraco, meeting the soldiers belonging to the fleet, and the marines scattered and straggling through the country, among whom success, as is usual, had begotten negligence, he detached his cavalry in several parties against them, and with great slaughter and greater affright drove them to their ships. But not daring to continue longer in that quarter, lest he might be surprised by Scipio, he withdrew to the other side of the Iberus. On the other hand Scipio, on hearing of this new enemy, hastened to the spot with all expedition, and after punishing a few of the commanders of ships, and leaving a small garrison at Tarraco, returned with the fleet to Emporiæ. Scarcely had he departed, when Hasdrubal arrived, and having prevailed on the state of the Illergetans, which had given hostages to Scipio, to change sides, he, with the young men of that state, ravaged the lands of those who adhered with fidelity to their alliance

with the Romans. Afterwards, on finding that Scipio was roused thereby from his winter-quarters, he again entirely evacuated the country on this side by the Iberus. Scipio, leading his army to take vengeance on the Illergetans, thus abandoned by the author of their revolt, and driving them all into Athanagia, invested the city, which was the capital of the state. In the space of a few days he reduced them to entire submission and obedience, compelled them to give a greater number of hostages than before, and also to pay a sum of money as a fine. From thence he proceeded against the Ausetanians near the Iberus, who had likewise joined in a league with the Carthaginians. After he had invested their city, the Lacetans attempted by night to bring succour to their neighbours; but he surprised them by an ambuscade, when they were close to the city and just about to enter; twelve thousand of them were slain, and the rest, mostly without their arms dispersing up and down through the country, fled to their homes by different ways. Neither would the besieged have been able to make a defence, but for the severity of the winter, which obstructed the operations of the besiegers. The siege lasted thirty days, during which the snow lay seldom less than four feet deep, and it had covered over the machines and engines of the Romans, in such a manner as that of itself alone it proved a sufficient defence against the fires which were often thrown on them by the enemy. At last, Hamusitus their chieftain, having fled away to Hasdrubal, they capitulated on the terms of paying twenty talents of silver [\$20,000]. The army then returned into winter-quarters at Tarraco.

PRODIGES AND OMENS AT ROME

During this winter, at Rome, and in its vicinity, many prodigies either happened, or, as is not unusual when people's minds have once taken a turn towards superstition, many were reported and credulously admitted. Among others, it was said, that an infant of a reputable family, and only six months old, had, in the herb-market, called out, "Io, Triumphe;" that, in the cattle market, an ox had, of his own accord;

mounted up to the third story of a house, whence, being affrighted by the noise and bustle of the inhabitants, he threw himself down; that a light had appeared in the sky in the form of ships; that the temple of Hope, in the herb-market, was struck by lightning; that, at Lanuvium the spear of Juno had shaken of itself; and that a crow had flown into the temple of Juno and pitched on the very couch; that, in the district of Amiternum, in many places, apparitions of men in white garments had been seen at a distance, but had not come close to any body; that in Picenum, a shower of stones had fallen; at Cære, the divining tickets were diminished in size; in Gaul, a wolf snatched the sword of a soldier on guard out of the scabbard, and ran away with it. With respect to the other prodigies, the decemvirs were commanded to consult the books: but on account of the shower of stones in Picenum, the nine days' festival was ordered to be celebrated, and the expiating of the rest, one after another, was almost the sole occupation of the state. In the first place was performed a purification of the city; victims, of the greater kinds, were offered to such gods as were pointed out by directions. An offering of forty pounds weight of gold was carried to the temple of Juno at Lanuvium, and the matrons dedicated a brazen statute to Juno on the Aventine. A lectisternium was ordered at Cære, where the divining tickets were diminished; also a supplication to Fortune at Algidum. At Rome, likewise, a lectisternium was ordered in honour of the goddess Youth, and a supplication to be performed, by individuals, at the Temple of Hercules, and then, by the whole body of the people, at all the several shrines. To Genius five of the greater victims were offered; and the prætor Caius Atilius Seranus was ordered to vow certain performances, in case the commonwealth should continue for ten years in its present state. These expiations and vows being performed, in conformity to the directions of the Sibylline books, people's minds were, in a good measure, relieved from the burthen of religious apprehensions.

Flaminius, one of the consuls elect, to whom had fallen by lot the legions which wintered at Placentia, sent an edict and letter to the consul, desiring that those troops should be

ready in camp at Ariminum on the ides of March. His design was to enter on the office of consul, in his province; for he remembered his old disputes with the patricians, the contests in which he had engaged with them when tribune of the commons, and afterwards, when consul, first about the consulship, his election to which they wanted to annul, and then about a triumph. He was besides hated by the patricians on account of a new law, prejudicial to the senators, introduced by Caius Claudius, a plebeian tribune, to which Caius Flaminius alone, of all the patricians, had given his support, that no senator, or son of a senator, should be owner of a ship fit for sea-voyages, which contained more than three hundred amphoras [about ten tons]. The size was thought sufficient for conveying the produce of their farms, and every kind of traffic was deemed unbecoming a senator. This business had been contested with the utmost degree of heat, and had procured to Flaminius, the advocate for the law, great hatred among the nobility, but as great popularity among the commons, and, in consequence of this, a second consulship. For these reasons, suspecting that they would, by falsifying the auspices, by the delay of celebrating the Latine festival, and other impediments to which a consul was liable, detain him in the city, he pretended a journey, and, while yet in a private capacity, went secretly into the province. This step, when it became known, added fresh resentment to the animosity which, before this, possessed the breasts of the senators; they exclaimed, that "Caius Flaminius now waged war, not only with the senate, but with the immortal gods. That formerly having been made consul under propitious auspices, though gods and men united in recalling him when ready to give battle, he had refused obedience; and now, conscious of having treated them with disrespect, had fled to avoid the capitol, and the customary offering of vows; unwillingly, on the day of his entering into office, to approach the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great; to see and consult the senate, to whom he knew that he was odious; and that he was the only person by whom they were hated; that he had failed to proclaim the Latine festival, and to perform on the Latine festival, and to perform on the Alban mount the customary

sacrifices to Jupiter Latiaris, to go up to the capitol, under the direction of auspices, in order to offer vows, and thence to proceed to his province in the habit of a commander, and attended by lictors. Instead of which, he had gone off, without badges of authority, without lictors, like a soldier's servant, privately and by stealth: just as if he were quitting his country to go into exile; supposing, no doubt, that he might assume his office in a manner more suitable to the dignity of supreme magistrate at Ariminum, than at Rome, and put on the consular robe in a public inn better than in his own dwelling." They resolved unanimously, that he should be recalled; that his return should be insisted upon, and that he should be compelled to perform, in person, all duties both to gods and men, before he went to his province. On this embassy (for it was resolved that ambassadors should be sent) went Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius, whose arguments had no more weight with him than had the letter sent to him by the senate in his former consulate. In a few days after, he entered on his office, and as he was offering a sacrifice on the occasion, a calf, after receiving a stroke, made its escape out of the hands of those who officiated at the sacrifice, and sprinkled many of the by-standers with its blood. The confusion and disorder was great, but still greater among those at a distance, who knew not the cause of the disturbance. This was generally interpreted as an omen of dreadful import. Then, after receiving two legions from Sempronius, the consul of the former year, and two from the prætor, Caius Atilius began his march towards Etruria through the passes of the Apennines.

THE ROMAN SENATE PROPITIATES THE GODS

At the first approach of spring, Hannibal quitted his winter quarters. [Y.R. 535, B.C. 217.] He had been foiled before, in his attempt to pass over the Apennine, by the intolerable severity of the cold; for he would gladly have effected it, exposed as he was, during his stay in quarters, to the utmost degree of apprehension and danger. For, when the Gauls, whom the hopes of spoil and pillage had allured to his standard, perceiving, that, instead of carrying off booty

from the lands of others, their own had become the seat of war, and that they were burthened with the winter residence of both the contending armies, they turned upon Hannibal the enmity which they had harboured against the Romans. Many plots were formed against him, by their chiefs, from the effects of which he was preserved, by their treacherously betraying one another, and discovering their designs, through the same inconstancy which led them to conspire against him. But still he was careful to guard himself against their plots, by frequent disguises; changing sometimes his dress, sometimes the covering of his head. However, his fears on this account were his principal motives for leaving his winter quarters earlier than usual. In the mean time at Rome, Cneius Servilius entered on the office of consul on the ides of March. He proposed to the senate to take under consideration the state of the commonwealth; whereupon the clamour against Caius Flaminius was renewed. "They created," they said, "two consuls, yet had but one. For what legal authority, what auspices did the other possess? These the magistrates carried with them from home, from their own tutelal gods; and also those of the public, the Latine festival being celebrated, the sacrifices on the Alban mount performed, and vows duly offered in the capitol. Setting out in a private capacity, he could not carry the auspices with him, neither could he take them new, and, for the first time, in a foreign soil." Their apprehensions were increased by reports of prodigies, brought from various places at once. In Sicily, a number of arrows, and in Sardinia, the truncheon of a horseman, as he was going the rounds of the watch on the walls of Sulci, took fire, as was said; many fires were seen blazing on the shore; two shields sweated blood; several soldiers were struck by lightning; and the sun's orb appeared to be contracted. At Præneste, red-hot stones fell from the sky. At Arpi, bucklers were seen in the air, and the sun fighting with the moon. At Capena, two moons appeared in the daytime. At Cære, the streams of water were mixed with blood; and even the fountain of Hercules was tinged with bloody spots. In the district of Antium, while people were reaping, bloody ears of

corn fell into the basket. At Falerii, the sky seemed to be rent asunder with a very wide cleft, and through the opening a strong light burst forth; the divining tickets, without any apparent cause, were diminished in size, and one fell out, which had this inscription, "Mars brandishes his spear." About the same time, at Rome, the statue of Mars, on the Ap-pian road, and the images of the wolves, sweated. At Capua, the sky appeared as if on fire, and the moon as falling amongst rain. Afterwards, prodigies of lesser note were heard of: some asserted that goats were converted into sheep; that a hen was turned into a male, and a cock into a female. The consul, laying before the senate all these matters, as reported, and bringing the authors of the reports into the senate-house, proposed to their consideration the affairs of religion. They decreed, that those prodigies should be expiated, some with the greater, some with the lesser victims; and that a supplication for three days should be performed at all the shrines; that, when the decemvirs should have inspected the books, all other particulars should have been conducted in such manner as the gods should declare, in their oracles, to be agreeable to them. By the direction of the decemvirs, it was decreed, that, first, a golden thunderbolt, of fifty pounds' weight, should be made as an offering to Jupiter; and that offerings of silver should be presented to Juno and Minerva; that sacrifices of the greater victims should be offered to Juno Regina, on the Aventine, and to Juno Sospita, at Lanuvium; that the matrons contributing such sums of money as might be convenient to each, should carry an offering to Juno Regina, to the Aventine, and celebrate a lectisternium to her: and that even the descendants of freed women should make a contribution, in proportion to their abilities, out of which an offering should be made to Feronia. When these orders were fulfilled, the decemvirs sacrificed, with the greater victims, in the forum at Ardea: and, lastly, so late as the month of December, sacrifices were offered at the temples of Saturn in Rome, and a lectisternium was ordered: on which occasion the couches were laid out by senators, and also a public banquet. Proclamation was likewise made through the city, of a feast of

Saturn, to be celebrated during a day and a night, and the people were commanded to keep that day as a festival, and to observe it for ever.

HANNIBAL MAKES FORCED MARCH AGAINST FLAMINIUS

While the consul was employed at Rome in endeavouring to procure the favour of the gods, and in levying troops, Hannibal set out from his winter quarters, and hearing that the consul Flaminius had already arrived at Arretium, he chose—notwithstanding that another road less difficult, but longer, was pointed out to him,—the shorter one through marshes, which, at that time, were overflowed by the river Arnus, to an unusual height. He ordered the Spaniards and Africans, the main strength of his veteran troops, to march in the van, with their baggage between their divisions; that, in case they should be obliged to halt, they might not be at a loss for a supply of necessaries; then the Gauls to follow, so that they should compose the centre of the line, the cavalry in the rear; and after them Mago, with the light-armed Numidians, as a rear guard, to prevent the troops from straggling; particularly to hinder the Gauls, if weary of the labour, or of the length of the journey, from attempting either to slip away, or to stay behind: for that people, it had been found, want firmness to support fatigue. The troops in the van, though almost swallowed in mud, and frequently plunging entirely under water, yet followed the standards wherever their guides led the way, but the Gauls could neither keep their feet, nor, when they fell, raise themselves out of the gulfs, which were formed by the river from the steepness of its banks. They were destitute of spirits and almost hope; and while some, with difficulty, dragged on their enfeebled limbs, others, exhausted by the length of way, having once fallen, lay there, and died among the cattle, of which great numbers also perished. But what utterly overpowered them, was the want of sleep, which they had now endured for four days and three nights; for no dry spot could be found on which they might stretch their wearied limbs, so that they could not throw their baggage into the water in heaps, on

the top of which they laid themselves down. Even the cattle, which lay dead in abundance along the whole course of their march, afforded them a temporary bed, as they looked for no further accommodation for sleeping, than something raised above the water. Hannibal, himself, having a complaint in his eyes, occasioned, at first by the unwholesome air of the spring, when changes are frequent from heat to cold, rode on the only elephant which he had remaining, in order to keep himself as high as possible above the water; but at length, the want of sleep, the damps of the night, with those of the marshes, so disordered his head, that, as he had neither place nor time to make use of remedies, he lost one of his eyes.

HANNIBAL ROUTS FLAMINIUS AT LAKE THRASIMENUS

At length, after great numbers of men and cattle had perished miserably, he got clear of the marches; and, on the first dry ground at which he arrived, pitched his camp. Here, from scouts, whom he had sent forward, he learned with certainty, that the Roman army lay round the walls of Arretium. He then employed the utmost diligence in inquiring into the disposition and designs of the consul, the nature of the several parts of the country, the roads, and the sources from which provisions might be procured, with every other circumstance requisite to be known. As to the country, it was one of the most fertile in Italy: the Etrurian plains, which lie between Fæsulæ and Arretium, abounding with corn and cattle, and plenty of every thing useful. The consul was inflated with presumption since his former consulate, and too regardless, not only of the laws and the dignity of the senate, but even of the gods. This headstrong self-sufficiency, natural to his disposition, fortune had cherished, by the prosperous course of success which she had granted him, in his administration of affairs, both civil and military. There was, therefore, sufficient reason to suppose, that without regarding the sentiments of gods or men he would act on all occasions with presumption and precipitancy; and the Carthaginian, in order the more effectually to dispose him to follow the bias of his natural imperfections, resolved to irritate and exasperate him.

With this view, leaving the enemy on his left, and pointing his route towards Fæsulæ, he marched through the heart of Etruria, ravaging the country, and exhibiting to the consul, at a distance, a view of the greatest devastations that could be effected by fire and sword. Flaminius, even had the enemy lain quiet, would not have been content to remain inactive; but now, seeing the property of the allies plundered and destroyed before his eyes, he thought that on him must fall the disgrace of Hannibal's overrunning the middle of Italy, and even marching, without opposition to attack the very walls of Rome. Notwithstanding that every member of his council recommended safe, rather than specious measures; that he should wait the arrival of his colleague, when they might enter on the business with joint forces, and with united spirit and judgment; and that, in the meantime, the enemy should be restrained from his unbounded license in plundering, by means of the cavalry and light auxiliaries; he burst away in a rage, and displayed, at once, the signals both for marching and fighting. "We must lie, then," said he, "under the walls of Arretium, because here is our native city, and our household gods; let Hannibal slip out of our hands, ravage Italy, and, after wasting and burning all the rest, sit down before Romè; not stir from hence, in short, until the senate summons Caius Flaminius from Arretium, as formerly Camillus from Veii. While he upbraided them in this manner, he ordered the standards to be raised with speed; and having mounted on horseback, the animal, by a sudden plunge, displaced him from his seat, and threw him over his head. All present were greatly dismayed by such an inauspicious omen, at the opening of the campaign; and, to add to their uneasiness, an account was brought, that one of the standards could not be pulled out of the ground, though the standard-bearer endeavoured it with his utmost strength. The consul, turning to the messenger, said, "Do you also bring a letter from the senate, forbidding me to act? Go, bid them dig up the standard, if fear has so benumbed their hands, that they cannot pull it out." The army then began to march, while the principal officers, besides being averse from the design, were terrified at the two prodigies; but the generality of the soldiers re-

joiced at the presumptuous conduct of the general; for they looked no farther than the confidence which he displayed, and never examined the grounds on which it was founded.

Hannibal, the more to exasperate the enemy, and provoke him to seek revenge for the sufferings of his allies, desolated, with every calamity of war, the whole tract of country between the city of Cortona and the lake Thrasimenus. And now the army had arrived at a spot, formed by nature for an ambuscade, where the Thrasimenus approaches closest to the Crotonian mountains. Between them is only a very narrow road, as if room had been designedly left for that purpose; farther on, the ground opens to somewhat a greater width, and, beyond that, rises a range of hills. On these he formed a camp in open view, where himself, with the African and Spanish infantry only, was to take post. The Balearians, and other light-armed troops, he drew round behind the mountains, and posted the cavalry near the entrance of the defile, where they were effectually concealed by some rising grounds; with design, that as soon as the Romans entered the pass, the cavalry should take possession of the road, and thus the whole space be shut up, between the lake and the mountains. Flaminius, though he arrived at the lake about sunset, took no care to examine the ground, but next morning, before it was clear day, passed through the narrow way and when the troops began to spread into the wider ground, they saw only that party of the enemy which fronted them; those in ambush on their rear, and over their heads, quite escaped their notice. The Carthaginian, having now gained the point at which he aimed, the Roman being pent up between the mountains and the lake, and surrounded by his troops, immediately gave the signal for the whole to charge at once. They accordingly poured down, every one by the shortest way he could find, and the surprise was the more sudden and alarming, because a mist, rising from the lake, lay thicker on the low grounds than on the mountains; while the parties of the enemy, seeing each other distinctly enough from the several eminences, were the better able to run down together. The Romans, before they could discover their foe, learned, from the shouts raised on all sides, that they were surrounded; and

the attack began on their front and flank, before they could properly form a line, or get ready their arms, and draw their swords.

In the midst of the general consternation, the consul, perilous as the conjuncture was, showed abundance of intrepidity; he restored, as well as the time and place would allow, the ranks, which were disordered by the men turning themselves about at all the various shouts, and wherever he could come or be heard, encouraged, and charged them to stand ready, and to fight; telling them, that "they must not expect to get clear of their present situation by vows and prayers to the gods, but by strength and courage. By the sword men opened a way through the midst of embattled foes; and, in general the less fear the less danger." But such was the noise and tumult, that neither his counsel nor commands could be heard with distinctness; and so far were the soldiers from knowing each his own standard, his rank and post that scarcely had they sufficient presence of mind to take up their arms, and get ready for fighting, so that many, while they were rather encumbered than defended by them, were overpowered by the enemy. Besides, the darkness was so great, that they had more use of their ears than of their eyes. The groans of the wounded, the sound of blows on the men's bodies or armour, with the confused cries of threatening and terror, drew attention from one side to another. Some attempting to fly, were stopped by running against the party engaged in fight; others, returning to the fight, were driven back by a body of runaways. At length, after they had made many fruitless essays in every quarter, and enclosed, as they were, by the mountains and lake on the sides, by the enemy's forces on the front and rear, they evidently perceived that there was no hope of safety but in their valour and their weapons. Every one's own thoughts then supplied the place of command and exhortation to exertion, and the action began anew, with fresh vigour; but the troops were not marshalled according to the distinct bodies of the different orders of soldiers, nor so disposed, that the van-guard should fight before the standards, and the rest of the troops behind them; or that each soldier was in his own legion, or cohort, or com-

pany: chance formed their bands, and every man's post in the battle, either before or behind the standards, was fixed by his own choice. So intense was the ardour of the engagement, so eagerly was their attention occupied by the fight, that not one of the combatants perceived a great earthquake, which, at the time, overthrew large portions of many of the cities of Italy, turned rapid rivers out of their courses, carried up the sea into the rivers, and by the violence of the convulsion, levelled mountains.

They fought for near three hours, and furiously in every part: but round the consul the battle was particularly hot and bloody. The ablest of the men attended him, and he was himself surprisingly active in supporting his troops, wherever he saw them pressed, or in need of assistance; and, as he was distinguished above others by his armour, the enemy pointed their utmost efforts against him, while his own men defended him with equal vigour. At length, an Insubrian horseman, (his name Decario) knowing his face, called out to his countrymen, "Behold, this is the consul, who cut to pieces our legions, and depopulated our country and city. I will now offer this victim to the shades of my countrymen, who lost their lives in that miserable manner;" then, giving spurs to his horse, he darted through the thickest of the enemy; and, after first killing his armour-bearer, who threw himself in the way of the attack, ran the consul through with his lance. He then attempted to spoil him of his arms, but the veterans, covering the body with their shields, drove him back. This event first caused a great number of the troops to fly; and now, so great was their panic, that neither lake nor mountain stopped them; through every place, however narrow or steep, they ran with blind haste, and arms, and men were tumbled together in promiscuous disorder. Great numbers, finding no room for farther flight, pushed into the lake, and plunged themselves in such a manner, that only their heads and shoulders were above water. The violence of their fears impelled some to make the desperate attempt of escaping by swimming; but this proving impracticable, on account of the great extent of the lake, they either exhausted their strength, and were drowned in the deep, or, after fatiguing themselves

to no purpose, made their way back, with the utmost difficulty, to the shallows, and were there slain, wherever they appeared, by the enemy's horsemen wading into the same. About six thousand of the van-guard, bravely forcing their way through the opposite enemy, got clear of the defile, and knowing nothing of what was passing behind them, halted on a rising ground, where they could only hear the shouting, and the din of arms, but could not see, by reason of the darkness, nor judge, with any certainty, as to the fortune of the day. At length, after the victory was decided, the increasing heat of the sun dispelling the mist, the prospect was opened. The mountains and plains showed the desperate condition of their affairs, and the shocking carnage of the Roman army: wherefore, lest on their being seen at a distance, the cavalry should be sent against them, they hastily raised their standards, and hurried away with all possible speed. Next day, when, besides their other distresses, they were threatened with the extremity of hunger, Maharbal, who, with the whole body of cavalry, had overtaken them during the night, pledging his faith, that if they surrendered their arms, he would suffer them to depart with single garments, they delivered themselves into his hands. But this capitulation Hannibal observed with Punic sincerity, and threw them into chains.

Such was the memorable fight at the Thrasimenus, and the severe blow there received by the Romans, remarkable among the few disasters of the kind which the nation has ever undergone. Of the Romans, fifteen thousand were slain in the field; ten thousand, who fled, and dispersed themselves through every part of Etruria, made their way afterwards, by different roads, home to the city. Of the enemy, one thousand five hundred perished in the fight, and a great many afterwards of their wounds. By some writers, the loss of men on both sides is represented as vastly greater: for my part, besides that I wish to avoid the magnifying any particular whatever, an error to which writers are in general too prone, I think it reasonable to give the preference to the authority of Fabius, who lived in the very time of this war. Hannibal dismissed, without ransom, such of the prisoners as were natives of Latium, the Romans he loaded with chains.

He then ordered that the bodies of his own men should be collected from among the heaps of the enemy, and buried; directing, at the same time, that the body of Flaminius should be sought for, with intention to honour him with a funeral; but after a most diligent search, it could not be found. As soon as the first news of this disaster arrived at Rome, the people, in great terror and tumult, crowded together into the forum. The matrons, running up and down the streets, asked every one who came in their way, what sudden calamity was said to have happened: in what state was the army? At length, after a crowd, not less numerous than that of a full assembly of the people, had collected in the comitium, and about the senate house, calling on the magistrates for information, a little before sun-set, Marcus Pomponius, the prætor, told them, "We have been defeated in a great battle." Though nothing more particular was heard from him, yet the people, catching up rumours, one from another, returned to their houses with accounts, that, "the consul was slain, together with a great part of his army; that few survived, and that these were either dispersed through Etruria, or taken by the enemy." Every kind of misfortune, which had ever befallen vanquished troops, was now pictured in the anxious minds of those, whose relations had served under the consul Caius Flaminius, having no positive information on which they could found either hope or fear. During the next, and several succeeding days, a multitude, composed of rather more women than men, stood round the gates, watching for the arrival, either of their friends, or of some who might give intelligence concerning them; and whenever any person came up, they crowded about him with eager inquiries; nor could they be prevailed on to retire, especially from such as were of their acquaintance, until they had examined minutely into every particular. Then, when they did separate from about the informants, might be seen their countenances expressive of various emotions, according as the intelligence, which each received, was pleasing or unfavourable; and numbers, surrounding them, returned to their houses, offering either congratulations or comfort. Among the women, particularly, the effects of joy and grief were very conspicuous: one, as we

are told, meeting, unexpectedly, at the very gate, her son returning safe, expired at the sight of him: another, who sat in her house, overwhelmed with grief, in consequence of a false report of her son's death, on seeing that son returning, died immediately, through excess of joy. The prætors, during several days, kept the senate assembled in their house, from the rising to the setting of the sun, deliberating by what commander, or with what forces, opposition could be made to the victorious Carthaginians.

ROME MAKES FABIVS DICTATOR, AND PROPITIATES THE GODS

Before they had fully determined on the plans to be pursued, they received an account of another unexpected disaster: four thousand horsemen, who had been sent by Servilius, the consul, to the aid of his colleague, under the command of Caius Centenius, proprætor, were cut off by Hannibal in Umbria, whither, on hearing of the fight at the Thrasimenus, they had marched to avoid him. The news of this event affected people differently: some, having their minds occupied by grief, for misfortunes of a momentous kind, certainly deemed the loss of the cavalry light, in comparison: others judged not of the accident by its own intrinsic importance; but considered, that as in a sickly constitution, a slight cause is attended with more sensible effects, than a more powerful one in a constitution possessed of vigour; so any kind of misfortune, happening to the commonwealth in its present debilitated condition, ought to be estimated, not by the magnitude of the affair itself, but by the enfeebled state of the same, which could not endure any degree of aggravation to its distresses. Accordingly, the state had recourse to a remedy, which for a long time past had neither been used nor wanted, the nomination of a dictator: and because the consul, who alone was supposed to possess the power of nominating that officer, was abroad, and it was difficult to send either messenger or letter, through those parts of Italy, occupied, as they were, by the Carthaginian arms; and as the people could not create a dictator, no precedent having yet existed for it, they therefore, in an assembly created a pro-dictator, Quintus Fa-

bis Maximus, and a master of the horse, Marcus Minucius Rufus. These received a charge from the senate, to strengthen the walls and towers of the city; to post troops in proper places, and to break down the bridges on the rivers; since, having proved unequal to the defence of Italy, they must fight at their own doors in defence of the city.

Hannibal marched straight forward, through Umbria, as far as Spoletum; which town, after he had utterly wasted all the adjoining country, he attempted to take by storm; but, being repulsed, with the loss of a great number of men, and judging, from the strength of that single colony, his attempt on which had ended so little to his advantage, what great difficulties he had to surmount, before he could master the city of Rome, he changed the direction of his route toward the territory of Picenum, which not only abounded with provisions of all sorts, but was, besides, well stored with booty, which his needy and rapacious soldiers greedily seized. There he remained during several days, in one fixed post, and refreshed his men, who had been severely fatigued by their long marches in the winter season, and through the marshes, as well as by the battle, which though favourable in the issue, was not gained without danger and fatigue. After allowing sufficient rest to his troops, who, however, delighted more in plunder and ravaging, than in ease and repose, he put them in motion, and spread devastation through the territories of Prætulia and Adria, the country of the Marsians, Manucianians, and Pelignians, and the neighbouring tract of Apulia, round Arpi and Luceria. The Consul, Cneius Servilius, had fought some light battles with the Gauls, and taken one town of no great consequence; when, hearing of the disaster of his colleague, and the troops under his command, and being filled with apprehensions for the capital of his country, he resolved not to be out of the way, in a conjuncture of such extreme danger; he therefore marched directly towards Rome. Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator, a second time, on the day wherein he entered into office, assembled the senate, when he commenced his administration with attention to the gods. Having proved, to the conviction of the assembly, that the faults committed by Caius Flaminius, the consul, through his neglect of the established sacred rites, and the auspices, were

even greater than those which arose from his rashness and want of judgment; and that it was necessary to learn, from the gods themselves, what atonement would appease their wrath, he prevailed on them to pass an order, which was not usual, except when some terrible prodigies were announced, that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline leaves. These, after inspecting those books of the fates, reported to the senate that, "the vow made to Mars, on occasion of the present war, had not been duly fulfilled; that it must be performed anew, and that in a more ample manner; that the great games must be vowed to Jupiter; and temples to Venus Erycin and Mens; that a supplication and lectisternium must be performed, and a sacred spring vowed, in case success attended their arms, and that the commonwealth remain in the same state in which it had been when the war began." The senate, considering that Fabius would have full employment in the management of the war, ordered that Marcus Æmilius the prætor should take care that all these matters might be performed in due time according to the directions of the college of pontiffs.

On the passing of these decrees of the senate, the chief pontiff, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, being advised with by the college of prætors, gave his opinion, that before any other steps were taken, the people should be consulted with respect to the sacred spring; for that a vow of that import could not be made without their order. Accordingly, the question was proposed to the people in these words: "Do ye choose and order, that what I am going to propose shall be performed in this manner: that in case the commonwealth of the Roman people, the Quirites, shall, (as I wish it may) be preserved in safety, during the next five years, from these wars, namely, the war which subsists between the Roman people and the Carthaginians; and the wars subsisting with the Gauls, who dwell on this side of the Alps; then the Roman people, the Quirites, shall present, as an offering, whatever the spring shall produce, from the herds of swine, sheep, goats, or oxen; of which produce, accruing from the day when the senate and people shall appoint, whatever shall not have been appropriated by consecration, shall be sacrificed to Jupiter. Let him who makes the offering, make it at what time, and in

what form he shall choose: in whatsoever manner he does it, let the offering be deemed proper: if that which ought to be sacrificed die, let it be deemed as unconsecrated; and let no guilt ensue. If any person undesignedly shall break, or kill it, let him incur no penalty. If any shall steal it, let not guilt be imputed to the people, nor to him from whom it is stolen. If any, unknowingly, offer the sacrifice on a forbidden day, let the offering be deemed good. Whether the offering shall be made by night or by day, whether by a free-man or a slave, let it be deemed good. If the senate and people shall order it to be made on an earlier day than a person shall make it, let the people be acquitted and free from the guilt thereof." On the same account, a vow was made to celebrate the great games, at the expense of three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-three *asses* and one-third [about \$5,400]; besides three hundred oxen to be offered to Jupiter; and white oxen, and other victims, to many other deities. The vows being duly made, a proclamation was issued, for a supplication, in the performance of which joined not only the inhabitants of the city, with their wives and children, but also those of the country, who, having any property of their own, were interested in the welfare of the public. Then was performed the lectisternium, during the space of three days, under the direction of the decemvirs of religious rites. There were six couches exhibited to view, one for Jupiter and Juno, another for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, and the sixth for Mercury and Ceres. The temples were then vowed; that to Venus Erycina, by Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator; for such was the direction found in the books of the fates, that the person who held the highest authority in the state should vow it. Titus Otacilius, the prætor, vowed the temple to Mens.

The business relating to religion being thus concluded, the dictator then proposed to the senate, to take into consideration the state of the commonwealth and the war; and to determine how many, and what legions should be employed to stop the progress of the victorious enemy. They passed a decree, that "he should receive the army from the consul,

Cneius Servilius; in addition to which, he should levy among the citizens and allies, such numbers of horse and foot as he should judge requisite; and in every other particular, should act and manage in such a manner as he should see conducive to the public good." Fabius declared his intention to make an addition of two legions to the army of Servilius; these he ordered to be levied by the master of the horse, and appointed a day on which they were to assemble at Tibur. Then, having published a proclamation that those who dwelt in towns or forts which were incapable of defence, should remove into places of safety; and that all the inhabitants of that tract, through which Hannibal was to march, should likewise remove out of the country, after first burning the houses and destroying the fruits of the earth to prevent his meeting any kind of supply; he himself set out by the Flaminian road, to meet the consul and the army. Coming within sight of the troops, on their march on the bank of the Tiber, near Ocriculum, and observing the consul with some horsemen advancing, he sent a beadle to acquaint him, that he must approach the dictator without lictors. This order he obeyed; and their meeting raised an exalted idea of the dictatorship in the minds both of citizens and allies; who had now, in consequence of the long disuse, almost forgotten that office. Here he received a letter from the city, with intelligence, that the transport, carrying ships' supplies from Ostia to the army in Spain, had been captured by a fleet of the enemy near the port of Cossa; in consequence of which, the consul was ordered to proceed immediately to Ostia, to man all the ships which were at the city of Rome, or at Ostia, with soldiers and marines, to pursue the enemy, and guard the coasts of Italy. Great numbers of men had been levied at Rome; even the sons of freedmen, who had children, and were of military age, had enlisted. Of these troops, such as were under thirty-five years of age were put on board the ships; the rest were left to guard the city.

HANNIBAL VAINLY TEMPTS FABIUS TO FIGHT

The dictator, receiving the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant-general, came through the Sabine ter-

ritory to Tibur, on the day which he had appointed for the assembling of the new-raised troops; thence he went back to Præneste, and, crossing the country to the Latine road, led forward his army; examining, with the utmost care, the country through which he was to pass, being determined, in no case, to submit himself to the disposal of fortune, except so far as necessity might constrain him. When he first pitched his camp within the enemy's view, not far from Arpi, the Carthaginian on the same day, without delaying an hour, led out his forces, and offered battle; but, seeing every thing quiet, and no hurry or bustle in the Roman camp, he returned within his lines, observing, with a sneer, that the spirit which the Romans boasted to have inherited from Mars, was at length subdued; that they had given over fighting, and made open acknowledgment of their abatement in courage and love of glory. His mind, however, was sensibly affected, on finding that he had now to deal with a commander very unlike Flaminus and Sempronius; and that the Romans, instructed by misfortunes, had at length chosen a leader which was a match for Hannibal: and he quickly perceived that, in the dictator, he had to dread provident skill more than vigorous exertion. Having however not yet fully experienced his steadiness, he attempted to rouse and provoke his temper by frequently removing his camp, and ravaging under his eyes the lands of the allies; at one time withdrawing out of sight by a hasty march; at another, halting in a place of concealment at a turn of the road, in hopes of taking him at a disadvantage on his coming down into the plain. Fabius led his forces along the high ground at a moderate distance from the enemy: so as not to let him be out of reach, nor yet to come to an engagement. His men were confined within their camp, except when called forth by some necessary occasion; and his parties, sent for forage and wood, were neither small in number, nor were they allowed to ramble. An advanced guard of cavalry and light infantry, properly equipped, and formed for the purpose of repressing sudden alarms, rendered every place safe to those and dangerous to such of the enemy as straggled in search of plunder. Thus, a decisive trial in a general engagement was avoided. At the same time slight skirmishes of no great im-

portance commenced on safe ground, and where a place of retreat was at hand, which accustomed the soldiers, dispirited by former misfortunes, to place more confidence both in their own courage and their fortune. But he found not Hannibal more inclined to disconcert such wise plans than his own master of the horse, whom nothing but being subordinate in command prevented from plunging the commonwealth into ruin. Confident and precipitate in his measures, and allowing his tongue an exorbitant license, he used, at first in small circles, afterwards openly in public, to call the dictator sluggish instead of cool; timid instead of cautious; imputing to him as faults what had the nearest affinity to virtues. Thus, by the practice of depressing the merit of his superior,—a practice of the basest nature, and which has become too general, in consequence of the favourable success so often attending it,—he exalted himself.

HANNIBAL DEVASTATES THE COUNTRY

Hannibal led away his forces from the territory of Arpi into Samnium, ravaged the lands of Beneventum, took the city of Telesia, and used every means to irritate the Roman general; in hopes that by so many indignities, and the sufferings of his allies, he might be provoked to hazard an engagement on equal ground. Among the multitude of the allies of Italian birth, who had been made prisoners by the Carthaginian at Thrasimenus, and set at liberty, were three Campanian horsemen. Hannibal on that occasion, by many presents and promises, engaged them to conciliate the affections of their countrymen in his favour. These now informed him, that if he brought his army into Campania, he would have an opportunity of getting possession of Capua. The affair was of much moment, and seemed to demand more weighty authority. Hannibal hesitated, inclining at one time to confide in their assurances, at another to distrust them, yet they brought him to a resolution of marching from Samnium into Campania; and he dismissed them, with repeated charges to fulfil their promises by deeds, and with orders to return to him with a greater number and with some of their principal men. He then commanded his guide to conduct him into the

territory of Casinum; having learned from persons acquainted with the country, that if he seized on the pass there, the Romans would be shut out, so, as to prevent their bringing succour to their allies. But speaking with the Carthaginian accent, and mispronouncing the Latin words, the guide misapprehended him as having said Casilinum instead of Casinum; so that, turning from the right road, he led him through the territories of Allifæ, Calatia, and Cales, down into the plain of Stella. Here Hannibal looking round, and perceiving the place inclosed between mountains and rivers, called the guide, and asked him where he was; and the other answering, that he would lodge that night at Casilinum, he at last discovered the mistake, and that Casinum lay at a very great distance, in a quite different direction. On this, having scourged and crucified the guide, in order to strike terror into others, he pitched and fortified his camp, and despatched Maharbal, with the cavalry, to ravage the territory of Falerii. Here the depredations were carried as far as the waters of Sinuessa, the Numidians committing dreadful devastations, and spreading fear and consternation to a still wider extent. Yet did not this terror, great as it was, and though their whole country was involved in the flames of war, induce the allies to swerve from their allegiance. They had no desire to change their rulers, for they lived under a mild and equitable government; and there is no bond of loyalty so strong.

THE ROMAN ARMY MURMURS AT FABIVS

The Carthaginians encamped at the river Vulturnus, and the most delightful tract in Italy was seen wasted with fire, the country-seats on every side smoking in ruins. While Fabius led his army along the tops of the Massic mountains, the discontent in it was inflamed anew, and to such a degree, as to fall little short of a mutiny. During a few days past, as their march had been conducted with more expedition than usual, they had been in good temper because they had supposed that this haste was owing to an intention to protect Campania from further ravages. But when they had gained the heights, and the enemy appeared under their eyes, setting

fire to the houses of the Falernian district, with the colony of Sinuessa, and that still no mention was made of fighting, Minucius exclaimed, "Are we come hither to view the burning and slaughter of our allies, as to a spectacle grateful to the sight? If no other circumstance strikes us with shame, do we feel none with regard to these our countrymen, whom our fathers sent as colonists to Sinuessa, to secure this frontier from the inroads of the Samnites? And now the frontier is wasted with fire, not by the Samnites, a neighbouring state, but by Carthaginians, a foreign race, who, from the remotest limits of the world, have effected their progress hither, in consequence of our dilatory and slothful proceedings. Shamefully are we degenerated from our ancestors, who considered it as an affront to their government, if a Carthaginian fleet happened to sail along this coast; for we now behold the same coast filled with the enemy's troops, and possessed by Moors and Numidians. We, who lately felt such indignation at siege being laid to Saguntum that we appealed, not only to mankind, but to treaties and to the gods, now look on without emotion, while Hannibal is scaling the walls of a Roman colony. The smoke from the burning houses and lands is carried into our eyes and mouths; our ears ring with the cries and lamentations of our allies, invoking our aid oftener than that of the immortal gods; yet, hiding ourselves here in woods and clouds, we lead about our army like a herd of cattle, through shady forests and desert paths. If Marcus Furius had adopted the design of rescuing the city from the Gauls, by the same means by which this new Camillus, this dictator of such singular abilities, selected for us in our distresses, intends to recover Italy from Hannibal, (that is, by traversing mountains and forests,) Rome would now be the property of the Gauls; and great reason do I see to dread, if we persevere in this dilatory mode of acting, that our ancestors have so often preserved it for Hannibal and the Carthaginians. But he, who had the spirit of a man, and of a true Roman, during the very day on which the account was brought to Veii, of his being nominated dictator, by direction of the senate, and order of the people, though the Janiculum was of sufficient height, where he might sit and take a prospect of the enemy, came

down to the plain: and, on that same day, in the middle of the city, where now are the Gallic piles, and on the day following on the road to Gabii, cut to pieces the legions of the Gauls. What! when many years after this, at the Caudine forks, we were sent under the yoke by the Samnites; was it by traversing the mountains of Samnium, or was it by pressing briskly the siege of Luceria, and compelling the enemy to fight, that Lucius Papirius Cursor removed the yoke from the necks of the Romans, and imposed it on the haughty Samnites? In a late case, what but quick despatch gave victory to Caius Lutatius? For on the next day after he came in view of the enemy, he overpowered their fleet, heavily laden with provisions, and encumbered with their own implements and cargoes. To imagine that, by sitting still, and offering up prayers, the war can be brought to a conclusion, is folly in the extreme. Forces must be armed, must be led out to the open field, that you may encounter, man with man. By boldness and activity, the Roman power has been raised to its present height, and not by these sluggish measures, which cowards term cautious." While Minucius harangued in this manner, as if to a general assembly, he was surrounded by a multitude of tribunes and Roman horsemen; and his presumptuous expressions reached even the ears of the common men, who gave evident demonstrations, that if the matter were submitted to the votes of the soldiery they would prefer Minucius, as a commander, to Fabius.

FABIUS PENS UP HANNIBAL IN THE MOUNTAINS

Fabius watched the conduct of his own men with no less attention than that of the enemy; determined to show with respect to them, in the first place, that his resolution was unalterable by any thing which they could say or do. He well knew that his dilatory measures were severely censured, not only in his own camp, but likewise at Rome, yet he persisted with inflexible steadiness, in the same mode of conduct during the remainder of the summer; in consequence of which Hannibal, finding himself disappointed in his hopes of an engagement, after having tried his utmost endeavours to bring it

about, began to look round for a convenient place for his winter-quarters: for the country where he then was, though it afforded plenty for the present, was incapable of furnishing a lasting supply, because it abounded in trees and vineyards, and other plantations of such kinds as minister rather to pleasure than to men's necessary demands. Of this his intention, Fabius received information from scouts; and knowing, with a degree of certainty, that he would return through the same pass by which he had entered the Falernian territory, he detached parties of moderate force to take possession of mount Calicula, and Casilinum, which city, being intersected by the river Volturnus, is the boundary between the Falernian and Campanian territories. He himself led back his army along the same eminences over which he had come, sending out Lucius Hostilius Mancinus, with four hundred horsemen of the allies, to procure intelligence. This young man, who had often made one of the crowd of listeners to the presumptuous harangues of the master of the horse, proceeded at first, as the commander of a party of observation ought, watching, from safe ground, the motions of the enemy: afterwards, seeing the Numidians scattered about through the villages, and having, on an opportunity that offered, slain some of them, his whole mind was instantly occupied by the thoughts of fighting, and he lost all recollection of the orders of the dictator, who had charged him to advance only so far as he might with safety, and to retreat before he should come within the enemy's sight. Several different parties of the Numidians, by skirmishing and retreating, drew him on almost to their camp, by which time both his men and horses were greatly fatigued. Here Cartalo, commander-in-chief of the cavalry, advancing in full career, obliged his party to fly before he came within a dart's throw, and, almost without relaxing in speed, pursued them in their flight through the length of five miles. Mancinus, when he saw that the enemy did not desist from their pursuit, and that there was no prospect of escaping, exhorted his men to act with courage, and faced about on the foe, though superior to him in every particular. The consequence was, that he, and the bravest of his party, were surrounded, and cut to pieces: the rest, betaking them-

selves to a precipitate flight, made their escape, first to Cales, and thence, by ways almost impassable, to the dictator. It happened that, on the same day, Minucius rejoined Fabius, having been sent to secure, by a body of troops, a woody hill, which above Tarracina, forms a narrow defile, and hangs over the sea; because it was apprehended, that, if that barrier of the Appian way were left unguarded, the Carthaginian might penetrate into the territory of Rome. The dictator and master of the horse, having reunited their forces, marched down into the road, through which Hannibal was to pass. At this time the enemy was two miles distant.

HANNIBAL ESCAPES BY STRATAGEM

Next day the Carthaginians, marching forward, filled the whole road which lay between the two camps; and though the Romans had taken post close to their own rampart, with an evident advantage of situation, yet the Carthaginian advanced with his light-horsemen, and, in order to provoke the enemy, made several skirmishing attacks, charging, and then retreating. The Romans kept their position, and the fight proceeded without vigour, more agreeably to the wish of the dictator than to that of Hannibal. Two hundred Romans, and eight hundred of the enemy, fell. There was now reason to think, that by the road to Casilinum being thus blockaded, Hannibal was effectually pent up; and that while Capua and Samnium, and such a number of wealthy allies at their back, should furnish the Romans with supplies, the Carthaginian, on the other hand, would be obliged to winter between the rocks of Formiæ, the sands of Linternum, and horrid stagnated marshes. Nor was Hannibal insensible that his own arts were now played off against himself. Wherefore, seeing it impracticable to make his way through Casilinum, and that he must direct his course to the mountains, and climb over the summit of the Calicula, lest the Romans should fall on his troops in their march, when entangled in the valleys, he devised a stratagem for baffling the enemy by a deception calculated to inspire terror, resolving to set out secretly in the beginning of the night, and proceed toward the mountains.

The means which he contrived for the execution of his plan were these: collecting combustible matters from all the country round, he caused bundles of rods and dry twigs to be tied fast on the horns of oxen, great numbers of which, trained and untrained, he drove along with him among the other spoil taken in the country, and he made up the number of almost two thousand. He then gave in charge to Hasdrubal, that as soon as the darkness of the night came on, he should drive this numerous herd, after first setting fire to their horns, up the mountains, and particularly, if he found it practicable, over the passes where the enemy kept guard.

As soon as it grew dark the army decamped in silence, driving the oxen at some distance before the van. When they arrived at the foot of the mountains and the narrow roads, the signal was instantly given that fire should be set to the horns of the oxen, and that they should be driven violently up the mountains in front; when their own fright, occasioned by the flame blazing on their heads, together with the heat, which soon penetrated to the quick and to the roots of their horns, drove them on as if goaded by madness. By their spreading about in this manner, all the bushes were quickly in a blaze, just as if fire had been set to the woods and mountains, and the fruitless tossing of their heads serving to increase the flames, they afforded an appearance as of men running up and down on every side. The troops stationed to guard the passage of the defiles, seeing several fires on the tops of the mountains, concluded they were surrounded, and quitted their post, taking the way, as the safest course, towards the summits, where they saw fewest fires blazing. Here they fell in with several of the oxen, which had scattered from the herds to which they belonged. At first, when they saw them at a distance, imagining that they breathed out flames, they halted in utter astonishment at the miraculous appearance; but afterwards, when they discovered that it was an imposition of human contrivance, and believing that they were in danger of being ensnared, they hastily, and with redoubled terror, betook themselves to flight. They met also the enemy's light infantry, but night inspiring equal fears, prevented either from beginning a fight until day-light. In

the meantime Hannibal led his whole army through the defile, where he surprised some Romans in the very pass, and pitched his camp in the territory of Allifæ.

Fabius perceived the tumult; but, suspecting some snare, and being utterly averse from fighting, in the night particularly, he kept his men within their trenches. As soon as day appeared, a fight commenced near the summit of the mountain, in which the Romans, who had considerably the advantage in numbers, would have easily overpowered the light infantry of the enemy, separated as they were from their friends, had not a cohort of Spaniards, sent back by Hannibal for the purpose, come up to the spot. These, both by reason of the agility of their limbs, and the nature of their arms, being lighter and better qualified for skirmishing among rocks and cliffs (to which they were accustomed), by their manner of fighting, easily baffled the enemy, who were used to act on plain ground in steady fight, and who carried weighty arms. After a contest, therefore, by no means equal, they both withdrew to their respective camps; the Spaniards with almost all their men safe, the Romans with the loss of many. Fabius likewise decamped, and passing through the defile, seated himself in a high and strong post above Allifæ. Hannibal, now counterfeiting an intention to proceed to Rome through Samnium, marched back as far as the country of the Pelignians, spreading devastation every where he went. Fabius led his army along the heights, between the route of the enemy and the city of Rome, constantly attending his motions, but never giving him a meeting. From the territory of Pelignum, Hannibal altered his route; and, directing his march back towards Apulia, came to Gerunium, a city whose inhabitants had abandoned it, being terrified by a part of the walls having fallen in ruins. The dictator formed a strong camp in the territory of Larinum; and, being recalled thence to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, he pressed the master of the horse not only with orders, but with earnest advice, and almost with prayers, to "confide more in prudence than in fortune; and to imitate his conduct in command rather than that of Sempronius and Flaminius. Not to think there had been no advantage gained, in having foiled the designs of the Car-

thaginian through almost the whole length of the summer; observing, that even physicians sometimes effect their purpose better by rest than by motion and action; that it was a matter of no small importance to have ceased to be defeated by an enemy inured to victory; and, after a long course of disasters, to have gained time to breathe." After urging these cautions, which were thrown away on the master of the horse, he set out for Rome.

CAPTURE OF CARTHAGINIAN FLEET IN SPAIN

In the beginning of the summer wherein these transactions passed, the operations of the war commenced in Spain also, both by land and sea. Hasdrubal, to the number of ships which he had received from his brother, manned and in readiness for service, added ten; and giving the command of this fleet of forty ships to Hamilco, set out from New Carthage, marching his army along the shore, while the fleet sailed on, at a small distance from land; so that he was prepared to fight on either element, as the foe should come in his way. Cneius Scipio, on hearing that the enemy had removed from their winter-quarters, at first designed to pursue the same plan of operations; but, afterwards, on hearing that they had been joined by vast numbers of new auxiliaries, he judged it not prudent to meet them on land; sending, therefore, on board his ships, an additional number of chosen soldiers, he put to sea, with a fleet of thirty-five sail. On the next day after his leaving Tarraco, he arrived at the harbour within ten miles of the mouth of the river Iberus, and despatching thence two Massilian scout-boats, learned from them, that the Carthaginian fleet lay in the mouth of the river, and that the camp was pitched on the bank. Intending, therefore, by a general attack with his whole force, at once to overpower the enemy, while unprovided and off their guard, he weighed anchor, and advanced towards them. They have, in Spain, a great many towers built in lofty situations, which are used both as watch-towers, and as places of defence against pirates. From these the Roman fleet was first descried, and notice given of it to Hasdrubal. This caused much confusion in the

camp on land, and somewhat earlier than the alarm reached the ships, where they had not heard the dashing oars, nor any other noise usually accompanying a fleet. The capes, likewise, shut out the enemy from their view, when on a sudden, while they were rambling about the shore, or sitting quietly in their tents, expecting nothing less than the approach of an enemy, or a fight on that day, several horsemen, despatched by Hasdrubal, came one after another, with orders for them to go on board instantly, and get ready their arms, for that the Roman fleet was just in the mouth of the harbour. These orders the horsemen, sent for the purpose, conveyed to every part; and presently Hasdrubal himself arrived with the main body of the army. Every place was now filled with noise and tumult: the rowers and soldiers hurrying to their ships, like men making their escape to the land rather than going to battle. Scarcely had all got on board when some of the vessels, having untied the hawsers at the sterns, were carried foul of their anchors. Every thing was done with too much hurry and precipitation, so that the business of the mariners was impeded by the preparations of the soldiers, and the soldiers were prevented from taking and preparing their arms by the bustle and confusion of the mariners. The Romans, by this time, were not only drawing nigh, but had already formed their ships in order of battle. The Carthaginians, therefore, falling into the utmost disorder, to which the enemy's attack contributed not more than the confusion prevailing among themselves, tacked about, and fled; and as the mouth of the river to which they steered their course, did not afford an entrance to such an extensive line, and as such numbers crowded in together, their ships were driven on shore; many striking on banks, others on the dry strand. The soldiers made their escape, some with their arms, others without them, to their friends, who were drawn up on the shore. However, in the first encounter, two Carthaginian ships were taken, and four sunk.

HASDRUBAL AND HIS SPANISH ALLIES ARE BEATEN

The Romans, without hesitation, pursued their dismayed fleet, notwithstanding that the land was possessed by the

enemy, and that they saw a line of their troops under arms, stretched along the whole shore; and all the ships which had either shattered their prows by striking against the shore, or stuck their keels fast in the sand banks, they tied their sterns and towed out into the deep. Out of the forty ships they took twenty-five. The most brilliant circumstance attending their victory was, that by this one battle, which cost them so little, they were rendered masters of the sea along the whole extent of that coast. Sailing forward, therefore, to Honosca, they there made a descent, took the city by storm, and sacked it. Thence they proceeded to Carthage, and, after wasting all the country round, at last set fire to the houses contiguous to the very walls and gates. The ships, now heavily laden with booty, went on to Longuntica, where a great quantity of okum,¹ for cordage, had been collected by Hasdrubal for the use of the fleet. Of this they carried off as much as they had occasion for, and burned the rest. Nor did they carry their operations along the open coasts of the continent only, but passed over to the island of Ebusa, where they in vain attempted, during two days, and with their utmost efforts, to gain possession of the capital city. Perceiving, however, that they were waiting time to no purpose, and in pursuit of a hopeless design, they applied themselves to the ravaging of the country; and after plundering and burning several towns, and collecting a greater quantity of booty than they had acquired on the continent, they retired on board their ships; at which time ambassadors came to Scipio, from the Balearic Isles, suing for peace. From this place the fleet sailed back, and returned to the hither parts of the province, whither ambassadors hastily flocked from all the nations adjacent to the Iberus, and from many even of the remotest parts of Spain. The whole number of states, which submitted to the dominion of the government of Rome, and gave hostages, amounted to more than one hundred and twenty. Wherefore the Roman general, relying now with sufficient confidence on his land forces also, advanced as far as the pass of Castulo: on which Hasdrubal withdrew toward the ocean into Lusitania.

¹ A kind of broom.

It was now supposed that the remainder of the summer would pass without further action; and this would have been the case, had it depended on the Carthaginians; but, besides that the native Spaniards are in their temper restless and fond of change, Mandonius and Indibilis, (the latter of whom had formerly been chieftain of the Ilergetans,) as soon as the Romans retired from the pass towards the sea-coast, roused their countrymen to arms, and made predatory irruptions into the peaceful territories of the Roman allies. Against these Scipio sent some military tribunes, with a body of light-armed auxiliaries; and these, without much difficulty, routed all their tumultuary bands, slaying and taking many, and disarming the greater part of them. This commotion, however, drew back Hasdrubal, from his march towards the ocean, to the hither side of Iberus, for the purpose of supporting his confederates. The Carthaginians lay encamped in the territory of Ilercao, the Romans at a place called Newfleet, when a sudden piece of intelligence diverted the war to another quarter: the Celtiberians, who of all the states in that tract were the first who sent ambassadors, and gave hostages to the Romans, had, in consequence of instructions sent by Scipio, taken up arms, and invaded the province of the Carthaginians with a powerful army, had reduced three towns by assault, and had afterwards fought two battles against Hasdrubal himself, with excellent success, killing fifteen thousand of his men, and taking four thousand, with many military ensigns.

THE CARTHAGINIANS ARE TRICKED INTO RESTORING SPANISH HOSTAGES

While affairs in Spain were in this state, Publius Scipio, having been, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, and sent thither by the senate, arrived in the province with thirty ships of war, eight thousand soldiers, and a large supply of provisions. His fleet, which, when seen at a distance, made a grand appearance, by reason of the long train of transport vessels, put into the harbour of Taraco, causing great joy among his countrymen and allies. Here Scipio disembarked his troops, and then marched to join his

brother; and they thenceforth conducted the war jointly, with perfect harmony of temper and unanimity in their counsels. The Carthaginians were now busily employed in making head against the Celtiberians; they therefore without delay passed the Iberus, and not seeing any enemy, proceeded to Saguntum, having received information that the hostages from every part of Spain had been placed there, under custody by Hannibal, and were guarded in the citadel by a small garrison. This pledge was the only thing which hindered all the states from manifesting their inclinations to an alliance with Rome; as they dreaded lest, in case of their defection, the blood of their children should be made the expiation of the offence. From this restraint, one man, by a device more artful than honourable, set Spain at liberty. There was at Saguntum, a Spaniard of noble birth, called Abelo, who had hitherto behaved with fidelity to the Carthaginians, but had now, out of a disposition very general among barbarians on a change of fortune, altered his attachment. But considering that a deserter coming to an enemy, without bringing into their hands any advantage of consequence, is no more than an infamous and contemptible individual, he studied how he might procure the most important emolument to his new allies. Wherefore, after reviewing every expedient within the reach of his power to effect, he determined upon a plan of delivering up the hostages into their hands; judging that this alone would prove of all means the most effectual towards conciliating to the Romans the friendship of the Spanish chieftains. But as he well knew that, without an order from Bostar the commander, the guards of the hostages would do nothing, he artfully addressed Bostar himself; the latter lying at the time encamped at some distance from the city, on the very shore, with intention to hinder the approach of the Romans from the harbour. Here the other taking him aside to a place of secrecy, represented, as if it were unknown to him, the present state of affairs; that "fear had hitherto restrained the inclinations of the Spaniards, because the Romans had been at a great distance; at present the Roman camp was on their side of the Iberus, serving as a fortress and place of refuge to all who wished a change; wherefore

it was necessary that those who could no longer be bound by fear, should be bound by kindness and favour." Bostar showing surprise, and asking what was this unthought-of kindness of such great moment, he answered, "Send home the hostages to their respective provinces: this will engage the gratitude of their parents in particular, who are men of the first consequence in their several states, and likewise of the communities in general. Every man wishes to find trust reposed in him, and trust reposed generally proves a bond of fidelity. The office of restoring the hostages to their families I demand for myself; that, as I have been the proposer of the plan, I may likewise be its promoter, by the pains which I shall take in the execution of it; and may, as far as lies in my power, render a proceeding, which is acceptable in its own nature, still more acceptable." Having gained the approbation of Bostar, who possessed not the same degree of crafty sagacity as other Carthaginians, he went out secretly by night to the advanced guards of the enemy, where, meeting some of the Spanish auxiliaries, and being by them conducted to Scipio, he disclosed the business on which he came. Then mutual engagements being entered into, and time and place appointed for delivering up the hostages, he returned to Saguntum. The next day he spent with Bostar in receiving instructions for the execution of his commission; and, before he left him, settled the plan so, that he was to go by night, in order to escape the observation of the enemy's watch. At an hour concerted, he called up the guards of the boys; and setting out, he led them, as if unknowingly, into the snare prepared by his own treachery. They were then conducted into the Roman camp. In every other respect the restoration of the hostages was performed as had been settled with Bostar, and in the same mode of procedure, as if the affair were transacted in the name of the Carthaginians. But, though the act was the same, the Romans acquired a much higher degree of reputation from it than it would have produced to the Carthaginians; because the latter, having shown themselves oppressive and haughty in prosperity, it might be supposed that the abatement of their rigour was owing to the change in their fortune, and to their fears; whereas the Ro-

man, on his first arrival, while his character was yet unknown, commenced his administration with an act of clemency and liberality; and it was believed that AbeloX would hardly have voluntarily changed sides without some good reason for such a proceeding. All the states, therefore, with general consent, began to meditate a revolt; and they would have proceeded instantly to hostilities, had they not been prevented by the winter, which obliged even the Romans and Carthaginians, to take shelter in houses.

HANNIBAL'S STRATAGEM TO FOMENT MUTINY AMONG THE ROMANS

These were the occurrences of the second campaign of the Punic war on the side of Spain; while, in Italy, the wise delays of Fabius had afforded the Romans some respite from calamities. However, though his conduct kept Hannibal in a constant state of no little anxiety, (since he perceived that the Romans had at length chosen such a master of the military science, who made war to depend on wisdom, not on fortune,) yet it excited in the minds of his countrymen, both in the camp and in the city, only sentiments of contempt; especially when, during his absence, the master of the horse had been rash enough to hazard a battle, the issue of which (though it afforded matter for some present rejoicing) was productive of no real advantage. Two incidents occurred which served to increase the general disapprobation of the dictator's conduct; one was, an artful contrivance employed by Hannibal to mislead the public opinion; for, on the dictator's farm being shown to him by deserters, he gave orders, that while every other place in the neighbourhood was levelled to the ground, that alone should be left safe from fire and sword, and every kind of hostile violence; in order that this might be construed as a favour shown to him, in consideration of some secret compact. The other was an act of his own, respecting the ransoming of the prisoners; the merit of which was, at first, perhaps doubtful, because he had not waited for the direction of the senate in that case; but in the end, it evidently redounded to his honour in the highest de-

gree. For, as had been practised in the first Punic war, a regulation was established between the Roman and Carthaginian generals, that whichever party should receive a greater number than he returned, should pay for the surplus, at the rate of two pounds and a half of silver [\$40] for each soldier. Now the Roman had received a greater number than the Carthaginian, by two hundred and forty-seven; and, though the business was frequently agitated in the senate, yet because he had not consulted that body on the regulation, the issuing of the money due on this account was too long delayed. Sending, therefore, his son Quintus to Rome for the purpose, he sold off the farm which had been spared by the enemy, and, at his own private expense, acquitted the public faith. Hannibal lay in an established post under the walls of Geronium, in which city, when he took and burned it, he had left a few houses to serve as granaries. From hence he generally detached two-thirds of his army to forage, and the other part he kept with himself on guard and in readiness for action, providing for the security of the camp, and, at the same time, watching on all sides, lest any attack might be made on the foragers.

MINUCIUS IN FABIUS' ABSENCE TAKES THE AGGRESSIVE

The Roman army was, at that time, in the territory of Larinum, and the command was held by Minucius the master of the horse, in consequence, as mentioned before, of the dictator's departure to the city. But the camp, which had been pitched on a high mountain in a secure post, was now brought down to the plains; and more spirited designs, conformable to the genius of the commander, were meditated: either an attack on the dispersed foragers, or on their camp when left with a slight guard. It did not escape Hannibal's observation that the plan of conduct was changed, together, with the commander, and that the enemy were likely to act with more boldness than prudence. He sent (which would have been scarcely expected, as the foe was so near,) a third part of his troops to forage, retaining the other two; and afterwards removed his camp to a hill about two miles from Geronium,

and within view of that of the enemy, to show that he was in readiness to protect the foragers, should any attempt be made on them. From hence he saw a hill nearer to and overhanging the Roman works, and knowing that, if he went openly in the day to seize on this, the enemy would certainly get before him by a shorter road, he despatched secretly in the night, a body of Numidians, who took possession of it: next day, however, the Romans, despising their small number, dislodged them, and removed their own camp thither. There was now, therefore, but a small space between the ramparts of the two camps, and this the Romans almost entirely filled with their troops in order of battle. At the same time their cavalry and light infantry, sent out from the rear against the foragers, caused great slaughter and consternation among the scattered troops of the enemy. Yet Hannibal dared not to hazard a general engagement, for with his small number (one third of his army being absent) he was scarcely able to defend his camp, if it were attacked. And now he conducted his measures almost on the plans of Fabius, lying still and avoiding action, while he drew back his troops to his former situation under the walls of Geronium. According to some writers, they fought a regular pitched battle: in the first encounter the Carthaginian was repulsed, and driven to his camp; from which a sally being suddenly made, the Romans were worsted in turn, and the fight was afterwards restored by the coming up of Numerius Decimius, a Samnite. This man, the first, with respect both to family and fortune, not only a Bovianum, of which he was a native, but in all Samnium, was conducting to the army, by order of the dictator, a body of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, which appearing on Hannibal's rear, was supposed by both parties to be a new reinforcement coming from Rome with Fabius. On which Hannibal, dreading likewise some stratagem, retired within his works. The Romans pursued, and with the assistance of the Samnite, took two forts by storm before night. Six thousand of the enemy were slain, and about five thousand of the Romans. Yet though the losses were so equal, an account was sent to Rome as of a most important

victory, and letters from the master of the horse still more ostentatious.

FABIUS IS DENOUNCED IN THE SENATE

These matters were very often canvassed, both in the senate and in assemblies of the people. The dictator alone, amidst the general joy, gave no credit either to the news or the letters; and declared, that though all were true, he should apprehend more evil from success than from disappointment; whereupon Marcus Metilius, a plebeian tribune, insisted, that "such behaviour was not to be endured; the dictator, not only when present with the army, obstructed its acting with success, but also, at this distance, when it had performed good service, impeded the good consequences likely to ensue; protracting the war, in order that he might continue the longer in office, and hold the sole command both at Rome and in the army. One of the consuls had fallen in the field, and the other, under pretext of pursuing a Carthaginian fleet, had been sent away far from Italy: the two prætors were employed in Sicily and Sardinia, neither of which provinces had, at that time, any occasion for the presence of a prætor. Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, was kept, as it were, in custody, lest he should come within sight of the enemy, or perform any military service. So that, in fact, not only Samnium, the possession of which had been yielded up to the Carthaginians, as well as that of the country beyond the Iberus, but also the Campanian, Calenian, and Falernian territories had been ravaged and destroyed; while the dictator remained inactive at Casilinum, and, with the Roman legions, protected his own estate. The army and the master of the horse, who were eager to fight, had been kept, in a manner, shut up within the trenches, and deprived of arms, like captured forces: but when, at last, the dictator left them, when they were freed from their confinement, they passed the trenches, defeated the enemy, and put him to flight. For all which reasons, if the Roman commons were possessed of their ancient spirit, he would have boldly proposed to depose Quintus Fabius from his office: as matters stood at the present, how-

ever, he would offer a moderate proposition, that the master of the horse should be invested with authority equal to that of the dictator; and still, when that should be done, that Quintus Fabius should not be sent to the army, until he should first substitute a consul in the room of Caius Flaminius." The dictator shunned the assemblies, knowing the people's prejudices against any thing he could say; nor even in the senate was he very favourably heard, particularly when he spoke in high terms of the enemy, and imputed to the rashness and unskilfulness of the commanders the disasters of the two preceding years, and declared, that "the master of the horse should be called to account for having fought contrary to his orders. If the entire command and direction were in him, he would soon give people reason to be convinced, that to a good commander fortune is a matter of slight consideration; and that wisdom and prudence control and govern all things. For his part, he deemed it more glorious to have saved the army at a critical juncture, and without suffering disgrace, than to have slain many thousands of the enemy."

MINUCIUS MADE EQUAL TO FABIUS

Having frequently discoursed in this manner without effect, and having created Marcus Atilius Regulus consul, the dictator, unwilling to be present at a contest concerning the authority of his office, set out, during the night preceding the day on which the affair of the proposition was to be decided, and went to the army. As soon as day rose, the commons met in assembly, their minds filled with tacit displeasure against the dictator, and favour towards the master of the horse; yet were not people very forward to stand forth in praise of the measure, however generally agreeable; so that while the proposition had an abundant majority, still it wanted support. The only person found to second it was Caius Terentius Varro, who had been prætor the year before; a man not only of humble, but of sordid birth. We are told that his father was a butcher, who attended in person the sale of his meat, and that he employed this very son in the servile offices of that trade. This young man having, by the

money thus acquired and left to him by his father, conceived hopes of attaining a more respectable situation in life, turned his thoughts to the bar and the forum, where, by the vehemence of his harangues in favour of men and causes of the basest sort, in opposition to the worthy citizens of fortune and character, he at first attracted the notice of the people, and afterwards obtained honourable employments. Having passed through the quæstorship, two ædileships, the plebeian and curule, and lastly, the prætorship, he now raised his views to the consulship; and artfully contriving to make the general displeasure against the dictator the means of procuring popularity to himself, he alone gained the whole credit of the order passed by the commons. Excepting the dictator himself, all men, whether his friends or foes, in the city or in the camp, considered that order as passed with the intention of affronting him. But he, with the same steadiness of mind which he had displayed in bearing the charges made against him by his enemies before the multitude, bore likewise this ill-treatment on him by the people in the violence of passion; and though he received on his journey, a letter containing a decree of the senate, giving equal authority to the master of the horse; yet, being fully confident that, together with the authority in command, the skill of the commanders had not been made equal, he proceeded to the army, with a spirit unsubdued either by his countrymen or the enemy.

But Minucius, whose arrogance was scarcely tolerable before, on this flow of success and of favour with the populace, threw off all restraints of modesty and moderation, and openly boasted no less of his victory over Quintus Fabius than of that over Hannibal: "He was the only commander," he said, "who, in the desperate situation of their affairs, had been found a match for Hannibal; and he was now, by order of the people, set on a level with Fabius. A superior magistrate, with an inferior; a dictator, with the master of the horse; of which, no instance was to be found in the records of history; and this in a state where the masters of the horse used to dread and tremble at the rods and axes of dictators; with such a high degree of lustre had his good

fortune and successful bravery shone forth. He was resolved, therefore, to pursue his own good fortune, should his colleague persist in dilatory and slothful plans, condemned by the judgment both of gods and men." Accordingly, on the first day of his meeting Fabius, he told him, that "they ought, in the first place, to determine in what manner they should exercise the command, with which they were now equally invested; that, in his judgment, the best method would be, that each should hold the supreme authority and command alternately, either for a day, or for some longer fixed portion of time, if that were more agreeable; to the end, that if he should meet any favourable opportunity of acting, he might be a match for the enemy, not only in conduct, but likewise in strength." This Quintus Fabius by no means approved; for "fortune," he said, "would have the disposal of every thing which should be done under the direction of his colleague's rashness. The command had been shared between them, not taken away from him; he would never, therefore, voluntarily divest himself of the power of keeping such part of the business as he could, under the guidance of prudence. He would not divide times, nor days of command, with him; but he would divide the troops, and, by his own counsels, would preserve as much as he could, since he was not allowed to preserve the whole." He accordingly prevailed to have the legions divided between them, as was the practice with consuls. The first and fourth fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. They likewise divided, in equal numbers, the cavalry, and the allied and Latine auxiliaries. The master of the horse chose also that they should encamp separately.

FABIUS SAVES MINUCIUS FROM DISASTER AND RESUMES SUPREME POWER

Hannibal was not ignorant of anything that passed among the enemy; for, besides the intelligence procured through his spies, he derived ample information from deserters. In these proceedings he found a twofold cause of rejoicing; for the temerity of Minucius, now free from control, he could entrap at his will; and the wisdom of Fabius was reduced

to act with but half his former strength. Between the camp of Minucius and that of the Carthaginians, stood a hill, of which, whoever took possession, would evidently render the other's situation more inconvenient. This Hannibal wished to seize; but he was not so desirous of gaining it without a dispute (even though it were worth his while), as of bringing on, thereby, an engagement with Minucius; who, he well knew, would be always ready to meet him in order to thwart his designs. The whole intervening ground seemed, at first view, incapable of admitting any stratagem, having on it no kind of wood nor being even covered with brambles; but, in reality, it was by nature formed most commodiously for an ambush, especially as, in a naked vale, no snare of that sort could be apprehended; and there were, besides, at the skirts of it, hollow rocks, several of which were capable of containing two hundred armed men. In these concealments were lodged five thousand horse and foot, distributed in such numbers as could find convenient room in each place. Nevertheless, lest the motion of any of them, coming out inconsiderately, or the glittering of their arms, might betray the stratagem in such an open valley, he diverted the enemy's attention to another quarter, by sending, at the first dawn, a small detachment to seize on the hill above-mentioned. Immediately on the appearance of these, Romans despising the smallness of their numbers, demanded, each for himself, the task of dislodging them, and securing the hill; while the general himself, among the most foolish and presumptuous, called to arms, and with vain parade and empty menaces expressed his contempt of the enemy. First, he sent out his light infantry; then the cavalry in close order; at last, seeing reinforcements sent by the Carthaginian, he advanced with the legions in order of battle. On the other side, Hannibal, by sending up, as the contest grew hotter, several bodies of troops, one after another, to the support of his men when distressed, had now almost completed a regular line; and the contest was maintained with the whole force of both parties. The Roman light infantry in the van, marching up from the lower ground to the hill already occupied by the enemy, were repulsed; and being forced to retreat, carried terror among

the cavalry, who were advancing in their rear, and fled back to the front of the legions. The line of infantry alone remained undismayed, amidst the general panic of the rest; and there was reason to think, that in a fair and regular battle they would have proved themselves not inferior to their antagonists, so great spirits had they assumed from their late success. But the troops in ambush rising on a sudden, and making brisk attacks both on their flank and their rear, caused such dread and confusion, that no one retained either courage to fight or hope of escape.

Fabius, who had first heard their cries of dismay, and afterwards saw, at a distance, their line in disorder, then said, "Is it so; fortune has found rashness, but not sooner than I feared. He, who was made in command equal to Fabius, sees Hannibal his superior both in bravery and success. But there will be time enough for reproof and resentment; march now out of your trenches. Let us extort the victory from the enemy and from our countrymen an acknowledgment of their error. When a great number were now slain, and others looking about for a way to escape, on a sudden Fabius's army showed itself, as if sent down from heaven to their relief, and by its appearance, before the troops came within a weapon's throw, or struck a stroke, put a stop both to the precipitate flight of their friends, and the extravagant fury of the enemy. Those who had broken their ranks, and dispersed themselves different ways, flocked together, from all sides, to the fresh army; such as had fled in great numbers together, faced about, and forming in lines, now retreated leisurely; then several bodies uniting, stood on their defence. And now the two armies, the vanquished and the fresh, had almost formed one front, and were advancing against the foe, when the Carthaginians sounded a retreat; Hannibal openly acknowledging, that as he had defeated Minucius, so he had been himself defeated by Fabius. The greatest part of the day being spent in these various changes of fortune, when the troops returned into their camps, Minucius calling his men together, said, "Soldiers, I have often heard, that he is the first man, in point of abilities, who, of himself, forms good counsels; that the next, is he who

submits to good advice; and that he who neither can himself form good counsels, nor knows how to comply with those of another, is of the very lowest capacity. Now, since our lot has denied us the first rank in genius and capacity, let us maintain the second, the middle one; and, until we learn to command, be satisfied to be ruled by the skilful. Let us join camps with Fabius; and, when we shall have carried our standards to his quarters; when I shall have saluted him by the title of father; for nothing less has his kindness towards us, as well as his high dignity deserved; then, soldiers, ye will salute; as your patrons, those men, whose arms and whose prowess have just now protected you; and then this day will have procured for us, if nothing else, at least the honour of possessing grateful minds."

The signal was displayed, and notice given to get ready to march. They then set out; and, as they proceeded in a body to the camp of the dictator, they threw him and all around, into great surprise. When they had planted their standards before his tribunal, the master of the horse, advancing before the rest, saluted him by the title of father; and the whole body of his men, with one voice, saluted those who stood round as their patrons. Minucius then expressed himself thus: "Dictator, to my parents, to whom I have just now compared you, in the most respectful appellation by which I could address myself, I am indebted for life only; to you, both for my own preservation, and that of all these present. That order of the people, therefore, by which I have been oppressed rather than honoured, I am the first to cancel and annul; and, so may it be happy to you, to me, and to these your armies, the preserved and the preserver, I replace myself and them, these standards, and these legions, under your command and auspices; and entreat you, that readmitting us to your favour, you will order me to hold the post of master of the horse, and these their several ranks." On this they cordially embraced; and, on the meeting being dismissed, the soldiers accompanying Minucius were hospitably and kindly invited to refreshment, both by their acquaintances and those to whom they were unknown. Thus was converted into a day of rejoicing, from a day of sorrow, one

which but a little before had nearly proved fatal. When an account of these events arrived at Rome, and was afterwards confirmed by letters, not only from the generals themselves, but from great numbers of the soldiers, in both the armies, all men warmly praised Maximus, and extolled him to the sky. Nor were the sentiments felt by the Carthaginians, his enemies, and by Hannibal, less honourable to him. They then at length perceived, that they were waging war against Romans and in Italy. For during the two preceding years, they had entertained such contemptuous notions both of the Roman generals and soldiers, as scarcely to believe that they were fighting against the same nation, of which they had received from their fathers such a terrible character. We are told likewise, that Hannibal, as he returned from the field, observed, that "that cloud which hung over the mountains, had at last discharged its rain in a storm."

DEFEAT OF GEMINUS, THE CONSUL, IN AFRICA

During the course of these transactions in Italy, Cneius Servilius Geminus, consul, with a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships, sailed round the coast of Sardinia and Corsica. Having received hostages in both places, he steered his course towards Africa, and, before he made any descent on the continent, ravaged the island of Meninx, and received from the inhabitants of Cercina ten talents of silver [\$10,000] as a contribution to prevent the like devastation and burning of their country: he then drew near the coast of Africa, and disembarked his forces. Here the soldiers and mariners were led out to ravage the country, in as careless a manner as if they were plundering the islands where there were very few inhabitants; in consequence of which rashness, they fell unawares into a snare. Being assailed on all sides, and while they were in loose disorder, by compact bodies of men acquainted with the country of which themselves were utterly ignorant, they were driven back to their ships in a disgraceful flight, and with severe loss. There fell no less than a thousand men, among whom was Sempronius Blæsus, the quæstor. The fleet, hastily, setting sail from the shore which was cov-

ered with the enemy, passed over Sicily, and at Lilybæum was delivered to the prætor Titus Otacilus, to be conducted home to Rome, by his lieutenant-general Publius Sura. The consul himself, travelling by land through Sicily, crossed the streight into Italy, having been summoned, as was likewise his colleague, Marcus Atilius, by a letter from Quintus Fabius, in order that they might receive the command of the army from him, as the six months, the term of his office, were nearly expired. Almost all the historians affirm, that Fabius acted against Hannibal in the capacity of dictator. Cœlius even remarks, that he was the first dictator created by the people. But it escaped the notice of Cœlius and the rest, that the privilege of nominating that officer belonged solely to Cneius Servilius, the only consul in being, who was at that time, far distant from home, in the province of Gaul; and so much time must necessarily elapse before it could be done by him, that the state, terrified by the late disaster, could not endure the delay, and therefore had recourse to the expedient of creating, by a vote of the people, a prodictator; and that the services which he afterwards performed, his distinguished renown as a commander, and the exaggeration of his descendants, in the inscription of his statue, may easily account for his being called dictator instead of prodictator.

THE CONSULS SUPERSEDE FABIUS BUT CONTINUE HIS POLICY

The consuls having taken the command of the armies, Marcus Atilius of that of Fabius, and Geminus Servilius of that of Minucius, and having erected huts for the winter, as the season required (for it was now near the close of autumn), conducted their operations conformably to the plan of Fabius, and with the utmost harmony between themselves. Whenever Hannibal went out to forage, they came upon him in different places, as opportunity served, harassing him on his march, and cutting off stragglers; but never hazarded a general engagement, which the enemy endeavoured to bring on by every means he could contrive; so that Hannibal was reduced, by scarcity, to such distress, that had he not feared

that a retreat would have carried the appearance of flight, he would have returned back into Gaul; not having the least hope of supporting his army in those places, if the succeeding consuls should adopt the same plan of operations with these. While, in the neighbourhood of Geronium, hostilities were suspended by the coming on of winter, ambassadors came to Rome from Neapolis, who brought into the senate-house forty golden bowls of great weight, and spoke to this effect: "They knew that the treasury of the Roman people was exhausted by the present war, which was carried on no less in defence of the cities and lands of the allies, than the empire and city of Rome, the metropolis and bulwark of Italy; that the Neapolitans had therefore thought it reasonable, that whatever gold had been left to them by their ancestors for the decoration of their temples, or support in time of need, should now be applied to the aid of the Roman people. That if they had thought their personal service of any use, they would with the same zeal have offered it. That the Roman senate and people would act in a manner highly grateful to them, if they would reckon everything in possession of the Neapolitans as their own, and vouchsafe to accept from them a present, of which the principal value and importance consisted in the disposition and wishes of those who cheerfully offered it rather than its own intrinsic worth." Thanks were given to the ambassadors for their attention and generosity, and one bowl, which was the least in weight, was accepted.

WISE ACTS OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN ROME

About the same time a Carthaginian spy, who had lurked undiscovered for two years, was detected at Rome: his hands were cut off, and he was sent away. Twenty-five slaves, for having formed a conspiracy in the field of Mars, were crucified, and the informer was rewarded with his freedom, and twenty thousand *asses* in weight.¹ Ambassadors were sent to

¹ About \$323. About this time, in consequence of the scarcity of money, the comparative value of brass to silver was charged, and a *denarius* made to pass for twelve, and afterwards for sixteen *asses*.

Philip king of Macedonia, to insist on his delivering up Demetrius of Pharia, who, being defeated in war, had fled to him; others also were sent at the same time, to the Ligurians, to expostulate on their having assisted the Carthaginian with men and supplies, and to observe what was doing in the neighbourhood among the Boians and Insurbrians. Delegates were also sent to Illyrium, to Pineus the king, to demand the tribute, of which the day of payment had elapsed; or to receive hostages, if he wished to be allowed longer time. Thus the Romans, though pressed at home by a war immensely grievous, yet relaxed not their attention to the business of the state in any part of the world, however distant. Their care was also excited by a matter of religious concernment. The temple of Concord, vowed two years before by the prætor Lucius Manlius, on occasion of the mutiny of the soldiers in Gaul, not having been yet set about, Marcus Æmilius, prætor of the city, constituted duumvirs for that purpose, Cneius Pupius and Cæso Quintius Flaminius, who contracted for the building of it in the citadel. By the same prætor, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, a letter was sent to the consuls, that if they thought proper, one of them should come to Rome to elect successors, and that a proclamation should be issued for holding the election, on whatever day they might name. In answer to this the consuls wrote back, that, "without detriment to the business of the public, they could not go to any distance from the enemy. That it would be better, therefore, that the election should be held by an interrex, than that either of them should be called away from the war." The senate judged it more advisable that a dictator should be nominated by a consul, for the purpose of holding the election, and Lucius Veturius Pilo being accordingly nominated, appointed Manius Pomponius Matho master of the horse. But some defect being discovered in their appointment, they were ordered, on the fourteenth day to abdicate their offices, and an interregnum took place.

ELECTION OF CONSULS AND PRÆTORS

The consuls were continued in command for another year.

[Y.R. 536, B.C. 216.] The patricians declared interrex Caius Claudius Centho, son of Appius, and afterwards Publius Cornelius Asina, under whose direction the election was held; which was attended with a warm contention between the patricians and plebeians. The populace struggled hard to raise to the consulship, Caius Terentius Varro, a person of their own rank, who, as before observed, by railing against the patricians, and by other popular arts, had acquired their affection; and who by undermining the interest of Fabius and the dictatorial authority, had made the public displeasure against him the means of adding a lustre to his own character. The patricians opposed him with their utmost efforts, lest a power should be given to those men of raising themselves to the level of nobles, by means of malignant aspersions on their characters. Quintus Bæbius Herennius, a plebeian tribune, a relation of Caius Terentius, censured not only the senate, but likewise the augurs, for having hindered the dictator from holding the election, and thought by rendering them odious, to increase the popularity of his favourite candidate. He asserted, that, "by certain of the nobility, who, for many years, had been wishing for a war, Hannibal was induced to enter Italy; that by the same men the war was treacherously prolonged, though it might have been brought to a conclusion; further, that an army, consisting of four entire legions, was sufficiently able to cope with the enemy, was evident from this, that Marcus Minucius, in the absence of Fabius, had fought with success. That two legions had been exposed in the field, with intent that they should be defeated, and then were rescued from the brink of destruction in order that the man should be saluted as father and patron, who had hindered the Romans from conquering, though he had afterwards prevented their defeat. That the consuls had, on the plan of Fabius, protracted the war, when they had it in their power to bring it to an end. That a confederacy to this purpose had been entered into by all the nobles, nor would the people know peace, until they elected to the consulship a real plebeian, a new man: for as to the plebeians, who had attained nobility, they were now initiated into the mysteries of their order; and, from the moment when

they ceased to be despised by the patricians, looked with contempt on the commons. Who did not see, that the end and intention of appointing an interregnum was to put the election into the power of the patricians? It was with a view to this that both the consuls had remained with the army; with the same view afterwards, when, contrary to their wishes, a dictator had been nominated to hold the election, they arbitrarily carried the point, that the appointment should be pronounced defective by the augurs. They had in their hands, therefore, the office of interrex; but certainly one consul's place was the right of the Roman commons, which the people would dispose of with impartiality, and would bestow on such a person as rather wished to conquer effectually, than to continue long in command.

These inflammatory speeches had such an effect on the commons, that though there stood candidates three patricians, Publius Cornelius Merenda, Lucius Manlius Volso, and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, and two of plebeian extraction, whose families were now ennobled, Caius Atilius Serranus, and Quintus Ælius Pætus, one of whom was pontiff, the other augur; yet Caius Terentius Varro, alone, was elected consul, in order that he might have the direction of the assembly for choosing his colleague. On which the nobles, having found that his competitors possessed not sufficient strength, prevailed by violent importunity, on a new candidate to stand forth, after he had long and earnestly refused; this was Lucius Æmilius Paullus, a determined enemy of the commons, who had been consul before with Marcus Livius, and had very narrowly escaped being sentenced to punishment, as was his colleague. On the next day of assembly all those who had opposed Varro, having declined the contest, he was appointed rather as an antagonist than as a colleague. The election of prætors¹ was then held, and Manius Pompo-

¹ At first the name prætor, derived from *præire*, to preside, was applied to any magistrate who was the chief in any line, whether civil, military, or religious. But it was afterwards appropriated to a magistrate, appointed to relieve the consuls from the burthen of superintending the administration of justice. His proper office,

nius Matho, and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. The lot of administering justice to the citizens of Rome fell to Pomponius, that of deciding causes between Roman citizens and foreigners, to Publius Furius Philus. Two additional prætors were appointed, Marcus Claudius Marcellus for Sicily, Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul. All these were appointed in their absence; nor, excepting the consul Terentius, was any of them invested with an office which he had not administered before; several men of bravery and activity being passed by, because, at such a juncture, it was not judged expedient to intrust any person with a new employment.

Augmentations were also made to the armies; but as the number of additional forces of foot and horse which were raised, writers vary so much, as well as in the kind of troops that I can scarcely venture to affirm any thing certain on that head. Some authors assert that ten thousand new soldiers were levied, others four new legions; so that there were eight legions employed: and that the legions were also augmented, both horse and foot; one thousand foot and one hundred horse being added to each, so as to make it contain five thousand foot and four hundred horse; and that the allies furnished an equal number of foot, and double the number of horse. Some writers affirm, that, at the time of the battle of Cannæ, there were in the Roman camp, eighty-seven thousand two hundred soldiers. All agree in this, that greater force, and more vigorous efforts, were now employed, than in the former years, in consequence of the dictator having afforded them room to hope that the enemy might be van-

therefore, was the direction of judicial proceedings; but, in the absence of the consuls, he acted in their stead, with power nearly equal to theirs. The great influx of foreigners soon made it necessary to create a second prætor, who was called *prætor peregrinus*, the foreign prætor, because his business was to decide controversies between citizens and foreigners, while the city prætor, *prætor urbanus*, who was superior in dignity, took cognizance of suits between citizens. When the Romans gained possession of foreign provinces they appointed a prætor to the government of each, and his power within his province was almost unlimited, for he was accountable to none but the people of Rome.

quished. However, before the new legions began their march from the city, the decemvirs were ordered to go and inspect the books, because people in general were terrified by prodigies of extraordinary kinds; for accounts were received, that, at Rome, on the Avantine, and, at the same time, at Africa, a shower of stones had fallen; that in the country of the Sebines, statues had sweated abundance of blood, and that the warm waters at Cære had flowed bloody from the spring; and this circumstance, having happened frequently, excited therefore the greatest terror. In a street, near the field of Mars, several persons had been struck with lightning, and killed. These portents were expiated according to the directions of the books. Ambassadors from Pæstus brought some golden vessels to Rome, and to these, as to the Neapolitans, thanks were returned, but the gold was not accepted.

HIERO OF SYRACUSE SENDS SUPPLIES TO ROME

About the same time arrived at Ostia a fleet, sent by Hiero, with a large supply of provisions. The Syracusan ambassadors being introduced to the senate, acquainted them, that "King Hiero had been as sincerely afflicted, on hearing of the loss of the consul Caius Flaminius, and his army, as he could have been by any disaster happening to himself or his own kingdom. Wherefore, though he was fully sensible that the grandeur of the Roman people had shone forth, in times of adversity, with a still more admirable degree of lustre than even in prosperity, yet he had sent such supplies of every sort, for the support of the war, as are usually furnished by good and faithful allies; and he earnestly besought the conscript fathers not to refuse them. That, in the first place, for the sake of the omen, they had brought a golden statute of Victory, of three hundred and twenty pounds weight, which they prayed them to accept, hold, and possess, as appropriated to them for ever. That they had likewise, in order to guard against any want of provisions, brought three hundred thousand packs of wheat, and two hundred thousand of barley; and that whatever further supplies might be necessary, should be conveyed to such places as the senate

should order. That he knew that the Roman people employed not in the main body of their army, or in the cavalry, any other than Roman citizens, or Latine confederates; yet as he had seen, in a Roman camp, foreign brands of light-armed auxiliaries, he had therefore sent a thousand archers and slingers, a body well qualified to oppose the Balearians, Moors, and other nations remarkable for fighting with missile weapons." To these presents he added likewise advice: that "the prætor, to whose lot the province of Sicily might fall, should cross over with a fleet to Africa, in order to give the enemy employment for their arms in their own country, and to allow them the less leisure to supply Hannibal with reinforcements." The senate returned an answer to the king in these terms; that "Hiero had ever acted as a man of honour, and an excellent ally; that from the time, when he first united in friendship with the Roman people, he had, through the whole course of his conduct manifested an invariable fidelity in his attachment to them; and in all times, and in all places, had, with great liberality, supported the interest of Rome. Of this the Roman people entertained, as they ought, a grateful sense. That gold had likewise been offered by some other states, which, though thankful for the intention, the Roman people had not accepted: the statute of Victory, however, and the omen, they accepted, and had offered, and dedicated to that divinity, a mansion in the capitol, in the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great; hoping that, consecrated in that fortress of the city of Rome, she would be pleased to remain firm and immovable, kind and propitious to the Roman people." The slingers, archers, and the corn were delivered to the consuls. To the fleet of ships already in Sicily with the prætor Titus Otacilius, were added twenty-five quinqueremes, and he received permission, if he judged it conducive to the public good, to pass over to Africa.

STRIFE BETWEEN THE CONSULS

After the levies were completed, the consuls waited a few days for the arrival of the confederates from Latium. At this time the soldiers were obliged to take an oath dictated

by the tribunes, which had never before been practised. For until now, there had been no public oath taken, only that they would assemble on the orders of the consuls, and, without their orders, would not depart; and then, when they joined their decury or century, the horsemen, on being placed in their decuries, and the footmen on being placed in their centuries, used to swear voluntarily, among themselves, that they would not depart through fear or in flight; nor quit their ranks, except for the purpose of taking up or bringing a weapon, of striking an enemy, or saving a countryman. This, from having been a voluntary compact between themselves, was now put under the jurisdiction of the tribunes, who were invested with legal authority to administer the oath. Before the troops began their march from the city, the harangues of the consul Varro were frequent, and full of presumption; in these he openly asserted, that the war had been purposely drawn into Italy by the nobles, and would continue fixed in the very centre of the commonwealth, if men like Fabius were to have the command; but that he, on the very first day, wherein he should get sight of the enemy would bring it to a conclusion. The only speech made by his colleague Paullus, on the day before that on which they set out from the city, contained more truth than flattery, addressed to the people; nevertheless he used no harsh expressions against Varro, excepting thus much; that "it was a matter of surprise to him, how any man, before he was acquainted with either his own or his enemy's forces, the situation of posts, or the nature of the country, while he remained in the city, in short, and in the garb of peace, could yet know what he should have to do when he came to take the field; and could even foretell the day on which he was to come to a general engagement. For his part, as men's plans must be regulated by circumstances, and not circumstances by their plans, he would not be in haste to adopt prematurely any one, before the season showed its expediency. He wished that even those measures, which had been taken under the guidance of caution and prudence, might be attended with prosperous issue; since rashness, besides the folly which is involved, had been hitherto constantly unsuc-

cessful." Without any further declaration, it was hence apparent, that he preferred safe to hasty counsels; and, to induce him to adhere the more firmly to his resolution, Quintus Fabius Maximus is said to have addressed him, just before his departure, in this manner:—

"If, Lucius Æmilius, you had a colleague like yourself, (which I earnestly wish), or, if yourself were like your colleague, any address from me would be superfluous; because, in the first place, two good consuls would, without advice from me, out of their own honourable zeal, act, in every particular, to the advantage of the public; and, in the other, two bad ones would neither admit my words into their ears, nor my counsels into their breasts. At present, when I consider, on the one hand, your colleague, and, on the other, yourself and your character, I address myself solely to you, whose endeavours, as a worthy man and citizen, I perceive will be without effect, if the administration be defective on the other side. Evil counsels will have equal privilege and authority with good. | For Lucius Paullus, you are much mistaken if you suppose that you will have a less difficult struggle to maintain with Caius Terentius than with Hannibal. I know not whether the former may not prove more dangerous than the latter. With the one, you will contend in the field only; with the other, in all places and times; against Hannibal and his legions, you will be supported in fight, by your troops of infantry and cavalry; Varro will oppose you at the head of your own soldiers. May the mention of Caius Flaminius not prove ominous to you! But he became mad, after he became consul, when in his province, and at the head of the army: in a word, this man, before he professed himself a candidate for the consulship, afterwards, while he canvassed for it, and now, since his appointment, before he has seen the camp or the enemy, has proceeded, all along, in one continued paroxysm of insanity. And when, by raving of fights and fields of battles, he now excites such storms among the peaceful citizens in their gowns, what do you suppose he will do among the young men, who have arms in their hands, and with whom acts instantly follow words? If he shall immediately fight the enemy, as he boasts that he will, either I am

ignorant of military affairs, of the nature of the present war, and of the enemy with whom we have to deal, or some other place will be rendered still more remarkable by our disasters, than was the Thrasimenus. It is no time for me to boast, talking as I am to a single man; and if I have gone too far on either side, it was in contemning, not in seeking applause: but the truth is this; the only rational method of conducting the war against Hannibal, is that in which I conducted it; nor does the event alone confirm this, (for fools only judge by events,) but the reasons which did and must subsist, as long as circumstances shall remain the same and unchangeable. We are carrying on war in Italy, in our own country, and on our own soil, where all the places round are full of our countrymen and allies, who do, and will assist us with men, arms, horses, and provisions. That we may so far rely on their faithful attachment, they have given sufficient proofs in the times of our distress. Time will daily improve us, will render us more prudent, more steady. Hannibal, on the contrary, is in a foreign, a hostile territory, surrounded on all sides by enemies and dangers, far from home, far from his native country; both land and sea are possessed by his foes: no cities receive him within their walls; he nowhere sees aught which he can call his own; he lives on the plunder of the day; he has scarcely a third part of that army which he brought over the river Iberus; nor has he a supply of food for the few who remain. Do you doubt then, that by avoiding action we shall overcome him, whose strength is of itself declining every day, who has no resource of provisions, no reinforcements, no money? How long under the walls of Geronium, a wretched fort of Apulia, as if under those of Carthage, did I—but I will not vaunt even before you. See how the last consuls, Cneius Servilius and Marcus Atilius, baffled him. Believe me, Lucius Paullus, this is the only way of safety; yet this will be thwarted by your countrymen, rather than by the enemy. For the same thing will be desired by both parties; the wish of Varro, the Roman consul, will be the same with that of Hannibal, the Carthaginian. You alone will have two generals to withstand. However you will withstand them, provided you maintain a proper degree

of firmness; so as not to be shaken by common fame, or by the rumours which will be spread among the people; by neither the empty applause bestowed on your colleague, nor the false imputations thrown on yourself. It is commonly said that truth is often eclipsed, but never extinguished. He who slights fame, shall enjoy it in its purity. Let them call you timid, instead of cautious; dilatory instead of considerate; an unenterprising instead of a consummate commander. I rather wish that a wise enemy may fear, than that the foolish part of your own countrymen should applaud you. Attempting every thing, you will be despised by Hannibal; doing nothing rashly, you will be feared by him. Yet I by no means recommend that nothing should be done, but that in all your proceedings you be guided by reason, not by fortune; that you keep every matter always within your own power, and under your own direction; that you be always armed and on your guard; and that you neither fail to improve a favourable opportunity, nor afford such an opportunity to the foe. Acting with deliberation, you will see every thing clearly and distinctly; haste is improvident and blind."

THE CONSULS TAKE COMMAND OF THE ARMY

The consul answered rather in a desponding style: he acknowledged the truth of what had been said, but showed little hope of being able to put the advice into execution. "If Fabius," he said, "when dictator, had been unable to withstand the arrogance of his master of the horse, what power or influence could a consul have, to oppose a seditious and hotheaded colleague? As to himself, he had, in his former consulate, escaped the flames of popular rage, not without being scorched. He wished that all might end happily: but should any misfortune occur, he would expose his life to the weapons of the enemy, rather than to the votes of his incensed countrymen." Immediately after this conversation, as we are told, Paullus set out, escorted by the principal patricians, while the plebeians attended their own consul in a crowd more numerous than respectable. When they came into the field, and the old and new troops were intermixed,

they formed two separate camps; the new one, which was likewise the smaller, was nearer to Hannibal; the old one contained the greater number, and the main strength of the army. Then Marcus Atilius, one of the consuls of the former year, wishing to be dismissed, on account of the state of his health, was sent to Rome; and the other, Geminus Servilius, was charged with the command of a Roman legion, and two thousand of the confederate infantry and cavalry, stationed in the smaller camp. Hannibal, though he saw the force of the enemy doubled, yet rejoiced exceedingly at the arrival of the consuls. For, besides that he had no part remaining of the provisions acquired by plunder from day to day, there was nothing now left within his reach, of which he could make prey: all the corn in every quarter, when it was found unsafe to keep it in the country, having been collected together into the fortified towns; so that, as was afterwards discovered, he had scarcely a quantity sufficient for ten days; and, in consequence of the scarcity, a design had been formed, among the Spaniards, of going over to the enemy, had time been allowed them to bring it to maturity.

HANNIBAL'S AMBUSH IS FRUSTRATED

But fortune herself concurred in administering fuel to the impatient temper and rashness of the consul; for, an attack having been made on the plundering parties, and a tumultuary kind of engagement ensuing, occasioned rather by the voluntary exertions of the soldiers running up to the spot, than by any preconcerted design, or order, of the commanders, the Carthaginians were considerably worsted, losing a thousand seven hundred men, while there fell, of the Romans and their confederates, not more than a hundred. However, while the victors pursued with eagerness, the consul Paullus, who held the command on that day, (for they commanded alternately,) dreading an ambuscade, obliged them to halt, though Varro expressed great indignation at it, exclaiming, that the enemy had been allowed to slip out of their hands; and that the war might have been finished, had not a stop been put to the action. Hannibal grieved not much

for this loss; on the contrary, he rather believed that it would serve as a bait to ensnare the more presumptuous consul, and the soldiers, particularly the raw ones. All the circumstances of the enemy were as well known to him as his own; that the commanders were of dissimilar characters, and disunited in opinion; and that almost two-thirds of their army were raw recruits. Thinking, therefore, that he had now found both time and place convenient for a stratagem, on the following night, he led away his men, with no other encumbrance than their arms, the camp being full of their effects of all kinds, public and private: then, making them halt out of sight, behind the nearest mountains, he formed the foot in order of battle on the left, and the cavalry on the right, and conducted the baggage, as a centre line, through the interjacent valley; intending, while the enemy should be busy and encumbered in the pilaging of the camp, as if deserted by the owners, to fall upon them by surprise. Numerous fires were left in the camp, to create a belief that his intention was, by such appearances, to detain the consuls in their posts, while he should gain the advantage of time, to retreat to the greater distance, in like manner as he had deceived Fabius the year before.

When day arrived, the Romans, on observing, first, that the advanced guards had been withdrawn, and afterwards, on a nearer approach, the extraordinary silence, were filled with surprise. Then, when they discovered plainly that the camp was deserted, they ran together in crowds to the pavilions of the consuls, informing them that the enemy had fled in such haste, as to leave the tents standing; and in order to conceal their flight, had left also a number of fires. They then, with loud clamours, demanded that orders should be given for the troops to march in pursuit; and, that they should plunder the camp in their way. Varro acted the same part as the common soldiers. Paullus repeatedly represented, that they ought to proceed with care and circumspection; and, at last, when he could no otherwise restrain their proceedings, or the leader of them, he despatched Marius Statilius, a præfect of the allies, with a troop of Lucanian horse, to procure intelligence. He rode up to the gates, and, ordering

the rest to halt at the outside of the trenches, he went himself with two horsemen into the camp; and, having carefully examined every circumstance, returned and reported, that there was without doubt an ambush intended; for the fires were left in that quarter which faced the enemy, the tents were open, and every thing of value left in view; and that he had seen silver thrown at random in the passages, as if to invite a pillage. The very circumstances, mentioned with the intent of repressing their ardour for booty, served to inflame it; and the soldiers, shouting aloud, that if the signal were not given, they would proceed without their leaders; they did not long want one, for Varro instantly gave the signal for marching. Paullus was desirous of checking this precipitancy, and being informed that the chickens had not given a favourable auspice, ordered that the ill omen should be reported to his colleague when he was just leading the troops out of the gate; whereupon Varro, though heartily vexed at this, yet from the recollection of the recent disaster of Flaminius, and of the memorable overthrow of the consul Claudius at sea, in the first Punic war, was sensibly struck with religious scruples. The gods themselves on that day postponed, in a manner, rather than averted, the calamity which hung over the Romans: for it luckily happened, that, while the troops refused to obey the consul's orders to return into the camp, two slaves, one belonging to a horseman of Formiæ, the other to one of Sidicinum, who had been taken prisoners by the Numidians, among a party of foragers, in the consulate of Servilius, and Atilius, made their escape on that very day to their owners; and, being brought before the consuls, informed them that Hannibal's whole army lay in ambush behind the nearest mountains. The seasonable arrival of these men procured obedience to the authority of the consuls, when one of them, by his immoderate pursuit of popular applause, had, through improper indulgence, forfeited people's respect for their dignity, particularly with regard to himself.

THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ

When Hannibal perceived that the Romans, though they took some inconsiderate steps, had not carried their rashness

to the full extent, the stratagem being now discovered, he returned with disappointment to his camp. In this place he could not remain, many days, by reason of the scarcity of corn, and new measures were daily in contemplation, not only among the soldiery, a multitude compounded of the refuse of all nations, but even in the mind of the general himself; for the men began to murmur, and afterwards proceeded with open clamours to demand the arrears of their pay, and to complain at first of the dearness of provisions, at last of famine. A report too prevailed, that the mercenary soldiers, particularly those from Spain, had formed a scheme of going over to the enemy, so that Hannibal himself is said to have sometimes entertained thoughts of flying into Gaul; intending to have left all the infantry behind, and, with the cavalry to have made a hasty retreat. While these matters were in agitation, and this the disposition in the camp, he formed a resolution of removing into Apulia, where the weather was warmer, and consequently more favourable to the ripening of the harvest; and where, in proportion as he was placed at a greater distance from the enemy, the discontented would find desertion the more difficult. Accordingly, he set out by night, after kindling fires as before, and leaving a few tents to keep the appearance of a camp, in the expectation that fears of an ambush, as on the former occasion, would keep the Romans within their works. But Statilius, the Lucanian, having examined all the ground beyond the camp, and on the other side of the mountains, and bringing back an account that he had seen the enemy marching at a great distance, a consultation was held about pursuing him. Here each consul maintained the same opinion which he had ever held; but almost all the officers siding with Varro, and no one except Servilius, the consul of the former year, with Paullus, they pursuant to the determination of the majority, set forward, under the impulse of unhappy fate, to render Cannæ for ever memorable, as a scene of disaster to the Romans. Near that town Hannibal had pitched his camp, turning the rear towards the wind called Vulturinus, which, in those plains, parched with heat, carries along with it clouds of dust. As this choice of situation was highly commodious to the men,

while in camp, so was it particularly advantageous, when they were drawn up for battle; because, while the wind only blew on their backs, it would nearly blind the enemy with whom they were to fight, by carrying great quantities of dust into their faces. n. 7

The consuls pursued the Carthaginians, taking proper care to examine the roads; when they arrived near Cannæ, and had the foe in sight, they divided their forces, as before, and fortified two camps at nearly the same distance from each other as they had been at Geronium. As the river Aufidus ran by the camps of both, the watering parties of both had access to it, as opportunity served, but not without encountering opposition. The Romans, however, in the smaller camp, which was pitched on the other side of the Aufidus, had greater liberty of supplying themselves with water, because there were none of the enemy posted on the farther bank. Hannibal, now, conceiving hopes that the consuls might be brought to an engagement in this tract, where the nature of the ground was advantageous to cavalry, in which kind of forces he had a manifest superiority, drew out his army in order of battle, and endeavoured to provoke them by skirmishes of the Numidians. On this the Roman camp was again thrown into disturbance, by mutinous behaviour in the soldiers, and dissension between the consuls; Paullus representing to Varro the fatal rashness of Sempronius and Flaminius; and Varro to him the example of Fabius as a specious precedent for timid and inactive commanders. The one calling gods and men to witness, that none of the blame was to be imputed to him, of Hannibal's now holding Italy as if by prescriptive right of possession; for that he was chained down by his colleague, while the soldiers, full of rage and ardour for the fight, were kept unarmed. To which the other replied, that, if any misfortune should happen to the legions, from their being hurried into an inconsiderate and rash engagement, he himself, although entirely free from all reproach, must yet bear a share of the consequences, be they what they might. Let him take care, that those, whose tongues were now so ready and impetuous, showed the same alertness during the fight.

While, instead of deliberating on proper measures, they thus wasted time in altercation, Hannibal who had kept his forces drawn up in order of battle during a great part of the day, led back the rest towards the camp, and despatched the Numidian horse to the other side of the river, to attack a watering party, which had come from the smaller camp of the Romans. They had scarcely reached the opposite bank, when, merely, by their shout, and the rapidity of their motions, they dispersed this disorderly crowd; and then pushed forward against an advanced guard, stationed before the rampart, and almost up to the very gates. The Romans, in having their camp threatened by a band of irregular auxiliaries, felt an intolerable affront, so that nothing could have restrained them from drawing out their forces and passing the river, but from the chief command being then in the hands of Paullus. On the next day, therefore Varro, whose turn it was to command, without conferring with his colleague, displayed the signal for battle,¹ and marshalling his forces, led them over the river, while Paullus followed; because, though he did not approve of his design, yet he could not avoid giving him his support. Having crossed the river, they were joined by the troops from the smaller camp, and formed their line in this manner: in the right wing, next the river they placed the Roman cavalry, and adjoining them the Roman infantry; the extremity of the left wing was composed of the confederate cavalry: and, enclosed by these, the confederate infantry stretched to the centre, so as to unite with the Roman legions. The archers, and other light-armed auxiliaries, formed the van. The consuls commanded the wings, Terentius the left, Æmilius the right; the charge of the centre was committed to Geminus Servilius.

Hannibal, at the first light, sending before him the Balearians, and the other light-armed troops, crossed the river, and posted each company in his line of battle, in the same order in which he had led them over. The Gallic and Spanish cavalry occupied the left wing, near the bank, opposite the Roman cavalry, and the Numidian horse to the right; the infantry forming the centre in such a manner, that both ends of their

¹ A purple cloak raised on a spear over the Prætorium.

line were composed of Africans, and between these were placed the Gauls and Spaniards. The Africans, for the most part, resembled a body of Roman troops, being furnished, in great abundance, with the arms taken partly at the Trebia, but the greater part at the Thrasimenus. The shields of the Gauls and Spaniards were nearly of the same make; their swords were different, both in length and form; those of the Gauls being very long, and without points; those of the Spaniards, whose practice was rather to thrust at their enemy, than to strike, light and handy, and sharp at the point. The troops of these nations made a more terrible appearance than any of the rest, on account of the size of their bodies, and also of their figure. The Gauls were naked from their middle upward; the Spaniards clad in linen vests, of a surprising and dazzling whiteness, and bordered with purple. The whole number of infantry, drawn up in the field on this occasion, was forty thousand, of cavalry ten thousand. The generals who commanded the wings were, Hasdrubal on the left, and Maharbal on the right. Hannibal, himself, with his brother Mago, took the command of the centre. The sun, very conveniently for both parties, shone on their flanks, whether this position was chosen designedly, or that it fell out by accident; for the Romans faced the south, the Carthaginians the north. The wind, which the natives of the country call Vulturnus, blew briskly against the Romans, and by driving great quantities of sand into their faces, prevented them seeing clearly.

The shout being raised, the auxiliaries advanced, and the fight commenced, first, between the light-armed troops; then the left wing consisting of Gallic and Spanish cavalry, engaged with the right wing of the Romans; but not in the usual method of fighting between horsemen, for they were obliged to engage front to front, no room having been left for any evolutions, the river on one side, and the line of infantry on the other, confining them, so that they could only push directly forward; at last the horses being pressed together in a crowd, and stopped from advancing, the riders, grappling man to man, dragged each other to the ground. The contest was now maintained chiefly on foot, but was more furious than lasting; for the Roman horsemen, unable

to keep their stand, turned their backs. When the fight between the cavalry was almost decided, the infantry began to engage. At first the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ranks, without betraying any inferiority either in strength or courage. At length the Romans, by frequent and persevering efforts, with their front regular and in compact order, drove back a body which projected before the rest of their line in form of a wedge, and which, being too thin, consequently wanted strength; as these gave ground, and retreated hastily and in disorder, they pursued, and without slackening their charge, broke through their dismayed and flying battalions; at first, to their centre line; and, at length, meeting with no resistance, they arrived at the reserved troops of the Africans, which latter had been posted on both flanks of the others, inclining backwards towards the rear, while the centre, composed of the Gauls and Spaniards, jutted considerably forward. By the retreat of this prominent part, the front was first rendered even; then, by their proceeding still in the same direction, a bending inward was at length formed in the middle, on each side of which the Africans now formed wings; and the Romans, incautiously rushing into the centre, these flanked them on each side and by extending themselves from the extremities, surrounded them on the rear also. In consequence of this, the Romans who had already finished one battle, quitting the Gauls and Spaniards, whom they had pursued with much slaughter, entered now on a new one against the Africans, in which they had not only the disadvantage of being hemmed in, and, in that position, obliged to fight, but also, that of being fatigued, while their antagonists were fresh and vigorous.

By this time, the battle had begun on the left wing also of the Romans, where the confederate cavalry had been posted against the Numidians: it was languid at first, and commenced with a piece of Carthaginian treachery. About five hundred Numidians, carrying, besides their usual armour and weapons, swords concealed under their coats of mail, rode up under the appearance of deserters, with their bucklers behind their backs, and having hastily alighted from their horses, and thrown their bucklers and javelins at the feet of their

enemies, were received into the centre line, and conducted thence to the hindmost, where they were ordered to sit down in the rear. There they remained quiet, until the fight was begun in every quarter; when, however the thoughts and eyes of all were deeply intent on the dispute, snatching up the shields which lay in great numbers among the heaps of the slain, they fell on the rear of the Romans, and stabbing the men in the backs, and cutting their hams, made great slaughter, and caused still greater terror and confusion. While in one part, prevailed dismay and flight, in another, obstinate fighting in spite of despair. *Hasdrubal who commanded on the left wing, after entirely routing the Roman cavalry, went off to the right, and, joining the Numidians, put to flight the cavalry of the allies. Then, leaving the Numidians to pursue them, with his Gallic and Spanish horse, he made a charge on the rear of the Roman infantry, while they were busily engaged with the Africans.*¹

On the other side of the field, Paullus had, in the very beginning of the action, received a grievous wound from a sling; nevertheless, at the head of a compact band, he frequently opposed himself in Hannibal's way; and, in several places, he restored the fight, being protected by the Roman horsemen, who, in the end, dismounted, because the consul's strength declined so far that he was not able even to manage his horse. Some person on this, telling Hannibal that the consul had ordered the cavalry to dismount, he answered, as we are told, "I should have been much better pleased if he delivered them to me in chains." The fight maintained by the dismounted cavalry was such as might be expected, when the enemy had gained undoubted possession of the victory; and as the vanquished chose to die on the spot, rather than fly, the victors, enraged at them for retarding their success, put to death those whom they could not drive from their ground. They did, however, at length oblige them to quit the field, their numbers being reduced

¹ Here the text of the original is so corrupted as to be absolutely unintelligible. The fact, as represented in the supplemental lines in italic types, is so related by Polybius.

to a few, and those quite spent with toil and wounds. They were all entirely dispersed, and such as were able repaired to their horses, in order to make their escape. Cneius Lentulus, a military tribune, seeing, as he rode by, the consul sitting on a stone, and covered with blood, said to him, "Lucius Æmilius, whom the gods ought to favor, as the only person free from the blame of this day's disaster, take this horse, while you have any remains of strength; I will accompany you, and am able to raise you up and protect you. Add not to the fatality of the fight the death of a consul; without that, there will be abundant cause of tears and mourning." The consul replied, "Your spirit, Cneius Cornelius, I commend; but do not waste, in unavailing commiseration, the short time allowed you for escaping out of the hands of the enemy. Go, carry a public message from me to the senate, that they fortify the city of Rome; and before the victorious Carthaginian arrives, secure it with a powerful garrison. Carry also a private message to Quintus Fabius; tell him that Lucius Æmilius has lived, and now dies in a careful observance of his directions. As to myself, let me expire here, in the midst of my slaughtered soldiers, that I may not either be brought, a second time, to a trial on the expiration of my consulship, or stand forth an accuser of my colleague; or as if my own innocence were to be proved by the impeachment of another." While they were thus discoursing, first, a crowd of their flying countrymen, and afterwards the enemy came upon them; and these, not knowing the consul, overwhelmed him with their weapons. Lentulus, during the confusion, escaped through the swiftness of his horse. A general rout now took place; seven thousand men fled into the smaller camp, ten thousand into the greater, and about two thousand into the village of Cannæ; but the town not being defended by any fortifications, these were instantly surrounded by Carthalo and the cavalry. The other consul, without joining any party of his routed troops, gained Venusia, with about seventy horsemen. The number of the slain is computed at forty thousand foot, and two thousand seven hundred horse; the loss of natives and of the confederates being nearly equal. Among these were the quæstors belonging to both consuls,

Lucius Atilius, and Lucius Furius Bibaculus; twenty-one military tribunes; several who had passed through the offices of consul, prætor, or ædile, among whom are reckoned Cneius Servilius Geminus, and Marcus Minucius, who had been master of the horse in the preceding year, and consul some years before; likewise eighty who were members of the senate, or had borne those offices which qualified them to be chosen into that body, and who had voluntarily enlisted as soldiers in the legions. The prisoners taken in this battle are reckoned at three thousand foot, and three hundred horse.

Such was the battle of Cannæ; equally memorable with the defeat at the Allia; but as it was less fatal in its consequences, because the enemy were remiss in pursuing the blow, so with respect to the destruction of the troops, it was more grievous and lamentable. For the flight at the Allia, while it proved the ruin of the city, preserved the men; but at Cannæ, scarcely seventy accompanied the consul who fled; almost the whole army perished with the other. Those who had collected together in the two camps, were a half-armed multitude, without leaders: from the larger was sent a message to the others, that while the enemy were sunk, during the night, in profound sleep, in consequence of their fatigue in the battle, and of their feasting for joy, they should come over to them, and they would go off in one body to Canusium. This advice some totally rejected; for they said, "Why did not these men come to them, when a junction might as well have been effected by that means. Why, but because the ground between them was full of the enemy's troops, and that they chose to expose to such danger the persons of others rather than their own!" The remainder, though they did not disapprove of the advice, were yet afraid to follow it. On this, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, a military tribune, addressed them thus: "Do ye choose, then, to be taken prisoners by a most rapacious and cruel enemy, to have a price set upon your heads, by men who will examine, whether you are a citizen of Rome, or a Latine confederate, in order to pay a compliment to others, by heaping indignity and misery upon yourselves? Surely not if ye be really fellow citizens of the consul Æmilius, who preferred an honourable death to a life of

dishonour, and of such a number of brave men, who lie in heaps around him. But, before the light overtakes us, and more numerous bodies of the enemy stop up the way, let us sally forth through those, who, without any order or regularity make this noise before our gates; courage and the sword find a passage through the closest battalions; this open and loose band we will penetrate in the form of a wedge. Come on, then, ye who wish the preservation of yourselves and the commonwealth, follow me." So saying, he drew his sword, and, with the troops who chose to follow him, formed as he had proposed, made his way through the midst of the enemy. Here the Numidian javelins being thrown against their right sides, which were uncovered, they removed their shields to their right hands, and thus, to the number of six hundred, effected a passage into the larger camp; proceeding thence, in conjunction with the other greater body, they arrived safe at Canusium. Such were the proceedings of the vanquished, dictated rather by accident, or each man's particular feeling, than by deliberation among themselves, or the orders of any.

When the Carthaginians, flocking round Hannibal, congratulated him on the victory, and recommended, that, after going through the fatiguing business of so great a battle, he should take himself, and allow the wearied soldiers, repose during the remainder of that day and the ensuing night; Maharbal, general of cavalry, who was of opinion that no time should be lost, said to him, "that you may be convinced how much has been accomplished by this engagement, on the fifth day following you shall feast, victorious, in the capitol. Follow me: I will advance with the horse, that the enemy may see me arrived, before they are apprised of my being on the way." To Hannibal these hopes appeared too sanguine, and the prospect too vast for his mind to comprehend at first view. He therefore replied, that "he applauded Maharbal's zeal; but the affair required time for consideration." On which Maharbal observed, "I perceive that the gods do not bestow on the same person all kinds of talents. You, Hannibal, know how to acquire victory, but you know not how to use it." There is good reason to believe that the delay of that day proved the preservation of the city, and of the em-

pire. On the day following, as soon as light appeared, his troops applied themselves to the collecting of the spoils, and in viewing the carnage made, which was such as shocked even enemies; so many thousand Romans, horsemen and footmen, lay promiscuously on the field, as chance had thrown them together, either in the battle, or flight. Some, whom their wounds, being pinched by the morning cold, had roused from their posture, were put to death, by the enemy, as they were rising up, covered with blood, from the midst of the heaps of carcasses. Some they found lying alive, with their thighs and hams cut, who, stripping their necks and throats, desired them to spill what remained of their blood. Some were found with their heads buried in the earth, in holes which it appeared they had made for themselves, and covering their faces with earth thrown over them, had thus been suffocated. The attention of all was particularly attracted by a living Numidian with his nose and ears strangely mangled, stretched under a dead Roman; and who when his hands had been rendered unable to hold a weapon, being exasperated to madness, had expired in the act of tearing his antagonist with his teeth.

After a great part of the day had been spent in gathering the spoils, Hannibal led his troops to attack the smaller camp; and first, by drawing a trench across, excluded the garrison from the river: but the men, being spent with labour, watching, and wounds, capitulated sooner than he had expected. It was agreed, that, besides surrendering their arms and horses, there should be paid for each Roman citizen three hundred denarii [\$48], for an ally two hundred [\$32], for a slave a hundred [\$16]; and that, on laying down this ransom, they should depart with single garments. On this, they received the enemy into the camp, and were all put into custody, but separately; that is, the citizens and allies each by themselves. During the time spent here, such part of the troops, in the greater camp, as had sufficient strength and courage, amounting to four thousand footmen and two hundred horse, had made their escape to Canusium; some in bodies, others, straggling different ways, through the country, a method equally safe. The camp was surrendered to the enemy by the wounded, and those who had stayed through

want of courage, and on the same terms as for the others. Abundance of spoil was found; and the whole, (except the men and horses, and whatever silver there was, most of which was on the trappings of the latter, for there was then very little used at the table, particularly in the field,) was given up to be plundered. Hannibal then ordered the bodies of his men to be collected and buried: they are said to have amounted to eight thousand of the bravest of his troops. Some writers say, that he also searched for, and interred the Roman consul. Those who escaped to Canusium, and who received, from the inhabitants, no farther relief than admittance within their walls and houses, were supplied with corn, clothes, and subsistence, by a woman of Apulia, named Busa, eminent for her birth and riches; in requital of which munificence, high honours were afterwards paid to her, by the senate, at the conclusion of the war.

SCIPIO IS MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Now, although there were four military tribunes present at Canusium; of the first legion, Fabius Maximus, whose father had been dictator the year before; of the second, Lucius Publicius Bibulus, and Publius Cornelius Scipio; and, of the third, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had been ædile the last year; yet the command in chief was, with universal consent, conferred on Publius Scipio; then very young, in conjunction with Appius Claudius. While these, with a few others, were consulting on the measures requisite in this emergency, they were told by Publius Furius Philus, son to a man of consular dignity, that "it was vain for them to cherish hopes in a case past retrieving; for the commonwealth was despaired of, and lamented as lost. That several young men of the nobility, at whose head was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, were meditating a scheme of putting to sea, with intent to abandon Italy, and go over to the king of some other country." This distressing incident, besides having in itself the most fatal tendency, coming unexpectedly, and immediately after so many disasters, surprised and astonished them to such a degree, that they lost for a time all thought and motion;



PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS MAJOR

From a bronze bust in the National Museum at Naples

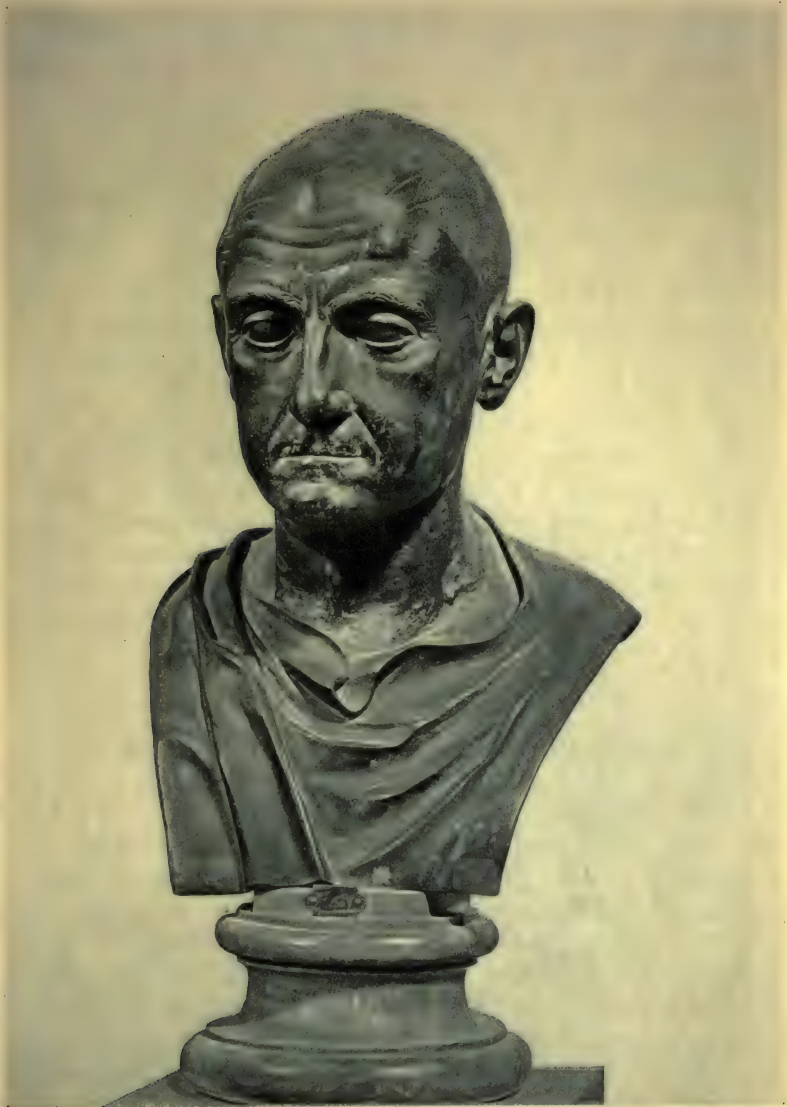
THE ELDER SCIPIO WAS REGARDED BY THE ROMANS AS A BEING ALMOST SUPERIOR TO THE COMMON RACE OF MEN. HE HIMSELF BELIEVED THAT HE WAS DIVINELY GUIDED AND PROTECTED. HE WAS ONE OF THE FEW ROMAN OFFICERS WHO SURVIVED THE BATTLE OF CANNÆ, AND WAS CHOSEN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE BROKEN ARMY; "A YOUTH," LIVY CALLS HIM, "DESTINED BY FATE TO CONDUCT THE WAR TO A CONCLUSION."

want of courage, and on the same terms as for the others: Abundance of spoil was found; and the whole, (except the men and horses, and whatever silver there was, most of which was on the trappings of the latter, for there was then very little used at the table, particularly in the field,) was given up to be plundered. Hannibal then ordered the bodies of his men to be collected and buried: they are said to have amounted to eight thousand of the bravest of his troops. Some writers say, that he also searched for, and interred the Roman consul. Those who escaped to Canusium, and who received, from the inhabitants, no farther relief than admittance within their walls and houses, were supplied with corn, clothes, and subsistence, by a woman of Apulia, named Busa, eminent for her birth and riches; in requital of which munificence, high honours were afterwards paid to her, by the senate, at the conclusion of the war.

SCIPIO IS MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF

Now, although there were four military tribunes present at Canusium; of the first legions, Publius Marcius, whose father had been dictator the year before; of the second, Lucius Publilianus Bibula, and Publius Cornelius Scipio; and, of the third, Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had been consul the last year; yet for command in chief was, with universal consent, conferred on Publius Scipio; then very young, in conjunction with Appius Claudius. While these, with a few others, were consulting on the measures requisite in this emergency, they were told by Publius Furius Philus, son to a man of consular dignity, that "it was vain for them to cherish hopes in a case past retrieving; for the commonwealth was despaired of, and lamented as lost. That several young men of the nobility, at whose head was Lucius Cæcilius Metellus, were meditating a scheme of putting to sea, with intent to attack Italy, and so cover to the king of some other country."

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major
 From a bronze bust in the National Museum at Naples.
 The elder Scipio was regarded by the Romans as a being almost superior to the common race of men. He himself believed that he was divinely guided and protected. He was one of the few Roman officers who survived the battle of Cannæ and was chosen commander-in-chief of the broken army; "a youth," Livy calls him, "destined by fate to conduct the war to a conclusion."



those who were present then, advising that a council should be called on the subject; Scipio, a youth destined by fate to conduct the war to a conclusion, said, that "this was not a subject for council; the business required not deliberation, but fortitude and action. He bade those come with him, that moment, in arms, who wished the preservation of the commonwealth; for no place," said he, "can you more truly call an enemy's camp, than that wherein such designs are agitated." Immediately he proceeded, attended by a few, to the lodging of Metullus; and finding there the youths, who had been mentioned, assembled in consultation, he held his drawn sword over their heads as they sat, and said, "with sincerity of heart I swear, that I will not desert the commonwealth of the Roman people; neither will I suffer any other Roman citizen to desert it. If, knowingly, I break this oath, then do thou Jupiter, supremely good and great, overwhelm, in the severest ruin, myself, my house, my family, and my fortune. Lucius Cæcilius, and the rest of you here present, I insist upon you taking the same oath; he that will not swear, be it known, that against him this sword is drawn." Terrified no less than if they had seen the victorious Hannibal, they all took the oath, and surrendered themselves to Scipio, to be kept in custody.

DISMAY AT ROME

While these things passed at Canusium, about four thousand horse and foot, who, in the flight, had been dispersed through the country, came to the consul at Venusia. These were all distributed by the Venusians through their several families, where they were received and treated with kindness. They also gave to each horseman a gown and tunic, and twenty-five denarii [\$4], and to each footman ten denarii [\$1.60], and such arms as were wanted; and every other hospitable attention was shown them, both by the public and by private persons; all exerting themselves, that the Venusian state might not be outdone, in kindness, by a woman of Canusium. However, the great number of her guests, which amounted now to ten thousand, made the burthen heavier on Busa. Appius and Scipio, as soon as they learned that one

of the consuls was alive, instantly despatched to him an account of the number of horse and foot which were with them; at the same time desiring his orders, whether the troops should be brought to him in Venusia, or remain at Canusium. Varro led over his forces to Canusium. And now there was some appearance of a consular army, and they seemed capable of defending themselves, though not with their arms alone, yet certainly with the help of walls. At Rome accounts were received, that not even these relics of the citizens and allies had survived, but that both armies, with the consuls, were utterly cut off. Never, while the city itself was in safety, did such a degree of dismay and confusion prevail within the walls of Rome. I therefore shrink from the task; and will not undertake to describe a scene, of which any representation that I could give would fall short of the reality. The report was, not of such another wound being received, as when a consul and an army were lost, the year before, at the Thrasimenus, but of a multiplicity of disasters; of both armies, together with both consuls, being lost; that the Romans had now neither camp, nor general, nor soldier existing; that Hannibal was in possession of Apulia, Samnium, and of almost all Italy. Certainly we know no other nation whose spirit would not have been wholly crushed under such an immense load of misfortunes. Can I compare with it the disaster, suffered by the Carthaginians, in the sea-fight at the Ægatian islands, by which they were so dispirited that they gave up Sicily and Sardinia, and were content thenceforth to pay tribute and taxes? Or, the loss of the battle in Africa, under which this same Hannibal afterwards sunk? In no particular are they to be compared, except in this, that the latter, under their calamities, displayed nothing like an equal degree of magnanimity.

PROVISIONS ARE MADE TO DEFEND ROME

The prætors, Publius Furius Philus, and Marcus Pomponius, convened the senate in the Curia Hostilia, to consult on the means of providing for the security of the city. They took it for granted that the armies, being destroyed, the enemy

would come directly to attack Rome, the only object which remained to be accomplished in order to finish the war. As, in a case of such extreme danger, the extent of which was not thoroughly known, they found it difficult to resolve on any plan, and were at the same time stunned with the cries and lamentations of the women; for no positive information being yet received, the living and dead were, all together, lamented as lost, in almost every house. Quintus Fabius Maximus gave his opinion, that "swift horsemen should be sent along the Appian and Latine roads, who, inquiring from any whom they should meet, straggling in their flight from the field, might perhaps bring back information as to the real situation of the consuls and the armies; and, if the immortal gods, in comparison to the empire, had left any remnant of the Roman name; where these forces were; to what quarter Hannibal directed his route after the battle; what were his intentions; what he was doing and preparing to do. These particulars ought to be inquired into, and ascertained, by active young men; and the senators themselves, as there was not a sufficient number of magistrates, ought to undertake the part of quieting the tumult and disorder of the city; to remove the women from the public places, and oblige them to confine themselves within their own doors; to restrain the lamentations of the several families; to cause silence in the city, to take care that expresses arriving with any intelligence be conducted to the prætors; and to make every person wait, in his own house, for information respecting his own concerns. That they should moreover place guards at the gates, to hinder any from going out, and force men to place their only hope of preservation in the strength of their walls and works. That when the tumult should be appeased, then the senators might properly be called back into the house to deliberate on measures for the defence of the city."

This opinion being unanimously approved, and the crowd being removed out of the forum by the magistrates, the senators dispersed themselves on all sides to quiet the commotions; and then, at length, a letter was brought from the consul Terentius, informing them, that "the consul Lucius Æmilius, and the army, were cut off; that he himself was at

Canusium, collecting, as from a shipwreck, the relics of such a dreadful misfortune; that there were with him about ten thousand men, belonging to many different corps, and not yet formed into regular bodies. That the Carthaginian, showing neither the spirit of a conqueror, nor the conduct of a great general, lay still at Cannæ, bargaining about the prisoners and other booty." Then the losses of private families also were made known through their several houses; and so entirely was the whole city filled with grief, that the anniversary festival of Ceres was omitted, because it is not allowable for persons in mourning to celebrate it, and there was not at the time one matron who was not so habited. Lest, therefore, for the same reason, other festivals, public or private, might be left uncelebrated, the wearing of that dress was, by a decree of senate, limited to thirty days. Now, when the tumult in the city was composed, and the senators re-assembled in their house, another letter was brought from Sicily, from the pro-prætor Titus Otacilius, stating, that "a Carthaginian fleet was ravaging the dominions of Hiero; and that, when he was preparing to carry assistance to him, in compliance with his earnest request, he had received intelligence that another fleet lay at the Ægatian islands, prepared for battle, and intending, as soon as they learned that he had gone away to guard the coast of Syracuse, to fall immediately on Lilybæum, and other parts of the Roman province. If, therefore, they wished to protect Sicily, and the king their ally, a reinforcement of ships must be sent."

THE GODS ARE PROPITIATED

When the letters of the consul and pro-prætor were read, it was resolved that Marcus Claudius, who commanded the fleet lying at Ostia, should be sent to take the command of the forces at Canusium; and that a letter should be written to the consul, directing, that as soon as he had delivered the army to the prætor, he should, with all the expedition consisting with the public good, come to Rome. In addition to all their misfortunes, people were also terrified by several prodigies; and, particularly, by two vestals, Opimia and

Floronia, being, in that year, convicted of incontinence; one of them was, according to custom, buried alive, near the Col-line gate; the other voluntarily put an end to her own life. Lucius Cantilius, secretary to one of those, whom we now call the lesser pontiffs, who had debauched Floronia, was, by order of the chief pontiff, scourged in the forum, with such severity, that he expired under the punishment. This enormity, happening in the midst of so many calamities, was, as is usual in such cases, converted into a prodigy, and the decemvirs were ordered to consult the books. Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent also to Delphi, to consult the oracle, and discover by what supplications, and worship, they might be able to appease the gods; and by what means a stop might be put to such a heavy train of misfortunes. Meanwhile, according to the directions of the books of the fates, several extraordinary sacrifices were performed; among which a male and female Gaul, and a male and female Greek, were buried alive in the cattle market, in a vault built round, with stone; a place which had already, by a practice abhorrent from the temper of the religion of Rome, been polluted with human victims. When it was thought that sufficient atonement had been made to the wrath of the gods, Marcus Claudius Marcellus despatched from Ostia to Rome, for the security of the city, one thousand five hundred men, whom he had there, and who had been raised for the service of the fleet. He also sent on before him the marine legion, which was the third under command of the military tribunes, to Teanum in the territory of Sidicinium; and then, having delivered the command of the fleet to his colleague, Publius Furius Philus, he repaired himself, in a few days, by forced marches, to Canusium. Pursuant to directions of the senate, Marcus Junius was nominated dictator, and Tiberius Sempronius master of the horse. They proclaimed a levy, and enlisted all the youth of seventeen years and upwards, and even some under that age, of whom they completed four legions, and a thousand horse. Envoys were also sent to the allies, and Latine confederates, with a requisition of their contingents of troops, as specified by treaty. Orders were issued for preparing armour, weapons, and other necessaries; and they even took down from the temples and porticoes the

old spoils taken from enemies. The urgent necessity, and the scarcity of men of free condition, occasioned their adopting a new mode of raising soldiers, and in an extraordinary manner. They purchased, with the public money, eight thousand stout young slaves; asking each, whether he was willing to serve in the wars; and then gave them arms. They preferred employing this kind of soldiers, though they had it in their power to have ransomed the prisoners at a less expense.

ROME REFUSES TO RANSOM PRISONERS

Hannibal, intoxicated with his great success at Cannæ, conducted himself as if, instead of having a war to prosecute, he had already brought it to a conclusion. Ordering the prisoners to be brought forth, he separated the allies from the rest; and, with expressions of kindness, dismissed them without ransom, as he had done formerly at the Trebia, and the lake Thrasimenus. Even the Romans he called before him; and, contrary to his former practice, addressed them in very mild terms, telling them, that "he meant not to carry the war to the extinction of the Romans, but fought for glory and empire. That, as his predecessors had yielded to the Roman bravery, so he, on his part, was now endeavouring to make others yield, in turn, to his valour and good fortune. Wherefore he would give them permission to ransom themselves; and the terms should be, five hundred denarii [\$80] for each horseman, three hundred [\$48] for a footman, and a hundred for a slave [\$16]." Though the ransom of the horsemen was hereby raised beyond the rate stipulated on their surrendering, yet they joyfully embraced any terms. It was determined, that they should choose, by their own suffrages, ten of their number, who should go to Rome to the senate; and of their faith, no other security was required than their oath, that they would return. With these was sent Carthalo, a noble Carthaginian, who, if he perceived an inclination towards peace, was to propose the terms. After they had set out from the camp, one of them, a man devoid of Roman principles, pretending to have forgotten something, with a view of evading his oath, returned into the camp, and after-

wards, before night, overtook his companions. When it was reported at Rome that they were coming, a lictor was sent to meet Carthalo, with orders, in the name of the dictator, that he should quit the Roman territories before night.

The deputies of the prisoners being by the dictator admitted to an audience of the senate, the principal of them, Marcus Junius, spoke to this effect: "Conscript fathers, none of us is ignorant, that no other state ever considers prisoners in a lower light than ours does. However, unless we are too partial to our own cause, none, who ever fell into the power of an enemy, less deserved to be neglected than we do. For we did not, through cowardice, surrender our arms in the field; but, after having protracted the battle until near night, standing on the heaped bodies of the slain, we retreated within our works. During the remainder of that day, and the ensuing night, spent as we were with toil and wounds, we yet defended our camp. Next day, being entirely surrounded by the army of the conquerors, and debarred from access to water, having no hope of forcing a way through their numerous bands, and not conceiving it criminal, that, after the slaughter of fifty thousand of our army, any Roman soldier should survive the battle of Cannæ, we, at length, agreed to terms of ransom, on which our liberty should be purchased; and we delivered to the enemy our weapons, when they could no longer serve to defend us. We had heard that our ancestors ransomed themselves with gold from the Gauls; and that our fathers, notwithstanding their utter dislike to the acceptance of the terms of peace, yet sent ambassadors to Tarentum, for the purpose of ransoming prisoners. Yet both the fight at the Allia with the Gauls, and that at Heraclea with Pyrrhus, may be called disgraceful, on account of the panic and flight. Whereas the plains of Cannæ are overspread with heaps of slaughtered Romans; and, that we survive, is owing to no other cause, than from the enemy having, in killing, exhausted their strength. There are, besides, some of our number who are not even chargeable with flying the field; having been left to guard the camp, when that was surrendered, they fell into the hands of the enemy. I envy not the good fortune, or the situation, of any fellow-

citizen or fellow-soldier, nor do I wish, by depressing another to exalt myself; but surely, unless there is some prize due to swiftness of foot, those men who fled, leaving most of their arms behind, and never halted until they came to Venusia, or Canusium, cannot justly claim a preference before us, or boast of themselves as more capable of affording defence to the commonwealth. However, ye will find them on trial good and valiant soldiers, and will find us also the more heartily zealous in our country's cause, from the consideration of having been, in kindness, redeemed and reinstated by you. Ye are enlisting men of every age and condition. I hear that eight thousand slaves are to be armed. Our number is not inferior to that, and we may be ransomed at less expense than they are purchased. A comparison between ourselves and them would be an insult on the name of Roman. I think, conscript fathers, that in such a case, this circumstance also deserves consideration, (if ye choose to act towards us with a degree of rigour, which we have, by no means, merited,) the nature of the enemy, in whose hands ye would leave us, whether he is such as Pyrrhus, who treated us, when his prisoners, as if we were his guests; or a barbarian, and a Carthaginian; of whom it can scarcely be determined, whether his avarice or cruelty be greater. If ye were to behold the chains, the squalid dress, and the miserable looks of your countrymen, the sight, I am convinced, would affect you not less deeply, than if ye saw your legions prostrate on the plains of Cannæ. Ye can here observe the solitude, and the tears of our relations, who stand in the porch of your senate house, waiting for your determination: when they suffer such suspense and anxiety for us, and for those who are absent, what do ye suppose must be the state of those men's minds whose liberty and life are at stake? Believe me, that, even should Hannibal, contrary to his nature, behave with lenity towards us, yet life would be no gratification, after having been adjudged by you unworthy of being ransomed. Formerly, prisoners, dismissed by Pyrrhus without ransom, returned home to Rome. But they returned with ambassadors, the principal men in the state, who had been sent for the purpose of ransoming them. Should I return to my country, whom my

fellow citizens have not valued as worth three hundred denarii; conscript fathers, every man has his own way of thinking; I know that my person and life are in hazard: but I am more deeply affected by the danger to our reputation, lest we should appear to be rejected and condemned by you. For the world will never believe that ye were actuated by the motive of saving money."

When he ceased speaking the multitude who stood in the comitium instantly raised a lamentable cry, and stretching their hands towards the senate house, besought the members to restore to them their children, their brethren and relations. Their fears and the urgency of the case, had brought a number of women also among the crowd of men in the forum. The senate as soon as the house was cleared, took the matter into consideration. Opinions were different; some recommended that the prisoners should be ransomed at the expense of the public; others, that the public money should not be expended, but that they should not be hindered from ransoming themselves, with their own private property; and that, to such as wanted money at present, it should be lent out of the treasury, on their indemnifying the nation by sureties and mortgages. Titus Manlius Torquatus, a man who carried primitive strictness, as many thought, to too great a degree of rigour, on being asked his opinion, spoke to this effect: "Had the demands of the deputies, in favour of those who are in the hands of the enemy, gone no farther than to their being ransomed, I should without offering censure on any of them, have delivered my judgment in few words; for what else would be requisite than to admonish you, to maintain the practice transmitted from your forefathers, and to adhere to a precedent essential to military discipline? But now, since they have, in a manner, made a merit of having surrendered themselves to the foe, and claimed a preference, not only over those who were made prisoners in the field, but even over those who made their way to Venusia, and Casinium, and over the consul Caius Terentius himself, I will not let you remain ignorant, conscript fathers, of any of the circumstances which occurred on that occasion. And I wish that the representations, which I am going to lay before you, were made

in the presence of the troops themselves at Canusium, the most competent witnesses of every man's bravery; or, at least, that one particular person were present here, Publius Sempronius, the counsel and example of which officer, had those soldiers thought proper to follow, they would to-day be Romans in their own camp, not prisoners in that of the enemy. But as the Carthaginians were fatigued with fighting, or totally occupied in rejoicing for their success, in which state indeed most of them had even retired into their camp,—they had it in their power during the whole night to extricate themselves by sallying forth; and though seven thousand soldiers had been able to force their way, even through close battalions, yet they, neither of themselves offered to attempt the same, nor were willing to follow the lead of another. Publius Sempronius Tuditanus never ceased advising and exhorting them, that while the numbers of the enemy round the camp were few, while quiet and silence prevailed, while the night covered their design, they should follow where he should lead; assuring them that, before day light, they might arrive in places of safety in the cities of their allies. If he had said in like manner, as in the time of our grandfathers, Publius Decius, military tribune in Samnium, spoke, or, as in our own time, and in the former Punic war, Calphurnius Flamma said to the three hundred volunteers, when he was leading them to seize on an eminence situated in the midst of the enemy, **SOLDIERS, LET US DIE, AND BY OUR DEATHS EXTRICATE THE SURROUNDED LEGIONS FROM THE AMBUSCADE.**—If Publius Sempronius had spoken thus, I say, he could not surely deem you either Romans or men, if no one appeared ready to accompany him in so brave an enterprise. But still he points out the way, which leads not to glory only but to safety. He shows how ye may return to your country, your parents, wives, and children. Do ye want spirit for your own preservation? What would ye do if the cause of your country required your death? Fifty thousand of your countrymen and allies lie around you slain on that same day. If so many examples of bravery do not rouse you, nothing will ever rouse you; if such a carnage has not inspired contempt of life, no other will. While in freedom and safety, wish for

your country: do this as long as it is your country. It is now too late for you to wish for it, when ye are divested of its privileges, disfranchised of the right of citizens, and become slaves of the Carthaginians. Will ye return, on terms of purchase, to that condition, which ye relinquished through pusillanimity and cowardice? To Publius Sempronius, your countryman, ordering you to take arms and follow him, ye would not listen; ye listened soon after to Hannibal, ordering you to betray your camp to him, and surrender your arms. Why do I charge them with cowardice, when I may charge them with actions highly criminal? for they not only refused to follow the person who gave them the best advice, but attempted to hinder and to stop him, had not his gallant companions with their drawn swords cleared the way of those dastards. I affirm, that Publius Sempronius was obliged to force his passage through a body of his countrymen, before he broke through that of the enemy. Has our country any reason to wish for such citizens as these; to whom, if the rest had been like, we should not have had this day one citizen of those who fought at Cannæ? Out of seven thousand men, six hundred were found, who had spirit to force their way, who returned home with freedom and their arms, forty thousand of the enemy not being able to stop them. How safely then do ye suppose might a band of near two legions have passed? In that case, conscript fathers, ye would have had this day, at Canusium, twenty thousand soldiers, brave and faithful. But how can these men be good and faithful citizens, (for to bravery they do not themselves lay claim,) after having attempted to stop the sally of those that wished to trust all to their swords? Or who can suppose, that they do not look with envy on the safety and glory, which the others have acquired by their valour, while they see themselves reduced by their fear and cowardice, to ignominious slavery. The entire band chose to remain in their tents, and wait the approach of day, and of the enemy, at the same time; though during the silence of the night they had a fair opportunity of effecting their escape. But though they wanted confidence to sally out of the camp, they had courage valiantly to defend it. Being besieged for several days and nights, they protected

their rampart by arms: at length, after the utmost efforts and sufferings, when every support of life failed, when their strength was wasted through hunger, and they could no longer bear up under their arms, they were overcome by necessities too powerful for human nature to sustain, and a part with Sempronius gained the greater camp. Now, at sun rise, the enemy approached the rampart, and before the second hour these men who had refused to accompany him without trying the issue of any dispute, surrendered their arms and themselves. Here, then, is the amount of their martial performances during two days; when they ought to have stood in their posts in the battle, and fought, they then fled to their camp; which, instead of defending, they surrendered; showing themselves equally useless there, and in the field. Shall I then ransom such as you? When ye ought to sally forth from your camp, ye hesitate and stay there; and when staying, there is a necessity for defending it, ye make surrender of your arms, and yourselves. Conscript fathers, I would no more vote for ransoming those men, than I would for delivering up to Hannibal the others, who forced their way out of the camp, through the midst of the enemy, and by the highest exertions of valour restored themselves to their country."

After this discourse of Manlius, notwithstanding that most of the senators had relations among the prisoners, yet, besides the maxim generally observed by the state, which, from the earliest times had ever showed very little tenderness towards such, the consideration of the money requisite for the ransom operated with them as a powerful argument; indeed they were unwilling either that the treasury should be exhausted, from which a great sum had already been issued for purchasing and arming the slaves for service, or that Hannibal should receive so considerable a supply, and of which he was said to stand in the greatest need. A harsh answer then being given, that the prisoners should not be ransomed, and this new cause of grief, in the loss of so many citizens, being added to the former, the people escorted the deputies to the gate with abundance of tears and lamentations. One of the deputies left the rest, and went home, as if he had fulfilled his oath, by fallaciously returning into the camp. But, as soon as this became

known, and was reported to the senate, they unanimously voted, that he should be seized and conveyed to Hannibal, under a guard appointed by the government. This affair of the prisoners is related in another manner: that ten deputies came at first; and that the senate were for some time in doubt whether they should be admitted into the city or not; but that at length permission was granted them to enter it; but still they were refused an audience of the senate; and that afterwards, on their staying longer than the rest expected, three others were sent, Lucius Scribonius, Caius Calpurnius, and Lucius Manlius. Then, at last, the business of ransoming the prisoners was proposed to the senate by a plebeian tribune, a relation of Scribonius, and their determination was, that they should not be ransomed. On this the three deputies, who came last, returned to Hannibal, but the ten former remained at Rome; as if, by having returned to Hannibal, after setting out on their journey, under pretext of getting a complete list of the prisoners, they had fulfilled their oath. The question, whether they should be delivered up to the enemy, was warmly debated in the senate, and the party who voted in the affirmative were overcome by a small majority. However, they were by the next censors so severely branded with every mark of ignominy, that some of them laid violent hands on themselves, and the rest, during all the remainder of their lives, shunned not only the forum, but almost the public street, and the light. While such difference, in the representations given by historians, may be wondered at, still there are no means of distinguishing the truth. The greatness of the present misfortune, beyond any hitherto sustained, is demonstrated by this circumstance: that the allies, who, until this time, had stood firm in their attachment, now began to waver; for no other reason, certainly, than that they despaired of the commonwealth. The following states actually revolted to the Carthaginians, during the war: the Atellans, the Calatians, the Hirpinians, a part of the Apulians, the Samnites, excepting the Pentrians, all the Bruttians, the Lucanians, and, besides these, the Surrentinians; almost the whole coast possessed by the Greeks, the Tarentines, Metapontines, Crotonians, Locrians, and all the Cisalpine Gauls. Yet did not all

these losses and revolts of their allies shake the firmness of the Romans so far as to induce them ever once to make mention of peace, either before the consul's return to Rome, or when his arrival renewed the memory of their misfortune. But at that very time, such magnanimity was shown by the state, that on the consul's approaching the city, after such a heavy disaster, of which he, in particular, had been the principal cause, all ranks of people not only went out in crowds to meet him, but even returned him thanks for not having despaired of the commonwealth; whereas, had he been a general of the Carthaginians, there is no degree of punishment beyond what he must have suffered.

TACITUS

A TREATISE ON THE SITUATION,
MANNERS, AND PEOPLE OF

GERMANY

TRANSLATED BY

ARTHUR MURPHY, ESQ.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY THE SAME

ON THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF TACITUS

TACITUS has gained, by the suffrages of posterity, the highest rank among the historians of Greece and Rome. A profound judge of men, and a severe censor of the manners, he has delineated, with the pencil of a master, the characters and the very inward frame of the vile and profligate: while the good and upright receive, in his immortal page, the recompense due to their virtue. It is true that, while he extends the fame of others, he exalts his own name, and enjoys the triumph; but it is to be regretted that no memoirs of his life are extant. He knew the value of that private history which presents the select lives of eminent men; and, in the life of Agricola, has left a perfect model of biography: a mode of writing which, he says, was cultivated, with zeal and diligence, in the time of the old republic; but, under the emperors, fell into disuse. The good and virtuous were suffered to pass out of the world, without an historian to record their names. The age was grown inattentive to its own concerns; and that cold indifference has withheld from us, what now would be highly gratifying to the learned world, an intimate and familiar acquaintance with a great and celebrated writer. All that can be done at present, is to collect the materials that lie dispersed in fragments, and give a sketch of the prominent features, since it were vain to attempt an exact portrait of him, who cannot now sit for his picture.

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS was born towards the beginning of Nero's reign. The exact year cannot be ascertained, but there are circumstances that lead to a reasonable conclusion. Pliny the younger, who was born A.D. 61, informs us, that he and Tacitus were nearly of the same age, and that, when he was growing up to manhood, his friend was flourishing among the foremost orators of the bar.

The place of Tacitus' nativity is no where mentioned. It seems generally agreed, that he was the son of Cornelius Tacitus, a procurator appointed by the prince to manage the imperial revenue, and govern a province in Belgic Gaul. The person so employed was, by virtue of his office, of equestrian rank; and, if he was our historian's father, it may be said of him, that it was his lot to give to the world two remarkable prodigies; one, in the genius of a great historian; the other, in a son, of whom we are told by Pliny the elder, that in the space of three years he grew three cubits, or six feet nine inches, able to walk, but in a slow heavy pace, and dull of apprehension almost to stupidity. He died of sudden spasms and violent contractions of the nervous system.

The place where our author received his education cannot now be known. Massilia (now Marseilles) was, at that time, the seat of literature and polished manners. Agricola was trained up in that university; but there is no reason to think that Tacitus formed and enlarged his mind at the same place, since, when he relates the fact of his father-in-law, he is silent about himself. He, most probably, had the good fortune to be formed upon the plan adopted in the time of the republic, and, with the help of a sound scheme of home-discipline, and the best domestic example, he grew up, in a course of virtue, to that vigour of mind which gives such animation to his writings. The early bent of his own natural genius was such, that he may be said to have been self-educated; *ex se natus*, as Tiberius said of one of his favourite orators.

The infancy of Tacitus kept him untainted by the vices of Nero's court. He was about twelve years old when that emperor finished his career of guilt and folly; and in the tempestuous times that followed, he was still secured by his tender years. Vespasian restored the public tranquillity, revived the liberal arts, and gave encouragement to men of genius. In the first eight years of that emperor, Tacitus was at leisure to enlarge his mind, and cultivate the studies proper to form an orator and a Roman citizen.

It is reasonable to suppose that he attended the lectures of Quintilian, who, in opposition to the sophists of Greece, taught, for more than twenty years, the rules of that manly

eloquence which is so nobly displayed in his *Institutes*. Some of the critics have applied to our author, the passage in which Quintilian, after enumerating the writers who flourished in that period, says, "There is another person who gives additional lustre to the age; a man who will deserve the admiration of posterity. I do not mention him at present; his name will be known hereafter."

Eloquence and the sword were the means by which a Roman aspired to the honours of the state. Quintilian described the efficient qualities of an orator, and those, he says, consisted in a thorough knowledge of the whole system of ethics, some skill in natural philosophy, and a competent knowledge of history, united to a perfect acquaintance with the rules of logic. He cautions his pupil "not to bewilder himself in the maze of metaphysics, and the chimerical visions of abstract speculation, which are too remote from the duties of civil life. What philosopher has ever been an able judge, an eminent orator, or a skilful statesman? The orator, whom I would form, should be a Roman of enlarged understanding, a man of experience in public affairs, not absorbed in subtle disquisition, but exercised in the commerce of the world. Let the lover of theory and visionary schemes enjoy his retreat in the schools of different sects: and let the useful advocate learn his art from those who alone can teach it, the active, the useful, and the industrious." That Tacitus agreed with the doctrine of Quintilian, is evident in the passage where he says of Agricola, that the commander of armies was, in the course of his education, in danger of being lost to the public, in consequence of an early bias to the refined systems of philosophy, till, upon mature consideration, he had the good sense to wean himself from the vain pursuit of ingenious, but unavailing science.

Our author's first ambition was to distinguish himself at the bar. In the year of Rome 828, the sixth of Vespasian, being then about eighteen, he attended the eminent men of the day, in their inquiry concerning the causes of corrupt eloquence, the elegant account of which is probably by his pen.

Tacitus, though not more than twenty, had given such an earnest of his future fame, that Agricola, then consul, chose

him for his son-in-law. Thus distinguished, our author began the career of civil preferment.

Vespasian had a just discernment of men, and was the friend of rising merit. Rome, at length, was governed by a prince, who had the good sense and virtue to consider himself as the chief magistrate, whose duty it was to redress all grievances, restore good order, and give energy to the laws. In such times the early genius of our author attracted the notice of the emperor. The foundation of his fortune was laid by Vespasian. Tacitus does not tell the particulars, but it is probable that he began with the functions of the *Vigintivirate*; a body of twenty men commissioned to execute an inferior jurisdiction for the better regulation of the city. That office, according to the system established by Augustus, was a preliminary step to the gradations of the magistracy. The senate had power to dispense with it in particular cases, and accordingly, we find Tiberius applying to the Fathers for that indulgence in favour of Drusus, the son of Germanicus. It is probable that Tacitus became one of the *Vigintivirate*, and consequently that the road to honours was laid open to him.

The death of Vespasian did not stop him in his progress. Titus was the friend of virtue. The office of quæstor, which might be entered upon at the age of twenty-four complete, was, in the regular course, the next public honour; and it qualified the person who discharged it for a seat in the senate at five-and-twenty. Titus reigned little more than two years. Domitian succeeded to the imperial dignity. Suspicious, dark, and sullen, he made the policy of Tiberius the model of his government; and being by nature fierce, vindictive, impetuous, and sanguinary, he copied the headlong fury of Nero, and made cruelty systematic. Possessed of an understanding quick and penetrating, he could distinguish the eminent qualities of illustrious men, whom he dreaded and hated. He saw public virtue, and he destroyed it. And yet, in that disastrous period, Tacitus rose to preferment. It would be difficult to account for the success of a man who, in the whole tenor of his conduct, preserved an unblemished character, if he himself had not furnished a solution of the problem. Agricola, he

tells us, had the address to restrain the headlong violence of Domitian, by his prudence, and the virtues of moderation; never choosing to imitate the zeal of those, who, by their intemperance, provoked their fate, and rushed on sure destruction, without rendering any kind of service to their country. We may be sure that he, who commends the mild disposition of his father-in-law, had the prudence to observe the same line of conduct. Instead of giving umbrage to the prince, and provoking the tools of power, he was content to display his eloquence at the bar.

Domitian, in order to throw a veil over the passions that lay lurking in his heart, and gathered rancour for a future day, had pretended, in the shade of literary ease, to dedicate all his time to the muses. Tacitus had a talent for poetry, as appears in a letter to his friend Pliny. His verses, most probably, served to ingratiate him with the emperor; and, if he was the author of a collection of apothegms, called *Facetiarum Libri* [Books of Humours], that very amusement was the truest wisdom at a time when such trifles were the safest employment. Domitian, it is certain, advanced our author's fortune. It is nowhere mentioned that Tacitus discharged the offices of tribune and ædile; but it may be presumed that he passed through those stations to the higher dignity of prætor, and member of the quindecemviral college, which he enjoyed at the secular games A.U.C. 841, the seventh of Domitian.

In the course of the following year, our author and his wife left the city of Rome, and absented themselves more than four years. Some writers, wishing to exalt the virtue of Tacitus, and aggravate the injustice of Domitian, will have it that Tacitus was sent into banishment. This, however, is mere conjecture, without a shadow of probability to support it. Tacitus makes no complaint against Domitian; he mentions no personal injury; he received marks of favour, and he acknowledges the obligation. It may, therefore, with good reason be inferred, that prudential considerations induced our author to retire from a city, where an insatiate tyrant began to throw off all reserve, and wage open war against all who were distinguished by their talents and their virtue.

Tacitus had been four years absent from Rome, when he received the news of Agricola's death. That commander had carried his victorious arms from the southern provinces of Britain to the Grampian Hills in Caledonia, and reduced the whole country as far as the Firth of Tay, but such a rapid course of brilliant success alarmed the jealousy of an emperor, who dreaded nothing so much as a great military character. Agricola was recalled A.U.C. 838. He entered Rome in a private manner, and was received by Domitian with cold civility and dissembled rancour. He lived a few years longer in a modest retreat, and the exercise of domestic virtue, endeavouring to shade the lustre of his vast renown. He died on the 23d day of August, in the year of Rome 846, of the Christian era 93. A report prevailed, that a dose of poison, administered by the emperor's order, put an end to his days. Tacitus mentioned the suspicion, but he was generous enough to acknowledge, with candour, that the story rested on no foundation of proof.

Tacitus returned to Rome soon after the death of his father-in-law, and from that time saw the beginning of the most dreadful era, in which Domitian broke out with unbridled fury, and made the city of Rome a theatre of blood and horror. Pliny describes the tyrant in his close retreat brooding over mischief, like a savage beast in his den, and never issuing from his solitude, but to make a worse solitude round him. He adds a sentiment truly noble in the mouth of a Heathen, and, in fact, worthy of a Christian philosopher. Domitian, he says, secluded himself within the walls of his palace; but he carried with him the malice of his heart, his plans of future massacre, and the presence of an avenging God.

The most illustrious citizens were put to death without mercy. They were destroyed by poison, or the assassin's dagger. In some instances, the tyrant wished to give the colour of justice to the most horrible murders, and for that purpose ordered accusations, in due form of law, to be exhibited at the tribunal of the fathers. In all these cases, he invested the senate-house with an armed force and extorted a condemnation of the most upright citizens. Senators were

thrown into dungeons; rocks and barren islands were crowded with illustrious exiles, who were, in a short time, murdered by the centurions and their hired assassins. Wealth and merit were capital crimes; the race of informers enriched themselves with the spoils of ruined families; slaves were admitted to give evidence against their masters; freedmen were suborned against their patrons, and numbers perished by the treachery of their friends.

A conspiracy, at length, was formed in the palace by the domestic servants. Domitian fell under repeated wounds on the 18th of September A.U.C. 849, of the Christian era 96, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his reign. Nerva succeeded to the empire, and carried with him to that eminence virtues unknown to his predecessors, who had been, as Pliny observes, masters of the Roman citizens, and slaves to their own freedmen. Nerva found means to reconcile two things, which had been thought incompatible; civil liberty and the prerogative of the prince. The emperor was no longer superior to the law; he was subject to it. Nerva, in the year of Rome 850, was joint consul with Verginius Rufus; both venerable old men, who exhibited to the people the august spectacle of distinguished virtue advanced to a post of dignity. Nerva had been with difficulty persuaded to accept the imperial sway; and Rufus, when it was pressed upon him by the legions in Germany, had the glory of refusing it upon the noblest principle, because he wished to see the military subordinate to the legislative authority of the senate.

Verginius died before the end of the year, at the age of eighty-three, having seen in the course of a long life, eleven emperors, and survived them all, notwithstanding the virtues that adorned his character. He lived to see himself extolled by poets, and celebrated by historians, anticipating the praise of posterity, and enjoying his posthumous fame. Tacitus was created consul for the remainder of the year, and for that reason, his name is not to be found in the list of consuls. In honour of Verginius, the senate decreed that the rights of sepulture should be performed at the public expense. Tacitus delivered the funeral oration from the rostrum. The applause of such an orator, Pliny says, was sufficient to crown

the glory of a well-spent life. Nerva died on the 27th of January A.U.C. 851, having, about three months before, adopted Trajan for his successor.

It seems probable that the *Life of Agricola* was published in the reign of Trajan. The *Treatise on the Manners of the Germans*, it is generally agreed, made its appearance in the year of Rome 851. The new emperor, whose adoption and succession had been confirmed by a decree of the senate, was at the head of the legions in Germany, when he received intelligence of the death of Nerva, and his own accession to the empire. Being of a warlike disposition, he was not in haste to leave the army, but remained there during the entire year. In such a juncture, a picture of German manners could not fail to excite the curiosity of the public. The dialogue concerning *Oratory* was an earlier production, and probably was published in the reign of Titus or Domitian, who are both celebrated in that very piece for their talents, and their love of polite literature.

The friendship that subsisted between our author and the younger Pliny, is well known. It was founded on the consonance of their studies and their virtues. When Pliny says that a good and virtuous prince can never be sincerely loved, unless we show our detestation of the tyrants that preceded him, we may be sure that Tacitus was of the same opinion. They were both convinced that a striking picture of former tyranny ought to be placed in contrast to the felicity of the times that succeeded. Pliny acted up to his own idea in the panegyric of Trajan, where we find a vein of satire on Domitian running through the whole piece. It appears, in his *Letters*, that he had some thoughts of writing *History* on the same principle. To give perpetuity to real merit, and not suffer the men, who deserved to live in the memory of ages, to sink into oblivion, appeared to him to be an honourable employment, and the surest way to transmit his own name to posterity; but he had not resolution to undertake that arduous task. Tacitus had more vigour of mind; he thought more intensely, and with deeper penetration than his friend. We find that he had formed, at an early period, the plan of his *History*, and resolved to execute it, in order to show the hor-

rors of slavery, and the debasement of the Roman people through the whole of Domitian's reign.

He did not, however, though employed in a great and important work, renounce his practice in the forum. It is true, as stated in the Dialogue concerning Oratory, that the eloquence of the old republic was no longer to be found under the emperors; but still greater opportunities occurred, and the powers of oratory were called forth on subjects worthy of Cicero and Hortensius. The governors of provinces produced many a VERRES, and the plundered natives had frequent causes of complaint. Senators of the first eminence were harassed by the crew of informers; and their fortunes, their rank and dignity, their families, and all that was dear to them, depended on the issue of the cause. The orator, on such occasions, felt himself roused and animated: he could thunder and lighten in his discourse; open every source of the pathetic; draw the tear of compassion; and mould his audience according to his will and pleasure. This was the case in the prosecution of Marius Priscus, who had been proconsul of Africa, and stood impeached before the senate at the suit of the province. Pliny relates the whole transaction. Priscus presented a memorial, praying to be tried by a commission of select judges. Tacitus and Pliny, by the special appointment of the fathers, were advocates on the part of the Africans. They thought it their duty to inform the house, that the crimes alleged against Priscus were of too atrocious a nature to fall within the cognizance of an inferior court. Fronto Catus stood up in his favour, and displayed all the force of pathetic eloquence. The villains, to whom it was alleged that Priscus had sold the lives of innocent men, were tried and convicted. The charge against the proconsul was heard at an adjourned meeting, the most august that had ever been seen, the emperor (for he was then consul) presiding in person. Pliny spoke almost five hours successively. Claudius Marcellinus, and Salvius Liberalis exerted themselves for their client. Tacitus replied with great eloquence, and a certain dignity, which distinguished all his speeches. It was something very noble, says Pliny, and worthy of ancient Rome, to see the senate deliberating three days together. The result was, that Priscus

was sentenced to pay 700,000 sesterces, the amount of the bribes he had received, and to be banished from Italy. The senate concluded the business, with a declaration that Tacitus and Pliny executed the trust reposed in them to the entire satisfaction of the house.

The cause was tried A.U.C. 853, in the third of Trajan's reign. From that time Tacitus dedicated himself altogether to his History. Pliny informs us, that our author was frequented by a number of visitors, who admired his genius, and for that reason went in crowds to his levee. From that conflux of men of letters, Tacitus could not fail to gain the best information. Pliny sent him a full detail of all the circumstances of the death of his uncle, the elder Pliny, who lost his life in the eruption of Mount Vesuvius,¹ in order that an exact relation of that event might be transmitted to posterity. Pliny says, "If my uncle is mentioned in your immortal work, his name will live for ever in the records of fame." He says in another letter, "I presage that your History will be immortal. I ingenuously own, therefore, that I wish to find a place in it. If we are generally careful to have our faces taken by the best artist, ought we not to desire that our actions may be celebrated by an author of your distinguished character?"

Trajan reigned nineteen years. He died suddenly in Cilicia A.U.C. 870, A.D. 117. The exact time when our author published his History is uncertain, but it was in some period of Trajan's reign. He was resolved to send his work into the world in that happy age when he could think with freedom, and what he thought he could publish in perfect security. He began from the accession of Galba A.U.C. 822, and followed down the thread of his narrative to the death of Domitian in the year 849; the whole comprising a period of seven-and-twenty years, full of important events, and sudden revolutions, in which the prætorian bands, the armies in Germany, and the legions of Syria, claimed a right to raise whom they thought proper to the imperial seat, without any regard for the authority of the senate. Such was the subject Tacitus

¹ See Pliny's Letters.

had before him. The summary view, which he has given of those disastrous times, is the most awful picture of civil commotion, and the wild distraction of a frantic people. Vossius says, the whole work consisted of no less than thirty books; but, to the great loss of the literary world, we have only four books, and the beginning of the fifth. In what remains, we have little after the accession of Vespasian. The reign of Titus, the delight of human-kind, is totally lost, and Domitian has escaped the vengeance of the historian's pen.

The History being finished, Tacitus did not think that he had completed his tablatore of slavery. He went back to Tiberius, who left a model of tyranny for his successors. This second work included a period of four-and-fifty years, from the year 767, to the death of Nero in 821. The part of the History which has come down to us, does not include two entire years. During that time the whole empire was convulsed, and the author had to arrange the operations of armies in Germany, Batavia, Gaul, Italy, and Judæa, all in motion almost at the same time. This was not the case in the Annals. The Roman world was in profound tranquillity, and the history of domestic transactions was to supply Tacitus with materials. The author has given us, with his usual brevity, the true character of this part of his work: "The detail," he says, "into which he was obliged to enter, while it gave lessons of prudence, was in danger of being dry and unenterprising. In other histories, the operation of armies, the situation of countries, the events of war, and the exploits of illustrious generals, awaken curiosity, and expand the imagination. We have nothing before us but acts of despotism, continual accusations, the treachery of friends, the ruin of innocence, and trial after trial, ending always in the same tragic catastrophe. Events like these will give to the work a tedious uniformity, without an object to enliven attention, without an incident to prevent satiety." But the genius of Tacitus surmounted every difficulty. He was able to keep attention awake, to please the imagination, and enlighten the understanding. The style of the Annals differs from that of the History, which required stately periods, pomp of expression, and harmonious sentences. The Annals are written in

a strain more subdued and temperate; every phrase is a maxim: the narrative goes on with rapidity; the author is sparing of words, and prodigal of sentiment; the characters are drawn with a profound knowledge of human nature, and when we see them figuring on the stage of public business, we perceive the internal spring of their actions; we see their motives at work, and of course are prepared to judge of their conduct.

The *Annals*, as well as the *History*, have suffered by the barbarous rage, and more barbarous ignorance of the tribes that overturned the Roman empire. Part of the fifth book, containing three years of Tiberius, the entire four years of Caligula, the six first of Claudius, and the two last of Nero have perished in the wreck of literature. We find that Tacitus intended, if his life and health continued, to review the reign of Augustus, in order to detect the arts by which the old constitution was overturned to make way for the government of a single ruler. This, in the hands of such a writer, would have been a curious portion of history; but it is probable that he did not live to carry his design into execution. The time of his death is not mentioned by any ancient author. It seems, however, highly probable that he died in the reign of Trajan, and we may reasonably conclude that he survived his friend Pliny. Those two writers were the ornaments of the age; both men of genius; both encouragers of literature; the friends of liberty and virtue. The esteem and affection, with which Pliny thought of our author, is evident in several of his letters, but nowhere more than in the following passage: "I never was touched with a more sensible pleasure, than by an account which I lately received from Cornelius Tacitus. He informed me that, at the last Circensian games, he sat next to a stranger, who, after much discourse on various subjects of learning, asked him if he was an Italian, or a provincial? Tacitus replied, Your acquaintance with literature must have informed you who I am. Ay! said the man; pray then is it Tacitus or Pliny I am talking with? I cannot express how highly I am pleased that our names are not so much the proper appellations of men, as a kind of distinction for learning itself." Had Pliny been the survivor, he, who la-

mented the loss of all his friends, would not have failed to pay the last tribute to the memory of Tacitus.

The commentators assume it as a certain fact, that our author must have left issue; and their reason is, because they find that M. Claudius Tacitus, who was created emperor A.U.C. 1028, A.D. 275, deduced his pedigree from the great historian. That excellent prince was only shown to the world. He was snatched away by a fit of illness at the end of six months, having crowded into that short reign a number of virtues. Vopiscus tells us, that he ordered the image of Tacitus, and a complete collection of his works, to be placed in the public archives, with a special direction that twelve copies should be made every year, at the public expense. But when the mutilated state in which our author has come down to posterity is considered, there is reason to believe that the orders of the prince were never executed.

THE GERMANIA OF TACITUS

THE whole vast country of Germany is separated from Gaul, from Rhætia, and Pannonia, by the Rhine and the Danube; from Dacia and Sarmatia, by a chain of mountains, and, where the mountains subside, mutual dread forms a sufficient barrier. The rest is bounded by the ocean, embracing in its depth of water several spacious bays, and islands of prodigious extent, whose kings and people are now, in some measure, known to us, the progress of our arms having made recent discoveries. The Rhine has its source on the steep and lofty summit of the Rhætian Alps,¹ from which it precipitates, and, after winding toward the west, directs its course through a long tract of country, and falls into the Northern Ocean. The Danube, gushing down the soft and gentle declivity of the mountain Abnoba,² visits several nations in its progress, and at last, through six channels (the seventh is absorbed in fens and marshes), discharges itself into the Pontic Sea.

The Germans, there is reason to think, are an indigenous race,³ the original natives of the country, without any intermixture of adventitious settlers from other nations. In the early ages of the world, the adventurers who issued forth in quest of new habitations, did not traverse extensive tracts of land;⁴ the first migrations were made by sea. Even at this day the Northern Ocean, vast and boundless, and, as I may say, always at enmity with mariners, is seldom navigated by

¹ Now called the Mountains of the Grisons; that in particular, from which the Rhine issues, is called Vogelberg.

² Now called by the Germans Schwartzwald, and by the French the Black Forest, *la Foret Noire*.

³ The inhabitants of every nation, that had no literary monuments, were by the ancients deemed the immediate offspring of the soil.

⁴ In this passage a mistake seems to be justly imputed to Tacitus. Migrations were certainly made long before people such as the Phœnicians ventured upon the sea.

ships from our quarter of the world. Putting the dangers of a turbulent and unknown sea out of the case, who would leave the softer climes of Asia, Africa, or Italy, to fix his abode in Germany, where nature offers nothing but scenes of deformity; where the inclemency of the season never relents; where the land presents a dreary region, without form or culture, and, if we except the affection of a native for his mother-country, without an allurements to make life supportable. In all songs and ballads, the only memorials of antiquity amongst them, the god Tuisto, who was born of the Earth, and Mannus, his son, are celebrated as the founders of the German race. Mannus, it is said, had three sons, from whom the Ingævones, who bordered on the sea-coast; the Hermiones, who inhabit the midland country; and the Istævones, who occupy the remaining tract, have all respectively derived their names. Some indeed, taking advantage of the obscurity that hangs over remote and fabulous ages, ascribe to the god Tuisto a more numerous issue, and thence trace the names of various tribes, such as the Marsians, the Gambrivians, the Suevians, and the Vandals. The ancient date and authenticity of those names are, as they contend, clearly ascertained. The word Germany is held to be of modern addition. In support of this hypothesis, they tell us that the people who first passed the Rhine, and took possession of a canton in Gaul, though known at present by the name Tungrians, were, in that expedition, called Germans, and thence the title assumed by a band of emigrants, in order to spread a general terror¹ in their progress, extended itself by degrees, and became, in time, the appellation of a whole people. They have a current tradition that Hercules² visited those parts. When rushing to battle, they sing, in preference to all heroes, the praises of that ancient worthy.

The Germans abound with rude strains of verse, the reciters of which, in the language of the country, are called Bards. With this barbarous poetry they inflame their minds

¹ *Germania* is derived from *Gehr* or *Wehr*, meaning war.

² There was, in ancient times, no warlike nation that did not boast of its own particular Hercules.

with ardour in the day of action, and prognosticate the event from the impression which it happens to make on the minds of the soldiers, who grow terrible to the enemy, or despair of success, as the war-song produces an animated or a feeble sound. Nor can their manner of chanting this savage prelude be called the tone of human organs: it is rather a furious uproar; a wild chorus of military virtue. The vociferation used upon these occasions is uncouth and harsh, at intervals interrupted by the application of their bucklers to their mouths, and by the repercussion bursting out with redoubled force. An opinion prevails among them, that Ulysses,¹ in the course of those wanderings, which are so famous in poetic story, was driven into the Northern Ocean, and that, having penetrated into the country, he built, on the banks of the Rhine, the city of Asciburgium which is inhabited at this day, and still retains the name given originally by the founder. It is further added, that an altar dedicated to Ulysses, with the name of Laertes, his father, engraved upon it, was formerly discovered at Usciburgium. Mention is likewise made of certain monuments and tomb-stones, still to be seen on the confines of Germany and Rhætia, with epitaphs or inscriptions, in Greek characters.² But these assertions it is not my intention

¹ The love of fabulous history, which was the passion of ancient times, produced a new Hercules in every country, and made Ulysses wander in every sea. Strabo gravely tells us that Ulysses founded a city, called Odyssey, in Spain. Lipsius observes, that Lisbon, in the time of Strabo, had the appellation of *Ulyssipo*, or *Olisipo*.

² The use of alphabetical letters passed from the Phenicians into Greece and from Greece into Italy and Gaul, particularly to Mar-seilles. Cæsar relates, that a roll was found in the Helvetian camp, WRITTEN IN GREEK CHARACTERS, and containing a list of all (including old men, women, and children) who had set out in the expedition against the Roman army. In book vi. s. 13, he expressly says that the Druids did not commit their statutes to writing, but in all other matters made use of Greek characters. Those characters passed from Gaul into Germany, where Count Marsili and others have found several monuments with Greek inscriptions. The communication that subsisted between the Druids of Gaul and those of Britain, would easily convey the art of writing into this island.

either to establish or to refute; the reader is at liberty either to yield or withhold his assent, according to his judgment or his fancy.

I have already acceded to the opinion of those, who think that the Germans have hitherto subsisted without intermarrying with other nations, a pure, unmixed, and independent race, unlike any other people, all bearing the marks of a distinct national character. Hence, what is very remarkable in such prodigious numbers, a family-likeness throughout the nation; the same form and feature, stern blue eyes, ruddy hair, their bodies large and robust, but powerful only in sudden efforts. They are impatient of toil and labour; thirst and heat overcome them; but, from the nature of their soil and climate, they are proof against cold and hunger.

The face of the country, though in some parts varied, presents a cheerless scene, covered with the gloom of forests, or deformed with wide extended marshes; towards the boundaries of Gaul, moist and swampy; on the side of Noricum,¹ and Pannonia, more exposed to the fury of the winds. Vegetation thrives with sufficient vigour. The soil produces grain, but is unkind to fruit-trees; well stocked with cattle, but of an under-size, and deprived by nature of the usual growth and ornament of the head. The pride of a German consists in the number of his flocks and herds: they are his only riches, and in these he places his chief delight. Gold and silver are withheld from them; is it by the favour or the wrath of Heaven? I do not, however, mean to assert that in Germany there are no veins of precious ore; for who has been a miner in those regions? Certain it is, they do not enjoy the possession and use of those metals with our sensibility. There are, indeed, silver vessels to be seen amongst them, but they were presents to their chiefs or ambassadors; the Germans regard them in no better light than common earthenware. It is, however, observable, that near the borders of the

¹ Noricum was bounded towards the north by the Danube, on the east by Pannonia, on the south by a range of the Alps, and on the west by the country of the Vindelici. It contained a great part of present Austria and Bavaria.

empire, the inhabitants set a value upon gold and silver, finding them subservient to the purposes of commerce. The Roman coin is known in those parts, and some of our specie is not only current, but in request. In places more remote, the simplicity of ancient manners still prevails: commutation of property is their only traffic. Where money passes in the way of barter, our old coin is the most acceptable, particularly that which is indented at the edge, or stamped with the impression of a chariot and two horses, called the *serrati* and *bigati*.¹

Silver is preferred to gold, not from caprice or fancy, but because the inferior metal is of more expeditious use in the purchase of low-priced commodities.

Iron does not abound in Germany, if we may judge from the weapons in general use. Swords and large lances are seldom seen. The soldier grasps his javelin, or, as it is called in their language, his *fram*;² an instrument tipped with a short and narrow piece of iron, sharply pointed, and so commodious, that, as occasion requires, he can manage it in close engagement, or in distant combat. With this, and a shield, the cavalry is completely armed. The infantry have an addition of missive weapons. Each man carries a considerable number, and, being naked, or, at least, not encumbered by his

¹ On all Roman money, Victory was seen in a triumphal car, driving sometimes two horses, sometimes four. Hence their pieces were called *bigati*, or *quadrigati*. The coin was indented round the edges like a saw, *serra*, and, for that reason, called *serrati*. Pliny tells us, that the Romans soon began to debase their coin, and to mix an alloy of brass with their silver. The emperors still debased it more. The Germans in all their money dealings suspected fraud, and therefore preferred the coin of the republic, such as had a car with two or four horses, and the edge indented.

² Really *friem*. It appears in the *Annals* that these instruments of war were of an enormous size, and unwieldy in close engagement. The number was not sufficient to arm more than the front line of their army. The rest carried short darts or clubs hardened by fire. In general, pointed stones were affixed to their weapons, and many of these have been discovered in German sepulchres. The *fram* of King Childeric was found in opening his monument.

light mantle,¹ he throws his weapon to a distance almost incredible. A German has no attention to the ornament of his person: his shield is the object of his care, and this he decorates with the liveliest colours. Breast-plates are uncommon. In a whole army you will not see more than one or two helmets. Their horses have neither swiftness nor elegance of shape, nor are they trained to the various evolutions of the Roman cavalry.² To advance in a direct line, or wheel suddenly to the right, is the whole of their skill, and this they perform in so compact a body, that not one is thrown out of his rank. According to the best estimate, the infantry form the national strength, and, for that reason, always fight intermixed with the cavalry.³ The flower of their youth, able by their vigour and activity to keep pace with the movements of

¹ The only covering of a German was a short mantle. Their soldiers, for the most part, were naked. All, however, were curious in the embellishment of their shields, which we find, from the *Annals* of Tacitus, were not made of iron, but of ozier-twigs interwoven, or of thin boards decorated with gaudy colours. These shields were the delight of the German soldiers. They were, at first, the ensigns of valour, and afterwards of nobility. The warlike chief made it his study to adorn his shield with variegated colours and the figures of animals, to distinguish his own martial prowess; and what in the beginning was merely personal, became in time hereditary. Hence what we now call coats of arms peculiar to the descendants of particular families: and hence the origin of heraldry. The shield of a German was his only protection in the heat of an engagement. Breast-plates were worn by a few only. The head-piece was of two sorts; one made of metal, to which the Romans gave the name of *cassis*; the second of leather, called *galea*. It is true, that Plutarch, in the Life of Marius, giving an account of the irruption of the Cimbri, describes their helmets formed like the heads of ferocious animals, with high plumed crests. He also mentions their iron breast-plates. But this warlike apparatus was most probably acquired during their march into Italy.

² The Roman art of managing the war-horse is beautifully described by Virgil, 3 *Georg.* v. 182.

³ The German manner of intermixing the foot-soldiers with the cavalry is described by Julius Cæsar. Ariovistus, he says, had about six thousand horsemen, who chose a like number out of the foot,

the horse, are selected for this purpose, and placed in the front of the lines. The number of these is fixed and certain: each canton sends a hundred, from that circumstance called hundreders¹ by the army. The name was at first numerical only: it is now a title of honour. Their order of battle presents the form of a wedge.² To give ground in the heat of action, provided you return to the charge, is military skill, not fear, or cowardice. In the most fierce and obstinate engagement, even when the fortune of the day is doubtful,³ they make it a point of carry off their slain. To abandon their shield is a flagitious crime. The person guilty of it is interdicted from religious rites, and excluded from the assembly of the state. Many, who survived their honour on the day of battle, have closed a life of ignominy by a halter.

each his man, all remarkable for strength and agility. These accompanied the cavalry in battle, and served as a rear-guard. If the action became dangerous, they advanced to the relief of the troops. If any horseman was wounded, and fell to the ground, they gathered round to defend him. If speed was required, either for hasty pursuit or sudden retreat, they were so nimble and alert by continual exercise, that, laying hold of the manes of the horses, they could keep pace with their swiftest motion.

¹ Germany was divided into states or communities, each state into cantons, and each canton into hundreds, or a hundred families. The Swiss at this day are divided into cantons. The division into hundreds was introduced into England by our Saxon ancestors. The hundreders in this country were a civil establishment; whereas in Germany they were a military institution, being so many select men, whose duty it was to mix with the cavalry in battle; and, therefore, in that country hundreder was a title of honour.

² The word wedge, importing a body of men drawn up in that form, is a known military term. The ranks are wide in the rear, but lessen by degrees, and sharpen to a point in front, the better to break through the lines of the enemy.

³ To bring off his slaughtered comrades, in order to bury their bodies, was a point of honour with the German warrior; and to leave his shield on the field of battle was the most flagitious crime. It continued to be so several years after the time of Tacitus speaks of, since we find that a heavy fine was imposed by the Salic law on him who falsely accused another of that heinous offence.

The kings in Germany¹ owe their election to the nobility of their birth; the generals are chosen for their valour. The power of the former is not arbitrary or unlimited;² the latter

¹ We shall see in the sequel of this tract, that, in some places towards the north, the kings were arbitrary; in others their authority was limited. If they happened to be distinguished by their exploits in war, the nation was willing to take the field under their auspices; if not, they chose a commander famous for his martial spirit. We read in Tacitus's *History* the manner of choosing a general: he was placed on a shield, and carried on the shoulders of the men, amidst the shouts and acclamations of the army. Gregory de Tours informs us, that kings among the Franks were chosen in the same manner. The celebrated Abbe Vertot, in his *Parallel between the Manners of the Germans and the Franks*, who founded the French monarchy, finds in the election of a chief to preside in war, the origin of the *maires du palais*, who, at one time, had so much weight and power throughout France. The Franks, he says, after the example of their German ancestors, reserved the right of choosing their general, and the king was bound to confirm his authority. Occasionally they chose their king to lead them to the field of battle. Clovis is a proof of this fact. He united in himself the royal prerogative, and the authority of commander-in-chief. Under Clotaire, the second king of the western part of France, the elective general, or *maire du palais*, was suppressed, but soon revived again under the following monarchs. In the reign of Clovis II. the people continued to choose their commanders-in-chief, and that extraordinary power was exercised in a manner wholly independent of the sovereign, and often dangerous to his title.

² Cæsar says, that Ambiorix, king of the Eburones, a German nation, described his authority so limited, that, though he governed, the people in their turn gave laws to the prince. We read in Vertot that the Franks, when they passed over the Rhine and settled in Gaul, carried with them the same ideas of government. Their kings were invested with high authority, but were, at the same time, restrained by laws which they did not dare to violate. As a proof of this, he tells us that Clovis, having gained a victory over Syagrius, the Roman general wanted to present to a bishop a sacred vase, which had been taken in the pillage of the town: but one of the Franks, a soldier of a fierce and independent spirit, struck the cup with his battle axe, declaring with ferocity, that the plunder must be shared by lot, and the king himself had no better right.

command more by warlike example than by their authority. To be of a prompt and daring spirit in battle, and to attack in the front of the lines, is the popular character of the chieftain: when admired for his bravery, he is sure to be obeyed. Jurisdiction is vested in the priests. It is theirs to sit in judgment upon all offences. By them, delinquents are put in irons, and chastised with stripes. The power of punishing is in no other hands.¹ When exerted by the priests, it has neither the air of vindictive justice, nor of military execution; it is rather a religious sentence, inflicted with the sanction of the god, who, according to the German creed, attends their armies on the day of battle. To impress on their minds the idea of a tutelar deity, they carry with them to the field certain images and banners, taken from their usual depository, the religious groves.² A circumstance which greatly tends to inflame them with heroic ardour, is the manner in which their battalions are formed. They are neither mustered nor embodied by chance. They fight in clans, united by consanguinity, a family of warriors. Their tenderest pledges³ are near them in the field. In the heat of the engagement, the soldier hears the shrieks of

¹ The commander in chief had the power of adjudging, but the punishment was inflicted by the priests, who, according to Cæsar, book vi. s. 20, were not of the order of the Druids. It followed, by consequence, that the general met with less ill-will, and the execution was beheld with reverential awe. The ancient Germans seem to have been of opinion that the life of man, whenever taken away, should be a sacrifice to the Deity. It is not probable that the ferocity of the people would tamely submit to the severity of human institutions.

² The figures of savage animals were deemed religious symbols; see Tacitus's *History*. It was also a custom to deposit the standards taken from the enemy in their sacred groves (*Annals*). These they carried with them to their wars.

³ The Germans felt themselves inflamed with enthusiastic ardour, when their wives and children surveyed the field of battle. Many instances of this occur in Tacitus. In the engagement between Cæsar and Ariovistus, the Germans encompassed their whole army with a line of carriages, in order to take away all hopes of safety by flight; and their women, mounted upon those carriages, weeping and tearing their hair, conjured their soldiers, as they advanced to battle, not to suffer them to become slaves to the Romans. Cæsar,

his wife, and the cries of his children. These are the darling witnesses of his conduct, the applauders of his valour, at once beloved and valued. The wounded seek their mothers and their wives: undismayed at the sight, the women count each honourable scar, and suck the gushing blood. They are even hardy enough to mix with the combatants, administering refreshment, and exhorting them to deeds of valour.

From tradition, they have a variety of instances of armies put to the rout, and by the interposition of their wives and daughters again incited to renew the charge. Their women saw the ranks give way, and rushing forward in the instant, by the vehemence of their cries and supplications, by opposing¹ their breasts to danger, and by representing the horrors

The Gallic War. The Britons, under the conduct of Boadicea, prepared for the decisive action in the same manner. Tacitus's *Annals*. Galgacus, in his speech before the last battle for liberty, tells the Caledonians, that the advantage of having wives and children was on their side, whereas the Romans had no such pledges to excite their valour. *Life of Agricola.* The manners of ancient chivalry seem to be derived from this German origin. The fair helped to disarm the knight returning from his adventures: they praised his valour, and dressed his wounds.

¹ We have in Florus a lively description of the undaunted courage with which the German women opposed the enemy in the day of battle. After stating the victory obtained by Marius over the Cimbri, the historian says, that the conflict was not less fierce and obstinate with the wives of the vanquished. In their carts and waggons they formed a line of battle, and from their elevated situation, as from so many turrets, annoyed the Romans with their poles and lances. Their death was as glorious as their martial spirit. Finding that all was lost, they sent a deputation to Marius, desiring that they might be at liberty to enrol themselves in a religious order. Their request, in its nature impracticable, being refused, they strangled their children, and either destroyed themselves in one scene of mutual slaughter, or, with the sashes that bound up their hair, hung suspended by the neck on the boughs of trees, or the top of their waggons. That the women were esteemed by the German nations as their dearest pledges, is confirmed by Suetonius, who relates, that Augustus Cæsar demanded from the conquered tribes a new sort of hostages, namely, their women; because he found, by experience, that they did not much regard their male hostages.

of slavery, restored the order of the battle. To a German mind the idea of a woman led into captivity is insupportable. In consequence of this prevailing sentiment, the states, which deliver as hostages the daughters of illustrious families, are bound by the most effectual obligation. There is in their opinion, something sacred in the female sex,¹ and even the power of foreseeing future events. Their advice is, therefore, always heard; they are frequently consulted, and their responses are deemed oracular. We have seen, in the reign of Vespasian, the famous *Veleda*² revered as a divinity by her countrymen. Before her time, *Aurinia* and others were

¹ Plutarch, in his Treatise on the Virtues of the Female Sex, relates that a dispute arose among the tribes of Celtic emigrants, before they passed over the Alps, so fierce and violent, that nothing but the decision of the sword could end the quarrel. The Celtic women on that occasion rushed between the two armies, and determined the question with such good sense, that the Celtic nations ever after made it their practice to call women to their consultations about peace and war. When Julius Cæsar inquired of the prisoners why Ariovistus declined an engagement, he found that it was the custom among the Germans for the women to decide by lots and divinations, whether it was proper to hazard a battle, and that they had declared against coming to action before the new moon. Strabo relates, that among the Cimbrian women, who followed their husbands in the invasion of Italy, there were several who had the gift of prophecy, and marched barefooted in the midst of the lines, distinguished by their grey hairs and milk-white linen robes. La Bletterie observes, that till the final extinction of paganism, the same superstition prevailed in Gaul, and that a number of matrons, or druidical virgins, foretold, when the emperor Alexander was on the point of setting out on his expedition against Germany, that he would never return. We are further told by Pomponius Mela, that, in an island on the coast of Brittany, there was an ancient oracle, where nine virgins attended as priestesses, and issued the responses. Besides their prescience of futurity, they had the power to imprison the winds, or by their incantations to raise storms and tempests.

² *Veleda* was a prophetess of the Bructerian nation. She was the oracle of *Civilis* the Batavian, in his war with the Romans. *Cerelis*, when he had gained a decisive victory over that warlike chief, and had nothing so much at heart as a general peace, knew the importance of *Veleda*, and her influence on the German mind. We see

held in equal veneration; but a veneration founded on sentiment and superstition, free from that servile adulation which pretends to people heaven with human deities.

Mercury is the god¹ chiefly adored in Germany. On stated days they think it lawful to offer to him human victims. They sacrifice to Hercules and Mars² such animals as are usually slain in honour of the gods. In some parts of the country of the Suevians, the worship of Isis³ is established.

him, for that reason, in the *History* of Tacitus, endeavouring to draw her over to his interest. And yet with all her boasted knowledge she was blind to her own fate. We learn from Satius, that she was made a captive by Rutilius Gallicus, and obliged to humble herself before the emperor Vespasian. Hence Tacitus says, *vidimus Veledam*, "we saw Veleda."

¹ It is to be regretted that Cæsar did not give us the Celtic names of the several deities worshipped in Gaul, and also the names in use among the Germans. Schedius, *de Diis Germanis*, "On the German Gods," expressly says, that TEUTATES was the Roman MERCURY, and HESUS, MARS.

² Human victims were also offered to Mercury (or HESUS) as the chief of the German gods. Cæsar tells us, that the same horrible superstition prevailed among the Gauls. Book vi. s. 15 Pliny informs us, that men were sacrificed by the Romans as late as the year of Rome, 657, when a decree was passed, in the consulship of Cornelius Lentulus and Licinius Crassus, forbidding the practice of human sacrifices. And thus, says Pliny, the world was obliged to the humanity of the Romans, who abolished the horrible ceremonies in which it was pronounced to be a religious duty to sacrifice a man, and even wholesome to eat his flesh. And yet the same writer tells us, that the mischief was so far from being cured by the decree of the senate, that he saw a Greek man and woman buried alive in Rome. Plutarch speaks of the same barbarity in his own time, inflicted on a native Gaul. La Bletterie relates from Vopiscus, that, in the year of the Christian æra 270, Aurelian, to induce the senate to consult the Sibylline books, offered a number of prisoners, of whatever nation they should choose, to be sacrificed on that occasion.

³ As the human form was never assigned to the German deities, they worshipped the tutelar saint of the seafaring life under the symbol of a ship. This was sufficient foundation for saying that the Egyptian ISIS, who was deemed the inventress of navigation, was adored in Germany.

To trace the introduction of ceremonies, which had their growth in another part of the world, were an investigation for which I have no materials: suffice it to say, that the figure of a ship (the symbolic representation of the goddess) clearly shows that the religion was imported into the country. Their deities are not immured in temples, nor represented under any kind of resemblance to the human form. To do either, were, in their opinion,¹ to derogate from the majesty of superior beings. Woods and groves² are the sacred depositories; and the spot being consecrated to those pious uses, they give to that sacred recess the name of the divinity that fills the place, which is never profaned by the steps of man. The gloom fills every mind with awe; revered at a distance, and never seen but with the eye of contemplation.

Their attention to auguries, and the practice of divining by lots³ is conducted by a degree of superstition not exceeded by any other nation. Their mode of proceeding by lots is wonderfully simple. The branch of a fruit-tree is cut into small pieces, which, being all distinctly marked, are thrown at random on a white garment. If a question of public interest be

¹ This aversion to images among the Germans persisted into Christian times, indeed, until the council of Francfort, by order of Charlemagne, decided, that images should be admitted into churches, to serve as books for the vulgar and ignorant.

² Groves devoted to superstition were frequent in Germany and in Gaul. Mention is made, *Annals*, of a wood sacred to Hercules. The forest of BARDUHENNA occurs, *Annals*; and in the *History*, Tacitus describes a sacred grove. Claudian, in his Panegyric on Stilico, congratulates his hero, that by his means the Hercynian Forest, which, before that time, had been made a gloomy desert by superstition, was converted into a place for the sports and pleasures of man.

³ The Scythians, according to Herodotus, had their divining twigs. The manner in which they were used is explained by Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. of Denmark*, who says, that the Rugians, a people bordering on the Baltic Sea, threw into their bosoms three pieces of wood, partly white, and partly black; the former denoting success, and the latter adverse fortune. La Bletterie says, the law of the Frisians shows that the people, even after they were converted to Christianity, still retained this form of divination.

depending, the priest of the canton performs the ceremony; if it be nothing more than a private concern, the master of the family officiates. With fervent prayers offered up to the gods, his eyes devoutly raised to heaven, he holds up three times each segment of the twig, and as the marks rise in succession, interprets the decrees of fate. If appearances prove unfavourable, there ends all consultation for that day; if, on the other hand, the chances are propitious, they require, for greater certainty, the sanction of auspices. The well-known superstition, which in other countries consults the flights and notes of birds, is also established in Germany; but to receive intimation of future events from horses¹ is the peculiar credulity of the country. For this purpose a number of milk-white steeds, unprofaned by mortal labour, is constantly maintained at the public expense, and placed to pasture in the religious groves. When occasion requires, they are harnessed to a sacred chariot, and the priest accompanied by the king, or chief of the state, attends to watch the motions and the neighing of the horses. No other mode of augury is received with such implicit faith by the people, the nobility, and the priesthood. The horses, upon these solemn occasions, are supposed to be the organs of the gods, and the priests their favoured interpreters. They have still another way of prying into futurity, to which they have recourse, when anxious to know the issue of an important war. They seize, by any means in their power, a captive² from

¹ In the isle of Rugen a priest took auspices from a white horse, as appears in Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*.

² Montesquieu observes that this was the origin of duelling, and also of the heroic madness of knight errantry. It was considered by the superstition of the times as an appeal to heaven. In a fierce and warlike nation, like the Germans, whole families waged war on one another for every species of injury. To modify so savage a custom, the combat was fought under the eye of the magistrate, and, in that manner, private as well as public affairs were determined. The proof by battle was established, and with more eagerness, as it excluded perjury. Judicial combat was the mode of trial that afterwards prevailed all over Europe. Witnesses and compurgators were obliged to support their evidence by the decision of the sword.

the adverse nation, and commit him in single combat with a champion selected from their own army. Each is provided with weapons after the manner of his country, and the victory, wherever it falls, is deemed a sure prognostic of the event.

In matters of inferior moment the chiefs decide;¹ important questions are reserved for the whole community. Yet even in those cases where all have a voice, the business is discussed and prepared by the chiefs. The general assembly if no sudden alarm calls the people together, has its fixed and stated periods, either at the new or full moon. This is thought the season most propitious to public affairs.² Their account of time differs from that of the Romans: instead of days they reckon the number of nights.³ Their public ordinances are so dated; and their proclamations run in the same style. The night, according to them, leads the day. Their passion for liberty is attended with this ill consequence: when a public meeting is announced, they never assemble at the stated time.

Ecclesiastics, women, minors, the aged and infirm, could not be expected to enter the list, and were therefore obliged to produce their champions. The custom in England was called *wager of battle*. The form of proceeding is stated on good authority by the late Judge Blackstone. By him we are told, that the last trial by battle, that was joined in a civil suit, was in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth, and was held in Tothill-fields, where Sir Henry Spelman was a witness of the ceremony.

¹ Montesquieu is of the opinion that in this Treatise on the Manners of the Germans an attentive reader may trace the origin of the British constitution. That beautiful system, he says, was found in the forests of Germany. *Spirit of Laws*. The SAXON WITENAGEMOT was, beyond all doubt, an improved political institution, grafted on the rights exercised by the people in their country.

² The power and influence of the moon on all human affairs has been a notion adopted by the credulity and superstition of every age and nation. Ariovistus, according to Julius Cæsar, was forbid to hazard a battle before the new moon.

³ The Gauls, we find in Cæsar, b. vi. s. 17, computed the time by nights, not by days. Vestiges of this custom still remain in Germany and in Britain. We say *se'nnight* and *fortnight*. By the Salic law, the time allowed for appearing in court was computed by nights instead of days.

Regularity would look like obedience: to mark their independent spirit, they do not convene at once, but two or three days are lost in delay. When they think themselves sufficiently numerous, the business begins. Each man takes his seat,¹ completely armed. Silence is proclaimed by the priests, who still retain their coercive authority. The king,² or chief of the community, opens the debate: the rest are heard in their turn, according to age, nobility of descent, renown in war, or fame for eloquence. No man dictates to the assembly: he may persuade, but cannot command. When any thing is advanced not agreeable to the people, they reject it with a general murmur. If the proposition pleases, they brandish their javelins. This is their highest and most honourable mark of applause: they assent in a military manner, and praise by the sound of their arms.

In this council of the state, accusations are exhibited, and

¹ The Danes still show the places where they chose their kings, their generals, and also deliberated on the most important affairs. There are remaining three monuments of this custom, the one near Lunden in Scania, the other at Leyra or Lethra in Zealand, and the third near Viburg in Jutland. These monuments, whose rude bulk has preserved them from the ravages of time, are vast unhewn stones, twelve in number, set upright and placed in the form of a circle. In the middle is a stone much larger than the rest, on which they made a seat for their king. The other stones served as a barrier to keep off the populace. The principal chiefs mounted on those stones, and with a loud voice delivered their opinions; then the soldiers, who stood in crowds about them, signified their approbation or assent by clashing their shields together in a kind of cadence, or by raising certain shouts. Stonehenge is said to be a monument of the same custom. Brotier sees in those conventions the origin of the assemblies, called, under the Merovingian race of French kings, *Les Champs de Mars*, the Fields of March; under the Carlovingian, *Les Champs de Mai*, the Fields of May; and finally, *Les Etats Generaux*, the States General. Vercingetorix, after haranguing the soldiers, receives the approbation of the army, signified by striking their lances against their swords. Cæsar, b. vii. s. 21.

² From this it is evident that all the states of Germany were not governed by kings. The chief of the community implies a republican magistrate.

capital offences prosecuted. Pains and penalties are proportioned to the nature of the crime. For treason and desertion,¹ the sentence is to be hanged on a tree: the coward, and such as are guilty of unnatural practices, are plunged under a hurdle into bogs and fens. In these different punishments, the point and spirit of the law is, that crimes which affect the state may be exposed to public notoriety: infamous vice cannot be too soon buried in oblivion.² He, who is convicted of transgressions of an inferior nature, pays a mulct of horses, or of cattle.³ Part of that fine goes to the king⁴ or the community,

¹ The Salic law imposed a pecuniary penalty on such as took down a convict still alive from the tree or gibbet on which he was suspended. Even the dead body was not to be cut down without permission from the judge. A fine was paid for this offence.

² This distinction of crimes and punishments continued so long that, by a law of the Burgundians, the wife, who proved false to her husband, was in like manner put to death in the mud.

³ In the list of crimes, for which a fine or composition was allowed, homicide, adultery, theft, and other personal injuries, were included. See s. 21. The laws, which the Germans established in their new settlements, when they quitted their forests, and overran all Europe, are the best commentary on Tacitus. They confirm him in every thing material. In their various fines they attended altogether to the quantity of the damage, the malice expressed or implied by the deed, and the rank of the person injured. The fine in primitive Germany was a mulct of cattle, the only riches of the country: but in process of time, when the Roman empire was overturned, and the invaders became acquainted with money, the fines were pecuniary. By the Ripuarian laws, instead of the penal sum, called the *weregild*, the composition might be made in cattle, at the option of the offender.

⁴ The part allotted to the king by the Salic law was called the *fredum*, *i. e.*, *pax*, a payment to the king as conservator of the public peace, by preventing private vengeance for the injury received. Montesquieu sees in this passage the origin of the *fiscal* revenue, or the king's *exchequer*. He observes further, that, when a man was killed by accident, or what is called chance-mędley, no *fredum* was paid to the king, because for involuntary homicide no vengeance could be demanded by the friends of the deceased. If a man was killed by the fall of a piece of wood, no *fredum* was paid, but the piece of wood

and part of the person injured, or to his family. It is in these assemblies that princes are chosen and chiefs elected to act as magistrates in the several cantons of the state. To each of these judicial officers, assistants are appointed from the body of the people, to the number of a hundred, who attend to give their advice, and to strengthen the hands of justice.

A German transacts no business, public or private, without being completely armed.¹ The right of carrying arms is assumed by no person whatever, till the state has declared him duly qualified. The young candidate is introduced before the assembly, where one of the chiefs, or his father, or some near relation, provides him with a shield and javelin.² This, with

was forfeited, as was likewise the beast that occasioned the death of a man. *Spirit of Laws*. From these early institutions, all flowing from the German manners, the origin of DEODANDS, well known in our English law, may be clearly seen.

¹The custom of wearing swords on all occasions prevailed in every country where the Germans took possession. That the magistrates never went armed, is to be ascribed to the clergy, who, for many centuries, presided in the courts of justice. The Romans, it is well known, never wore their swords but in time of war, or upon a journey.

²This seems to be the origin of CHIVALRY, that famous institution, which spread over the greatest part of Europe in the eleventh century. It is related of Charlemagne, that he gave a sword with great pomp and solemnity to his son prince Lewis. La Bletterie says, that a ceremony, little different from that now before us, is still subsisting in many parts of Germany. When a young page has passed the time of life for his employment, the prince whom he served gives a grand entertainment, and, in the presence of his courtiers, receives homage from his page, and then girds a sword on his side and sometimes makes him a present of a horse. This is called *giving the right to carry arms*. Brotier observes, that the sons of kings often received a present of arms from a foreign state; and, in conformity to that custom, AUDOIN, after a signal victory, was desired by the Lombards to admit his son, who had signalized his valour in the field of battle, to dine at the same table with his father; but the conqueror made answer, that it could not be till the young prince received a sword from some foreign potentate.

them, is the manly gown;¹ the youth from that moment ranks as a citizen; till then he was considered as part of the household; he is now a member of the commonwealth. In honour of illustrious birth, and to mark the sense men entertain of the father's merit, the son, though yet of tender years, is called to the dignity of a prince or chief. Such as are grown up to manhood, and have signalized themselves by a spirit of enterprise, have always a number of retainers in their train. Where merit is conspicuous, no man blushes to be seen in the list of followers, or companions.² A clanship is formed in this manner, with degrees of rank and subordination. The chief judges the pretensions of all, and assigns to each man his proper station. A spirit of emulation prevails among his whole train, all struggling to be the first in favour, while the chief places all his glory in the number and intrepidity of his COMPANIONS. In that consists his dignity; to be surrounded by a band of young men is the source of his power; in peace, his brightest ornament; in war, his strongest bulwark.³ Nor is his fame

¹ When the young men of Rome attained the age of seventeen years, they changed their dress, called the *prætecta*, for the *toga virilis*, the manly gown. On that occasion the youth was conducted by his friends into the Forum, (or sometimes into the Capitol), where with much solemnity he changed his habit, and the day was called *dies tirocinii*, on the day on which he was capable of being a *cadet* in the army. The young German was, in like manner, introduced to the public by his relations. He then received a shield and a spear, and this is properly compared to the manly gown of the Romans. The same ceremony was observed by the Scandinavians. At the age of fifteen their young men became their own masters, by receiving a sword, a buckler, and a lance, and this was performed in some public meeting.

² The respect with which the followers were beheld by their countrymen, was such, that if any one of them was killed or wounded, the composition was three times more than the sum paid in the case of a common free man.

³ In Gaul, the warrior had a train of clients and followers in proportion to his fame in arms; that was the only mark of grandeur known amongst them. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 14. It was the same among the Scandinavians.

confined to his own country; it extends to foreign nations, and is then of the first importance, if he surpasses his rivals in the number and courage of his followers. He receives presents from all parts; also ambassadors are sent to him; and his name alone is sufficient to decide the issue of a war.

In the field of action, it is disgraceful to the prince to be surpassed in valour by his COMPANIONS; and not to vie with him in martial deeds, is equally a reproach to his followers. If he dies in the field, he who survives him,¹ survives to live in infamy. All are bound to defend their leader, to succour him in the heat of action, and to make even their own actions subservient to his renown. This is the bond of union, the most sacred obligation. The chief fights for victory; the followers for the chief. If, in the course of a long peace, the people relax into sloth and indolence, it often happens that the young nobles seek a more active life in the service of other states engaged in war.² The German mind cannot brook repose. The field of danger is the field of glory. Without violence and rapine, a train of dependents cannot be maintained. The chief must show his liberality, and the follower expects

¹ When Chonodomarus, king of the Alamanni, was taken prisoner by the Romans, his military companions, to the number of two hundred, and three of the king's most intimate friends, thinking it a flagitious crime to live in safety after such an event, surrendered themselves to be loaded with fetters.

² It appears from Cæsar's account that they had another way of exercising their courage, when their nation was in a state of profound peace. They deemed it highly honourable to lay waste the country all around their frontier, conceiving that, to exterminate their neighbours, and suffer none to settle near them, was a proof of valour. They had still another kind of employment: robbery had nothing infamous in it, when committed out of the territories of the state to which they belonged; they considered it as a practice of great use, tending to exercise their youth, and prevent sloth and idleness. Cæsar, b. vi. s. 22. The custom of carrying arms in the service of foreign states, during a long peace at home, was general among all the Teutonic and Celtic nations; and ancient history affords us a thousand examples of it.

it. He demands¹ at one time this warlike horse, at another, that victorious lance imbrued with the blood of the enemy. The prince's table, however inelegant, must always be plentiful; it is the only pay of his followers. War and depredations are the ways and means of the chieftain. To cultivate the earth, and wait the regular produce of the seasons, is not the maxim of a German: you will more easily persuade him to attack the enemy, and provoke honourable wounds in the field of battle. In a word, to earn by the sweat of your brow, what you might gain by the price of your blood, is, in the opinion of a German, a sluggish principle, unworthy of a soldier.

When the state has no war to manage, the German mind is sunk in sloth. The chase does not afford sufficient employment. The time is passed in sleep and gluttony.² The intrepid warrior, who in the field braved every danger, becomes in time of peace a listless sluggard. The management of his house and lands he leaves to the women, to the old men, and the infirm part of his family. He himself lounges in stupid repose, by a wonderful diversity of nature, exhibiting in the same man the most inert aversion to labour, and the fiercest principle of action. It is a custom established in the several states, to present a contribution of corn

¹ From the liberality of the chieftain in granting presents to his followers, Montesquieu deduces the origin of vassalage. Fiefs, or feudal allotments of land, did not subsist in Germany. The chiefs or princes had nothing to bestow but arms, and horses; feasts, and plenty of provisions. In process of time, when those fierce invaders took possession of large tracts in the conquered countries, the followers of the chiefs, no longer content with feasts, and presents of horses and arms, demanded allotments of lands, which, at first were BENEFICIARY only, and afterwards for life. In time they became hereditary, with conditions of military service annexed to the grant. Hence the origin of the FEUDAL SYSTEM. *Spirit of Laws*.

² *i. e.*, they hunted during a few months of the year, during which period they gave up all their time to the sports of the chase. In that pursuit consisted their actual employment. The rest of the year was loitered away in sleep and wine.

and cattle ¹ to their chieftains. Individuals follow the example, and this bounty proves at once an honour to the prince, and his best support. Presents are also sent from the adjacent states, as well by private persons, as in the name of the community. Nothing is so flattering to the pride of the chiefs as those

¹ Brotier finds in this passage the origin of tributes, by which he must be understood to mean voluntary contributions. In Germany, where no man had a fixed possession of lands, and property was disregarded, the chieftains were obliged to maintain their followers or companions in war. But plunder and rapine were the only revenue of the chief. To enable him, however, to support his rank, the different states sent him voluntary presents of corn and cattle. When migrations were afterwards spread over Europe, the soldiers, after every victory, claimed their share of the booty, and soon obtained a portion of lands, but those lands were for the benefit of the individual, and at first for a year only. When they were made estates for life, and afterwards hereditary, every tenant of a certain portion of land was bound to attend the king in his army for forty days every year. That personal attendance, growing troublesome, the tenants compounded with the crown for a pecuniary satisfaction, which, in time, was levied by assessments under the name of *scutage*, *talliages*, or *subsidies*. But even these were not to be levied without the consent of the common council of the realm. King John was obliged so to declare in his *Magna Charta*. The same law was in force on the continent. When William the Norman desired a supply from the barons of his country, in order to assert his claim to the crown of England, they told him that the *Normans* were not bound to serve in foreign wars, and no consideration could induce them to raise a supply. When the French monarchy became afterwards greatly enlarged, no aid or subsidy could be levied without the consent of the three estates in their general assembly. The first blow that was given to the liberties of France, was, as PHILIP DE COMINES observes, in the reign of Charles VII. when the nobles agreed that the king should levy money upon their tenants for the venal consideration of their having a share of the sum so collected. The spirit of liberty has prevented the same grievance in this country [England], where, however great the public burthens, the rule has ever been, that no impost shall be exacted without the consent of parliament; and thus the idea of voluntary tributes, which came originally out of the woods of Germany, remains in force at this hour.

foreign favours, consisting of the best horses, magnificent armour, splendid harness, and beautiful collars. The Romans have lately taught them to receive presents of money.¹

The Germans, it is well known, have no regular cities;² nor do they allow a continuity of houses. They dwell in separate habitations, dispersed up and down, as a grove, a meadow, or a fountain, happens to invite. They have villages, but not in our fashion, with a series of connected buildings. Every tenement stands detached, with a vacant piece of ground round it,³ either to prevent accidents by fire, or for want of skill in the art of building. They neither know the use of mortar or of tiles. They build with rude materials, regardless of beauty, order, and proportion. Particular parts are covered over with a kind of earth so smooth and shining, that the natural veins have some resemblance to the lights and shades of painting. Besides these habitations, they have a number of subterraneous caves, dug by their own labour, and carefully covered over with dung: in the winter their retreat from cold, and the repository of their corn. In those recesses they not only find a shelter from the rigour of the season, but in times of foreign invasion their effects are safely concealed. The enemy lays waste the open country, but the hidden treas-

¹ This was a dangerous lesson, which has been followed in every age and country. Herodian says of the Germans in his time, that they were greedy of money, and always ready for gold to barter a peace with the Romans.

² Ptolemy, who published his *System of Geography* under the Antonines, near half a century after Tacitus, reckons no less than ninety cities in Germany; but those cities must be understood to be a number of huts like those of the American savages. Ammianus Marcellinus says that the Germans beheld the Roman cities with an eye of contempt, and called them so many sepulchres encompassed with nets. The idea of regular cities was not known in Germany till after the time of Charlemagne.

³ The vacant space of ground which encompassed the house was that celebrated *Salic land* that descended to the male issue, and never to the female line.

ure escapes the general ravage; save in its obscurity, or because the search would be attended with too much trouble.

The clothing in use is a loose mantle,¹ made fast with a clasp, or when that cannot be had, with a thorn. Naked in other respects, they loiter whole days by the fire-side. The rich wear a garment, not, indeed, displayed and flowing, like the Parthians, or the people of Sarmatia, but drawn so tight, that the form of the limbs is palpably expressed. The skins of wild animals are also much in use. Near the frontier, on the borders of the Rhine, the inhabitants wear them, but with an air of neglect, that shows them altogether indifferent about the choice. The people who live more remote, near the northern seas, and have not acquired, by commerce a taste for new-fashioned apparel, are more curious in the selection. They choose particular beasts, and having stripped off the furs, clothe themselves with the spoil, decorated with particoloured spots, or fragments taken from the skins of fish that swim the ocean as yet unexplored by the Romans. In point of dress there is no distinction between the sexes, except that the garment of the women is frequently made of linen, adorned with purple stains, but without sleeves, leaving the arms and part of the bosom uncovered.²

Marriage is considered as a strict and sacred institution.³ In the national character there is nothing so truly commendable. To be contented with one wife, is peculiar to the Germans. They differ, in this respect, from all other savage nations. There are, indeed, a few instances of polygamy; not, however, the effect of loose desire, but occasioned by the ambition of various families, who court the alliance of the chief

¹ This mantle, or *sagum*, is often called RHENO by Latin authors. The reason is given by Cæsar, who says, that the Germans are clothed in the skins of animals called RHENONES; but the mantle was so short, that it left the greatest part of the body naked.

² The women in Saxony, in Prussia, Livonia, and in general throughout Germany, wear shifts without sleeves, and leave the bosom bare.

³ Tacitus commends the noble simplicity and sanctity of the German marriages in order to pass a pointed censure on the nuptial ceremonies established at Rome and the facility with which both sexes violated the marriage-vow.

distinguished by the nobility of his rank and character. The bride brings no portion; she receives a dowry from her husband. In the presence of her parents and relations, he makes a tender of part of his wealth; if accepted, the match is approved. In the choice of the presents, female vanity is not consulted. There are no frivolous trinkets to adorn the future bride. The whole fortune consists of oxen, a caprisoned horse, a shield, a spear, and a sword. She in return delivers a present of arms, and, by this exchange of gifts, the marriage is concluded. This is the nuptial ceremony, this the bond of union, these their hymenial gods. Lest the wife should think her sex an exemption from the rigours of the severest virtue, and the toils of war, she is informed of her duty by the marriage ceremony, and thence she learns, that she is received by her husband to be his partner in toil and danger, to dare with him in war, and suffer with him in peace. The oxen yoked, the horse accoutred, and the arms given on the occasion, inculcate this lesson; and thus she is prepared to live, and thus to die. These are the terms of their union: she receives her armour as a sacred treasure, to be preserved inviolate, and transmitted with honour to her sons,¹ a portion for their wives, and from them descendable to her grandchildren.

In consequence of these manners, the married state is a life of affection and female constancy. The virtue of the woman is guarded from seduction; no public spectacles to seduce her; no banquets to inflame her passions; no baits of pleasure to disarm her virtue. The art of intriguing by clandestine letters is unknown to both sexes. Populous as the country is, adultery is rarely heard of: when detected the punishment is instant, and inflicted by the husband.² He cuts

¹ By a law of the Saxons, if a woman have male issue, she is to possess the portion she received in marriage during her life, and transmit it to her sons.

² By a law of the Visigoths, if a woman was guilty of adultery, but not taken in the fact, it was competent to her husband to accuse her before the magistrate; and if the charge was supported by evidence, both the offenders were delivered over to the husband, to be dealt with as he should think proper. If the husband killed both in the fact, it was justifiable.

off the hair of his guilty wife,¹ and, having assembled her relations, expels her naked from his house, pursuing her with stripes through the village. To public loss of honour, no favour is shown. She may possess beauty, youth, and riches; but a husband she can never obtain. Vice is not treated by the Germans as a subject of raillery, nor is the profligacy of corrupting and being corrupted called the fashion of the age.² By the practice of some states, female virtue is advanced to still higher perfection: with them none but virgins marry.³ When the bride has fixed her choice, her hopes of matrimony are closed for life. With one husband, as with one life, one mind, one body, every woman is satisfied; in him her happiness is centered; her desires extend no farther; and the principle is not only an affection for her husband's person, but a reverence for the married state.⁴ To set limits to population, by rearing

¹ The hair long and flowing was considered as an ornament, and therefore by the Salic law, to cut off the hair of an innocent person, was an injury severely punished. In some parts of what is now Westphalia, the women took upon them to execute justice on the adulteress, following her with stripes from village to village, and with small knives inflicting wounds, till they left the offender breathless, or at the point of death.

² Juvenal, who wrote in the time of Domitian, and is supposed to have died in the reign of Adrian, has shown the depravity of the age in which he lived; and yet those dissolute manners were tenderly called the *way of the world*. Seneca has observed, when enormous vices are grown so general as to be the manners of a people, no remedy can be expected.

³ According to Valerius Maximus, the Cimbrian women who marched with the army into Italy, were all virgins, and assigned that reason to Marius, when they made it their request to be admitted into the vestal order. See this tract, s. 8, note, where it will be seen that those women strangled themselves, rather than expose their persons to the passions of the Roman soldiers. Valerius Maximus adds, if the gods, on the day of battle, had inspired the men with equal fortitude, Marius would never have boasted of his Teutonic victory.

⁴ St. Boniface says that among the *Vinedians*, a rude and barbarous people, the sanctity of marriage was observed with so much zeal and mutual affection, that the wife, on the death of her husband, despatched herself, that her body might be burned on the same funeral

up only a certain number of children, and destroying the rest,¹ is accounted a flagitious crime. Among the savages of Germany, virtuous manners operate more than good laws in other countries.

In every family the children are reared up in filth. They run about naked, and in time grow up to that strength and size of limb which we behold with wonder. The infant is nourished at the mother's breast, not turned over to nurses and to servants.² No distinction is made between the future chieftain and the infant son of a common slave. On the same ground, and mixed with the same cattle, they pass their days, till the age of manhood draws the line of separation,³ and early

pile with the man she loved. Procopius gives an account of the same conjugal fidelity among the Heruli.

¹ Great latitude was allowed by the Roman law to the paternal authority. The father, contrary to all the rights of nature, had an absolute jurisdiction over his children. He could condemn them to death. Such a power, nothing short of absolute dominion, gave birth to a train of evils. Infants were abandoned, thrown into rivers, and exposed to wild beasts. Laws were made to stem the torrent of licentiousness, but they were eluded by the arts of procuring abortion. Juvenal inveighs against the horrible practice in his sixth satire. The Germans, on the contrary, felt the power of parents' fondness, and accordingly we see in the Salic law that their descendants imposed various pecuniary fines for cruelty to infants; for killing a woman with child, or a woman not past child-bearing; with many other clauses, all tending to protect the rising generation.

² Seneca, on the subject of training a youth in the way he is to follow, says, if he was born in Germany, he would, even in his infancy brandish his little javelin. In another work, he mentions the promptitude of the German mind; the love of arms, to which they are born and bred; their patience and firmness under every hardship and their neglect of all covering for their bodies, while they have no retreat to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather. Tacitus glances obliquely at the fashion that prevailed with the Roman matrons, who committed their children to nurses and Greek servants.

³ The age of manhood seems to have commenced at the end of their twelfth year. Stout and well-grown boys were capable of bearing arms, in a country where the soldier was equipped with light armour. Hence King Theodoric says, It is absurd that the young men,

valour shows the person of ingenuous birth. It is generally late before their young men enjoy the pleasures of love,¹ by consequence, they are not enfeebled in their prime. Nor are the virgins married too soon. Both parties wait to attain their full growth. In the warm season of mutual vigour the match is made, and the children of the marriage have the constitution of their parents. The uncle by the mother's side regards his nephews with an affection nothing inferior to that of their father. With some, the relation of the sister's children to their maternal uncle is held to be the strongest tie of consanguinity, insomuch that in demanding hostages, that line of kindred is preferred, as the most endearing objects of the family, and, consequently, the most tender pledges.² The son³ is always

who are fit for military service, should be deemed incapable of conducting themselves. Valour fixes the age of manhood. He, who is able to pierce the foe, ought to combat every vice. Montesquieu observes, that Childebert II. was fifteen years old, when Gontram his uncle declared him to be of full age. "I have put," he said, "this javelin in your hands, to inform you, that I now resign the kingdom to your care:" and then, turning to the assembly, "You see that Childebert is a man: obey him." Montesquieu adds, that, by the Ripuarian laws, at the end of fifteen years the ability of bearing arms and the age of manhood went together. The youth had then acquired the strength of body that was requisite for his defence in combat. Amongst the Burgundians, who made use of the judiciary combat, the youth was of full age at fifteen. When the armour of the Franks was light, fifteen might be deemed the age of discretion. In succeeding times heavy armour came into use, and then the term of minority was enlarged. *Spirit of Laws*.

¹ Cæsar gives the same account. The young men who are not acquainted with the union of the sexes, till the age of twenty, are highly applauded. *Gallic War*, book vi. s. 20.

² The early French historians dwell so much on the affection of the kings of the Franks for their sisters and the sisters' children. We read in Gregory of Tours, the rage of Gontram at Levigild's ill treatment of Ingunda, his niece. The seeds of these several customs among the Franks are plainly seen in the German manners.

³ Every hut or cabin had a precinct of ground, and that was the estate that descended to the sons, or went in the male line. It was called SALIC land, because the mansion of a German was called SAL,

heir to his father. Last wills and testaments are not in use. In case of failure of issue, the brothers of the deceased are next in succession, or else the paternal or maternal uncles. A numerous train of relations is the comfort and the honour of old age. To live without raising heirs to yourself is no advantage in Germany.¹

and the space enclosing it SALBAC, the homestead. When the FRANKS issued from their own country, and gained possessions in Gaul, they still continued to give to their new settlements the name of SALIC land; and hence, the law of the FRANKS that regulated the course of descent, was called the SALIC LAW. Rapin has left us an elaborate dissertation on the subject. He states six rules of succession to land property. 1. If a man dies without issue his father or his mother shall inherit. 2. If he leaves neither father nor mother, his brother or sister shall succeed. 3. If there is no surviving brother or sister, the sister of his mother shall be entitled. 4. If the mother has left no sister, the sister of the father shall succeed. 5. If the father has left no sister, the next relation of the male line shall have the estate. 6. No part of the SALIC land shall pass to the females; but the whole inheritance descends to the male line, that is, the sons shall be entitled to the succession. Montesquieu has given the reason for the law. The rule among the Germans in their own country was, that the SALIC land should go to the sword, and not to the distaff. The daughters were excluded, because they passed by marriage into other families. In process of time, the law of the Franks gave way to the civil law; and women, though incapable of performing military duty, were allowed to succeed to fiefs, which, for that reason, were called improper fiefs. The SALIC LAW lost its force in France, except as to the succession to the crown, in which respect it has remained inflexible from the earliest period of the monarchy to the present time. *Spirit of Laws.*

¹ To be possessed of great wealth, by whatever means acquired, and to be at the same time old without issue, gave the highest credit and importance to a Roman citizen. He was surrounded by flatterers, who paid their court, and with emulation sent handsome presents, in hopes of being made testamentary heirs, or, at least, of obtaining a legacy. The advantages of this situation were such, that fathers often renounced their children, in order to enjoy the incense of adulation. Rome was divided into two classes; the rich, who amused their followers with expectations; and the legacy-hunters, who panted for sudden riches. Seneca has drawn, as it were in miniature, a striking

To adopt the quarrels as well as the friendships of your parents and relations¹ is held to be an indispensable duty. In their resentments, however, they are not implacable. Injuries are adjusted by a settled measure of compensation. Atonement is made for homicide by a certain number of cattle, and by that satisfaction the whole family is appeased: a happy regulation, than which nothing can be more conducive to the public interest, since it serves to curb that spirit of revenge which is the natural result of liberty in the excess.² Hospitality and convivial pleasure are no where so liberally enjoyed.³ To refuse admittance to a guest were an outrage

picture of the avaricious sycophant: he is a vulture, lying in wait for a carcass. Horace, Juvenal, and Martial have made both ranks of men a subject of ridicule.

¹ In Britain when a man belonging to a particular tribe or clan committed a murder, vengeance was pursued not only against the offender and his family, but against the whole clan; and this spirit of revenge was distinguished by the name of deadly feud. During the short reign of King Edmund, a law was passed forbidding the deadly feud, except between the relations of the deceased and the murderer himself, so late was it before men could be taught to resign their natural rights for the sake of enjoying a surer protection under a regular government. And yet we see some rudiments of civil society among the ancient Germans. They began to form an idea of a public interest in the preservation of the peace.

² In process of time, when the civil union was better understood, and men saw that, by depositing their resentments in the hands of the state, their personal safety and their property could be better defended, crimes were no longer considered as mere personal injuries, but were punished as offences against the good order and peace of the community. Revenge and personal satisfaction for the wrong committed were no longer the objects in view. The public justice of the community was found to be the best protection, and, in a regular but gradual progression, as succeeding generations became more polished and enlightened, that system of jurisprudence grew up, by which men find their lives, their liberty, and their property sufficiently guarded.

³ Tacitus is confirmed by Julius Cæsar, who says the laws of hospitality are inviolable among the Germans. Their visitors are sure of a cordial reception. Their houses are open to every guest. Book

against humanity. The master of the house welcomes every stranger, and regales him to the best of his ability. If his stock falls short, he becomes a visitor to his neighbour, and conducts his new acquaintance to a more plentiful table. They do not wait to be invited, nor is it of any consequence, since a cordial reception is always certain. Between an intimate and an entire stranger no distinction is made. The law of hospitality is the same. The departing guest receives as a present whatever he desires, and the host retaliates by asking with the same freedom. A German delights in the gifts which he receives; yet by bestowing he imputes nothing to you as a favour, and for what he receives he acknowledges no obligation.

In this manner the Germans pride themselves upon their frankness and generosity. Their hours of rest are protracted to broad daylight. As soon as they rise, the first thing they do is to bathe, and generally, on account of the intense severity of the climate, in warm water.¹ They then betake themselves to their meal, each on a separate seat, and at his own table.² Having finished their repast, they proceed completely armed to the despatch of business, and frequently to a convivial meet-

vi. s. 22. The Burgundian law imposed a fine on every man who refused his roof and fireside to the coming guest; but the Salic law provided, that no man should harbour an atrocious criminal.

¹ The Russians are remarkable for the same custom. Their vapour-baths, to which men and women resort promiscuously, and, after exciting a violent perspiration, go forth without any covering to roll in the snow, are described at length by Abbe la Chappe, in his account of his *Journey through Siberia to Tobolski*.

² The manner in which the Romans placed themselves at table, differed from most other nations. Three couches, called triclinia, were ranged in order, but so as to leave the end of the table open for the approach of the servants. Three persons lay, in effeminate luxury, on each of the couches; sometimes four or five. Tacitus seems never to be better pleased, than when he has opportunity of passing an oblique censure on the manners of the Romans. Accordingly we find, that the Germans in a more manly way seated themselves each at his own table. That this was the primitive custom of remote ages, appears frequently in Homer.

ing. To devote both day and night to deep drinking is a disgrace to no man. Disputes, as will be the case with people in liquor, frequently arise, and are seldom confined to opprobrious language. The quarrel generally ends in a scene of blood.¹ Important subjects, such as the reconciliation of enemies, the forming of family-alliances, the election of chiefs, and even peace and war, are generally canvassed in their carousing festivals. The convivial moment, according to their notion, is the true season for business, when the mind opens itself in plain simplicity, or grows warm with bold and noble ideas. Strangers to artifice, and knowing no refinement, they tell their sentiments without disguise. The pleasure of the table expands their hearts, and calls forth every secret. On the following day the subject of debate is again taken into consideration, and thus two different periods of time, have their distinct uses; when warm, they debate; when cool, they decide.

Their beverage is a liquor drawn from barley or from wheat, and, like the juice of the grape, fermented to a spirit. The settlers on the banks of the Rhine provide themselves with wine. Their food is the simplest kind; with apples, the flesh of an animal recently killed, or coagulated milk.² Without skill in cookery,³ or without seasoning to stimulate the palate, they

¹ To suppress the evil consequences of intoxication among the Franks, the SALIC LAW ordained, that if a man were killed at a convivial meeting, in company with five or seven, the survivors should convict one as the offender, or jointly pay the composition for his death.

² What Tacitus calls coagulated milk, Cæsar calls cheese. *Gallic War*, book vi. s. 21. Pliny the elder wonders, that a race of men, who lived so much on milk, had not the skill to make cheese. They converted it into a kind of whey and butter, and used it as an unguent. Sidonius Apollinaris, in a little poem on the Germans, tells us, that they made use of butter to oil their hair.

³ The refinements of the culinary science were unknown to the Germans. Pomponius Mela says, that they fed on the raw flesh of animals, either recently killed, or after it was pounded in the hide by their feet and hands to some degree of softness. The Romans, on the contrary, studied the pleasures of the table, and luxury was in such vogue, that, as we are told by Pliny, the price of a triumph was

eat to satisfy nature. But they do not drink merely to quench their thirst. Indulge their love of liquor to the excess which they require, and you need not employ the terror of your arms; their own vices will subdue them.

Their public spectacles boast of no variety. They have but one sort, and that they repeat at all their meetings. A band of young men make it their pastime to dance entirely naked amidst pointed swords and javelins. By constant exercise, this kind of exhibition has become an art, and art has taught them to perform with grace and elegance. Their talents, however, are not let out for hire.¹ Though some danger attends the practice, the pleasure of the spectator is their only recompense. In the character of a German there is nothing so remarkable as his passion for play. Without the excuse of liquor (strange as it may seem!), in their cool and sober moments they have recourse to dice,² as to a serious and regular business, with the most desperate spirit committing their whole substance to chance, and when they have lost their all, putting their liberty and even their persons upon the last hazard of the die. The loser yields himself to slavery. Young, robust, and valiant, he submits to be chained, and even exposed for sale. Such is the effect of a ruinous and inveterate habit. They are victims to folly, and they call themselves

not too much for a good cook. The man who by his exquisite skill could enable his master to eat up his fortune, was in the highest request.

¹ Public exhibitions cost the Athenians more than their wars. At Rome the expense was enormous, and the profession of a player was enormously profitable.

² St. Ambrose gives a lively picture of a barbarous people engaged at play. The Huns, he says, a fierce and warlike race, are always subject to a set of usurers, who lend them what they want for the purposes of gaming. They live without laws, and yet obey the laws of dice. When the unsuccessful gamester has lost his all, he sets his liberty, and even his life, upon a single cast, and is accounted infamous if he does not pay his debts of honour. Upon this principle a person well known to the Roman emperor, suffered death at the command of the winner.

men of honour. The winner is always in a hurry to barter away the slaves acquired by success at play; he is ashamed of his victory, and therefore puts away the remembrance of it as soon as possible.

The slaves in general are not arranged at their several employments in the household affairs, as is the practice at Rome. Each has his separate habitation, and his own establishment to manage. The master considers him as an agrarian dependant,¹ who is obliged to furnish a certain quantity of grain, of cattle, or of wearing apparel. The slave obeys, and the state of servitude extends no further. All domestic affairs are managed by the master's wife and children. To punish a slave with stripes, to load him with chains, or condemn him to hard labour, is unusual. It is true, that slaves,² are sometimes put to death, not under colour of justice, or of any authority vested in the master; but in a transport of passion, in a fit of rage, as is often the case in a sudden affray; but it is also true, that this species of homicide passes with impunity. The freedmen are not of much higher consideration than the actual slaves: they obtain no rank in the master's family, and, if we accept the parts of Germany where monarchy is established, they never figure on the stage of public business.³ In despotic governments they rise above the men of ingenuous birth, and even eclipse the whole body of the nobles. In other

¹ In Germany the slaves were prædial servants, not indeed at liberty, but annexed to the soil, *glebæ adscripti*. Their condition, Brotier observes, was the same as that of the vassals, or SERFS, who, a few centuries ago, were so numerous in every part of Europe. The German conquerors, in imitation of the Romans, had their real slaves, while those who remained in a state of rural vassalage were called LIDI. This distinction appears in the SALIC LAW. Villenage was a species of tenure manifestly derived from the Germans.

² A composition was paid for homicide; but still, it seems, a man might kill his slave with impunity. The Salic law provided afterwards, that he who killed the slave of another, was obliged to pay a certain fine, and the expense of the suit.

³ By the Ripuarian law, if a freedman died without issue, his fortune went to the public treasury.

states the subordination of the freedmen is a proof of public liberty.¹

The practice of placing money at interest, and reaping the profits of usury,² is unknown in Germany; and that happy ignorance is a better prevention of the evil than a code of prohibitory laws. In cultivating the soil, they do not settle on one spot, but shift from place to place.³ The state or community takes possession of a certain tract proportioned to its number of hands; allotments are afterwards made to individuals according to their rank and dignity. In so extensive a country, where there is no want of land, the partition is easily made. The ground tilled in one year, lies fallow the next, and a sufficient quantity always remains, the labour of the people being by no means adequate to the extent or goodness of the soil.

¹ As often as an opportunity offers, Tacitus has an eye to the manners of his own country. He glances, in this place, at Pallas, Narcissus, Icelus, and other freedmen, who, under Claudius, Nero, and Galba, rose to the first eminence in the state. The tyranny of such men was a galling yoke to every liberal mind.

² Usury, an ancient grievance at Rome, and a perpetual cause of clamour and sedition. Laws, it is true, were made at various times to suppress the mischief; but those laws were eluded, because, as Tacitus says, the public good gave way to private emolument. See *Annals*. [As modern economists have taught us, interest is a natural product, and direct legislation against it is inoperative; indeed, it adds to the natural interest an "insurance against risk" of the borrower taking advantage of the anti-usury laws, thus augmenting the evil it was intended to check.—M. M. M.]

³ Cæsar says that the magistrates portioned out yearly to every canton or family a quantity of land in what part of the country they thought proper, and the next year removed to some other spot. Many reasons are assigned for this practice; lest, seduced by habit and continuance, they should learn to prefer tillage to war; lest a desire of enlarging their possessions should prevail, and prompt the stronger to expel the weaker; lest they should become curious in their buildings, in order to guard against the extremes of heat and cold; lest avarice should get footing among them; and, in fine, to preserve contentment and equanimity among the people, when they find their possessions nothing inferior to those of the most powerful. *Gallic War*, book vi. s. 21.

Nor have they the skill to make orchard-plantations, to inclose the meadow-grounds, or to lay out and water gardens. From the earth they demand nothing but corn. Hence their year is not, as with the Romans, divided into four seasons. They have distinct ideas of winter, spring and summer, and their language has terms for each; but they neither know the blessings nor the name of autumn.¹

Their funerals have neither pomp nor vain ambition.² When the bodies of illustrious men are to be burned, they choose a particular kind of wood for the purpose, and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither strewed with garments nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased are committed to the flames, and sometimes his horse.³ A mound of turf is raised to his memory and this, in their opinion, is a better sepulchre than those structures of laboured grandeur, which display the weakness of human vanity, and are, at best, a burden to the dead. Tears and lamentations are soon at an end, but their regret does not so easily

¹ The Germans at this day have no distinct word for the autumnal season. The term that satisfies them is HERBST, harvest. Beyond that period, the ancient Germans knew no productions of the earth, having neither orchards nor fruit-trees; and accordingly the Anglo-Saxon language has no name for autumn. That word in English was borrowed from the Latin.

² The simplicity of the Germans is placed by Tacitus, as often as the occasion permits, in direct contrast to Roman luxury and magnificence. Pliny relates, that Cæcilius Claudius Isidorus ordered for himself a pompous funeral, which cost a sum almost incredible. And he says, that Arabia does not produce in a whole year the quantity of spice consumed by Nero at the funeral of Poppæa. Plutarch mentions at the funeral of Sylla two hundred and ten plates of exquisite spices, and the images of Sylla and his lictor constructed with frankincense and cinnamon.

³ The things which a German valued most were his arms and his horse. These were added to the funeral pile, with a persuasion that the deceased would have the same delight in his new state of existence. We read, that in the tomb of Childeric, king of the Franks, his spear, his sword, with his other warlike weapons, and even his horse's head, were found in his tomb. A human skull was also discovered, supposed to be that of his faithful follower.

wear away. To grieve for the departed is comely in the softer sex. The women weep for their friends, the men remember them.

THIS is the sum of what I have been able to collect touching the origin of the Germans, and the general manners of the people. I now shall enter into a more minute description of the several states, their peculiar rites, and the distinctive character of each; observing at the same time, which were the nations that first passed the Rhine, and transplanted themselves into Gaul.¹ That the Gauls, in ancient times, were superior to the Germans, we have the authority of Julius Cæsar, that illustrious historian of his own affairs. From what is stated by that eminent writer, it is highly probable that colonies from Gaul passed over into German: for, in fact, how could a river check the migrations of either nation, when it increased in strength, and multiplied its numbers? So weak an obstacle could not repel them from taking possession of a country, not

¹ We are now come to what may be called the second part of this Treatise. It is Germany beyond the Rhine, *Germania Transrhenana*, that the author intends to describe. He begins his chart near the head of the Rhine, and follows down the current of that river to its mouth, where it discharges itself into the German Ocean. From that place he proceeds eastward along the coast of the Baltic to the Vistula or the Weissel. Tacitus accedes to the opinion of Julius Cæsar, who says, that formerly the Gauls exceeded the Germans in military fame, often made war upon them, and, abounding in people, sent several colonies over the Rhine. Accordingly the VOLCAE took possession of the fertile plains in the neighbourhood of the Hercynian Forest, known to Greek writers by the name of *Orcinia*. They were distinguished by their bravery, and no less remarkable than the Germans for their poverty, their abstinence, and laborious way of life. Cæsar, *Gallic War*, book vi. s. 23. It is worthy of notice, that Tacitus calls Cæsar the most respectable of authors, *summus auctorum*, and yet, in some instances, differs from him. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that whenever a variance arises between them, Tacitus did not wilfully seek occasion to contradict a writer of great authority. Many years had passed since Cæsar threw his bridge over the Rhine; the Romans had penetrated farther into the heart of the country; new channels of informations were opened, and time had, probably, wrought many changes.

as yet marked out by power, and of course open to the first occupant. We find, accordingly, that the whole region between the Hercynian forest,¹ the Maine and the Rhine, was occupied by the Helvetians, and the tract beyond it by the Boians,² both originally Gallic nations. The name of *BOIEMUM*, which remains to this day, shows the ancient state of the country, though it has since received a new race of inhabitants. Whether the Araviscians, who settled in Pannonia, were orig-

¹ The Hercynian Forest, according to Cæsar's account, was about nine days' journey in breadth; that being the only way of computing it, as the Germans were ignorant of the use of measures. It began from the confines of the Helvetians, the Nemetes, and Rauraci, and extending towards the Danube, reached the territory of the Dacians; and, turning thence from the banks of the river, covered a vast tract of country. Numbers travelled six days into this forest, yet no one pretended to have reached the farthest limit. Pliny the elder, who had been in Germany, gives a description of this prodigious forest. Gronovius and other commentators say, that the German word is *Hirtsenwald*, importing the forest of stags. The Romans softened the barbarous sound to their own idiom, by calling it *Hercynia Silva*. It is now cut down in many places, or parcelled out into woods, which go by particular names, such as the Black Forest; *La Foret de Hartz*. Some of the woods in Bohemia are supposed to be a remnant of the Hercynian Forest. The Helvetians inhabited originally what is now called Switzerland, with a wide tract of country extending towards Lyons. The time when they migrated into Germany cannot now be ascertained. It is known, however, that they settled in Germany near the Hercynian Forest, and occupied the country now called Suabia, between the Rhine, the Mænus or the Mein, and the Black Forest.

² The Boians, were originally a people of Gaul, bordering on the Helvetians in the country now called the Bourbonnois. The time of their migration into Germany cannot be fixed with precision. Livy mentions a colony of Gauls sent into Germany in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus. He says, that Ambigatus, king of the Bituriges, who reigned over the Celtæ, being the third part of Gaul, sent his sister's son Sigovesus into the Hercynian Forest, in order to discharge a redundant multitude from his own dominions, which, at that time were greatly over-peopled. It is most probable that the Boians and Helvetians joined in that expedition. La Bletterie is

inally a colony from the Osi, a people of Germany;¹ or, on the other hand, whether the Osi overflowed into Germany from the Araviscians, cannot now be ascertained. Thus much is certain, the laws, the manners and language of both nations are still the same. But which of them first passed the Danube? The same good and evil were to be found on both sides of the river; equal poverty and equal independence. To be thought of German origin is the ambition of the Treverians,² and the Nervians, both conceiving, that the reproach of Gallic softness and effeminacy, which still infect their national manners, may be lost in the splendour of a war-like descent. The Vangiones,³ the Tribocians, and the Nemetes, who stretch along the banks of the Rhine, are, beyond all doubt, of Ger-

of opinion that the Boians occupied part of what is now called Bohemia. He says, that the old German term *heim* or *haim* signifies habitation, and thence the French derived *hameau*; and the compound word *Boiohæmum* was *the habitation of the Boians*. We read in Velleius Paterculus that *Boiohæmum* was the name of the country occupied by Maroboduus. In the reign of Augustus Cæsar the Boians, expelled by the Marcomanni, retired towards the Danube, where their territory was called Boiaria, now Bavaria.

¹ Of these two nations little is now known. It is, however, probable that the Araviscians inhabited the Upper Hungary, and that the Osians occupied the eastern part of the country near the source of the Vistula. Tacitus doubts whether the latter were a German race, and, in sect. 43, he seems convinced, by their use of the Pannonian language, and the acquiescence with which they submitted to pay a tribute, that they were adventitious settlers in Germany. The commentators make it probable that they bordered on the Marcomanni, and occupied the northern part of Hungary beyond the Danube.

² The Treverians inhabited what is now called *the diocese of Treves*; the territory of the Nervians was near Cambray.

³ These three nations migrated from Germany into Gaul. The Vangiones, according to Brotier, occupied *the diocese of Worms*; the Triboci, *the diocese of Strasbourg*; the Nemetes, *the diocese of Spire*. Though originally Germans, they were all settled in Gaul before Cæsar carried his victorious arms through every part of the country.

man extraction. The Ubians,¹ for their services, were made a Roman colony, and, with their own consent, became known by the name of AGRIPPINIANS, in honour of their founder; and yet they still look back with pride to their German origin. They issued formerly from that country, and having given proof of their fidelity, obtained an allotment of territory on the banks of the Rhine, not so much with a view to their security, as to make them a guard to defend the Roman frontier.

Of all these various nations the Batavians² are the most

¹ During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Ubians, then settled on the German side of the Rhine, sent their ambassadors to the Roman general and, having delivered hostages, and formed an alliance, implored his protection against the Suevians, by whom they were dreadfully oppressed. It was in consequence of these remonstrances that Cæsar resolved to build his bridge over the Rhine. From that time the Ubians were obnoxious to the German nation. Their alliance with the Romans, and their having called in a foreign aid, inflamed the indignation of their enemies. Pressed and persecuted by the Cattiæns, they applied to the Romans for a safe retreat on the Gallic side of the Rhine. Their request was granted, and lands were assigned to them in the country now called the Electorate of Cologne. The exact time of this migration cannot now be fixed with certainty. Agrippa commanded in Gaul in the years of Rome 716 and 735; and it was, most probably, in one of those expeditions that he received the Ubians under the protection of Rome. The Ubians in their new settlement built a city on the banks of the Rhine. It was the birth-place of Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and the mother of Nero. Being married afterwards to the emperor Claudius, she established a colony of veterans in the city of the Ubians, which was from that time called *the Agrippinian colony*; and thence the modern name of Cologne. The people were pleased with a title, which at once did honour to their protectress and recalled the name of the first founder. *Tacitus's Annals*.

² The Batavians are often celebrated by Tacitus for their bravery, their skill in swimming across rivers, and their faithful attachment to the interest of Rome. In the second book of the *Annals*, we find them fighting under Germanicus. In the fourth book of the *History*, they are said to be originally of the Cattiæns nation. Driven out by their countrymen, they occupied a marshy island, formed by the German Ocean and two branches of the Rhine. The name of

brave and warlike. Incorporated formerly with the Cattians, but driven out by intestine divisions, they took possession of an island, formed by the river Rhine, where, without any extent of land on the continent, they established a canton in alliance with the Romans. The honour of that ancient friendship they still enjoy, with the addition of peculiar privileges. They are neither insulted with taxes, nor harassed by revenue-officers. Free from burdens, imposts, and tributes, they are reserved for the day of battle; a nursery of soldiers. The Mattiaci¹ are in like manner attached to the interest of the Romans. In fact, the limits of the empire have been enlarged, and the terror of our arms has spread beyond the Rhine and the former boundaries. Hence the Mattiaci, still enjoying their own side of the river, are Germans by their situation, yet in sentiment and principle the friends of Rome; submitting, like the Batavians, to the authority of the empire; but, never having been transplanted, they still retain, from their soil and climate, all the fierceness of their native character. The people between the Rhine and the Danube, who occupy a certain tract, subject to an impost of one-tenth, and therefore called the Decumate Lands,² are not to be reckoned among the

the island, which was probably Latinized by the Romans, implies a flat marshy country; there is at this day, between the Rhine and the Leck, a low swampy district called BETUVE. The Batavians adhered with unshaken constancy to the Romans. They served in Britain as auxiliaries, and in Italy under Vitellius. Inflamed at length by the turbulent spirit of CIVILIS, they threw off the yoke, and having stormed the Roman encampments, obliged the legions to lay down their arms, and even to swear fidelity to the empire of the Gauls. See the account of this war in the fourth and fifth books of the *History*.

¹ The Mattiaci inhabited lands between the Rhine and the Visurgis (the WESER). Their country was partly in Weteravie, and partly in Hesse. Mattium, their capital, is now called Marpurg, and the fountains (FONTES MATTIACI) are known by the name of Wis-baden, near Mentz.

² The country where the decumate lands were situated is now called Suabia. During Cæsar's wars in Gaul, the Marcomanni were in possession. In the time of Augustus, Maroboduus, their king, a

German nations. The Gauls, from their natural levity prone to change, and rendered desperate by their poverty, were the first adventurers into that vacant region. The Roman frontier, in process of time, being advanced, and garrisons stationed at proper posts, that whole country became part of a province, and the inhabitants of course were reduced to subjection.

brave, politic, and ambitious prince, saw that the Rhine was not a sufficient barrier between him and the Roman arms. He resolved to seek a new habitation in a more remote part of the country. Migrations in Germany were attended with little difficulty. They had neither fortified towns, nor houses strongly built; and all their wealth consisted in herds of cattle. Maroboduus, at the head of the Marcomanni, marched into Bohemia, and expelled the Boians. Suabia being thus evacuated, the neighbouring Gauls were invited by the fertility of the soil. A band of adventurers, supposed to be the Sequani, the Rauraci, and Helvetii, took possession of the vacant lands; and being subjects of the empire, they continued to own their former masters, and, as was necessary in their new situation, to crave the protection of Rome. The Romans, in return, demanded a tenth of the product of the lands. Hence they were called *decumates*. The tithe of their products was the tribute usually paid by the provinces that made a voluntary submission to the Romans. Suabia was converted by the new settlers into a Roman province, and, as Tacitus expressly says, was defended from the incursions of the Germans by a chain of posts. Tacitus wrote his Treatise in the second consulship of Trajan. That emperor repaired all the forts erected by Drusus, and the several commanders in Germany. Hadrian raised a rampart, which extended from Neustadt, on the banks of the Danube, over a large tract of country as far as the Neckar, near Wimpfen, a space of sixty French leagues. This rampart, La Bletterie says, subsisted in the time of Aurelian, but could then no longer withstand the irruption of the German nations. Those fierce invaders bore down all opposition, till the emperor Probus checked their progress, and, in the place of the former rampart, which was raised with wood and turf, built a stone wall to repress the enemy. The design was grand, but it proved ineffectual. About the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, the Germans began to see, that, while they fought in detached parties, the general interest was in danger. The spirit of liberty was roused, and a combination was formed to act with the united vigour of all Germany. Towards the Lower Rhine a league was formed under the name of the FRANKS;

Beyond the Mattiaci lies the territory of the Cattians,¹ beginning at the Hercynian forest, but not, like other parts of Germany, a wide and dreary level of fens and marshes. A continued range of hills extends over a prodigious tract, till growing thinner by degrees they sink at last into an open country. The Hercynian forest attends its favourite Cattians to their utmost boundary, and there leaves them, as it were, with regret. The people are robust and hardy; their limbs well braced; their countenance fierce, and their minds endowed with vigour beyond the rest of their countrymen. Considered as Germans, their understanding is quick and penetrating. They elect officers fit to command, and obey them implicitly; they keep their ranks, and know how to seize their opportunity; they restrain their natural impetuosity, and wait for the attack; they arrange with judgment the labours of the day, and throw up entrenchments for the night; trusting little to fortune, they depend altogether on their valour; and, what is rare in the history of Barbarians, and never attained without regular discipline, they place their confidence, not in the strength of their armies, but entirely in their general.² The infantry is their main strength. Each soldier

a word that signified FREEMEN. Towards the southern parts of the Rhine, the people bordering on the decumate lands, and the stone wall of Probus, established another confederation; under the name of ALLMANNI, importing that it was the league of a brave people, ALL MEN; *omnes viri*. In the time of Dioclesian and Maximin, the wall built by Probus was overturned by the German invaders, who possessed themselves of the decumate country, and called it ALAMANNIA. The word has been adopted by the French, who call Germany by the name of ALMAGNE.

¹ Brotier says, that what Cæsar, Florus, and Ptolemy, have remarked of the Suevi, should always be understood of the Catti. Leibnitz supposes that the people were called Catti, from some resemblance in point of agility to a cat, the German word for that animal being CATTE.

² This was an improvement in military discipline beyond the rest of the Germans. In the Roman armies the general was the main strength; and, accordingly, Livy says, it was evident that the republic succeeded more by her general officers than by the armies of

carries, besides his arms, his provision and a parcel of military tools. You may see other armies rushing to a battle; the Cattians march to a war. To skirmish in detached parties, or to sally out on a sudden emergence, is not their practice. A victory hastily gained, or a quick retreat, may suit the genius of the cavalry; but all that rapidity, in the opinion of the Cattians, denotes want of resolution; perseverance is the true mark of courage.

A custom, known, indeed, in other parts of Germany, but adopted by only a few individuals of a bold and ardent spirit, is with the Cattians a feature of the national character. From the age of manhood they encourage the growth of their hair and beard, nor will any one, till he has slain an enemy, divest himself of that excrescence, which by a solemn vow he has devoted to heroic virtue.¹ Over the blood and spoils of the vanquished the face of the warrior is, for the first time, displayed. The Cattian then exults; he has now answered the true end of his being, and has proved himself worthy of his parents and his country. The sluggard continues unshorn, with the uncouth horrors of his visage growing wilder to the close of his

the commonwealth. Quintilian says, If we make a fair estimate, it is by military discipline that the Roman name has flourished to this day with undiminished lustre. We do not abound in numbers more than other nations; nor are our bodies more robust than the Cimbrians. We are not richer than many powerful monarchies; our contempt of death does not exceed that of the barbarians, who have no allurement to make them fond of life. What gives us the advantage over other nations, is the military system established by the institutions of our ancestors; our attention to discipline; our love of labour, and our constant preparation for war, assiduously kept alive by unremitting exercise. We conquered more by our manners, than by force of arms.

¹ Lipsius mentions from the History of the Langobards, six thousand Saxons, who survived the slaughter of their countrymen, and bound themselves by a solemn vow, neither to shave their beards nor cut their hair, till they had revenged themselves on the Suevian nation. In the days of chivalry vows of this kind prevailed, and manifestly owed their origin to the practice of the Germans, who over-ran all Europe.

days. The men of superior courage and uncommon ferocity wear also an iron ring,¹ in that country a badge of infamy, and with that, as with a chain, they appear self-condemned to slavery, till by the slaughter of an enemy they have redeemed their freedom. With this extraordinary habit the Cattians are in general much delighted. They grow grey under a vow of heroism, and by their voluntary distinctions render themselves conspicuous to their friends and enemies. In every engagement the first attack is made by them; they claim the front of the line is their right, presenting to the enemy an appearance wild and terrible. Even in the time of peace they retain the same ferocious aspect; never softened with an air of humanity. They have no house to dwell in, no land to cultivate, no domestic care to employ them. Wherever chance conducts them, they are sure of being maintained. Lavish of their neighbours' substance, and prodigal of their own, they persist in this course, till towards the decline of life their drooping spirit is no longer equal to the exertions of a fierce and rigid virtue.

The Usipians and Tencterians² border on the Cattians. Their territory lies on the banks of the Rhine, where that river, still flowing in one regular channel, forms a sufficient boundary. In addition to their military character, the Tencterians

¹ This custom of voluntarily putting on a badge of slavery was observed by the descendants of the Germans in various parts of Europe, and in the times of chivalry seems to have grown into general use. It was then a mark of amorous gallantry. In the year 1414, John, duke of Bourbon, to distinguish himself in the service of his mistress, associated himself with sixteen knights and squires, who all joined him in a vow, by which they obliged themselves to wear a ring round their left legs on every Sunday for two years; that of the knights to be gold, and that of the gentlemen silver. And this they were to perform till it should be their lot to meet with an equal number of knights and squires, to engage with them in the tournament.

² The Usipii are supposed to have occupied the duchy of Cleves, and part of the bishopric of Munster. Cæsar calls them *Usipetes*; and they, he says, with the Tencteri, were driven by the Suevians from their territories; and, having wandered over many regions of Germany during a space of three years, they settled at last on the banks of the Rhine, near the Menapians, who had lands on both sides of the

are famous for the discipline of their cavalry. Their horse is no way inferior to the infantry of the Cattians. The wisdom of their ancestors formed the military system, and their descendants hold it in veneration. Horsemanship is the pride of the whole country, the pastime of their children, the emulation of their youth, and the habit of old age. With their goods and valuable effects their horses pass as part of the succession, not, however, by the general rule of inheritance, to the eldest son, but, in a peculiar line, to that son who stands distinguished by his valour and his exploits in war.

In the neighbourhood of the last-mentioned states formerly occurred the Bructerians,¹ since that time dispossessed of their territory, and, as fame reports, now no longer a people. The Chamavians and Angrivarians,² it is said, with

river. Afterwards, in the reign of Augustus, when the Sicambri were transplanted to the west side of the Rhine by Tiberius, who commanded the legions in those parts, the Usipians and Tencterians succeeded to the lands left vacant in Germany; supposed now to be the duchy of Berg, and Mark, Lippe, Waldeck, and the bishopric of Paderborn. In the *History* of Tacitus, we see them acting in conjunction with Civilis against the Romans.

¹ The Bructerians dwelt between the Rhine, the Luppia (the Lippe,) and Amisia (the Ems.) The country is now Westphalia, and Over-Yssel. They entered into an alliance with Civilis, the Batavian chief; and, having in the course of that war incurred the hatred of their countrymen, they were at length exterminated. It is observable, however, that Tacitus does not state the ruin of the people as a positive fact. He mentions it as a report. That they were still a people, appears in a letter of Pliny, who wrote in the time of Trajan. The emperor, he tells us, decreed a triumphal statute to Vestritius Spurinna, who, without the necessity of coming to an engagement, humbled the Bructerians by the terror of his name. The barbarians had experienced his courage and his conduct, and therefore not only received their king from him, but quietly submitted to their former government. Eccard says they settled between Cologne and Hesse, and were afterwards engaged in the league of the Franks.

² The Chamavians occupied a territory near the banks of the Amisia (the Ems,) supposed to be Lingen and Osnaburg. The Angrivarians bordered on the Visurgis (the Weser,) where at present are Minden and Schawenburg. They were also called Angrarii; a word

the consent of the adjacent tribes invaded the country, and pursued the ancient settlers with exterminating fury. The intolerable pride of the Bructerians drew upon them this dreadful catastrophe. The love of plunder was, no doubt, a powerful motive; and, perhaps, the event was providentially ordained in favour of the Roman people. Certain it is, the gods have of late indulged us with the view of a fierce engagement, and a scene of carnage, in which above sixty thousand of the enemy fell a sacrifice, not to the arms of Rome, but, more magnificent still! to the rage of their own internal discord, all cut off, as it were in the theatre of war, to furnish a spectacle to the Roman army. May this continue to be the fate of foreign nations! If not the friends of Rome, let them be enemies to themselves. For in the present tide of our affairs, what can fortune have in store so devoutly to be wished for as civil dissension amongst our enemies?

At the back of the states, which I have now described, lie the Dulgibinians¹ and the Chasuarians, with other nations

which, Gronovius observes, according to the German etymology, signifies AGGRESSORS. Brotier says they were afterwards a part of the Saxon nation; and, for proof of this, he refers to the code of Saxon laws. The same writer adds, that the battle which, in conjunction with the Angrivarians, they fought against the Bructerians, was decided on a plain near the canal of Drusus and the account of that prodigious slaughter arrived at Rome in the first year of the emperor Trajan. Tacitus on this occasion seems to exult in the destruction of the human species. *Above sixty thousand of the Germans, he says, lay dead on the field of battle; a glorious spectacle for the legions who beheld that scene of blood.*

¹ It is difficult to fix the residence of these two nations. The commentators seem disposed to assign them the country near the head of the river Lippe; and thence it is thought that they removed to the lands evacuated by the Angrivarians and Chamavians, when they expelled the Bructerian nation. They seem to have been the same with those whom Velleius Paterculus calls the Attuarii. They were afterwards part of the Francic league. The nations of inferior note, said by Tacitus to have dwelt in their neighbourhood, are supposed by Brotier to have been the Ansibarii and Tubantes. The former he thinks should rather be called Amsibarii, from their vicinity to the river Amisia.

of inferior note. In front occurs the country of the Frisians¹ divided into two communities, called, on account of their degree of strength, the Greater and the Lesser Frisia. Both extend along the margin of the Rhine as far as the ocean, inclosing within their limits lakes of vast extent² where the fleets of Rome have spread their sails. Through that outlet we have attempted the Northern Ocean, where, if we may believe the account of navigators, the pillars of Hercules are seen still standing on the coast; whether it be, that Hercules did in fact visit those parts, or that whatever is great and splendid in all quarters of the globe is by common consent ascribed to that ancient hero, Drusus Germanicus was an adventurer in those seas.³ He did not want a spirit of enter-

¹ The Flevus, in the time of the Romans, was a great lake. Germanicus entered it through the artificial branch of the Rhine made by Drusus. *Annals*. It has been since enlarged by irruptions of the sea, and is now the great gulf called Zuyder-Zee. The Lesser Frisians were settled on the south-west side of the bay, occupying the whole or part of Holland Utrecht. The Greater Frisians were on the north-east of the lake or gulf in the territory now called Groningen, extending themselves along the sea-coast as far as the river Amisia (now the EMS.) The name of the Frisians is preserved in that of FRIESLAND.

² One of the inundations which changed the lake into a gulf of the sea, happened so late as the year 1530, and swallowed up seventy-two villages. Another happened in the year 1569, and overwhelmed the coast of Holland, and laid all Friesland under water. In that flood no less than 20,000 persons lost their lives. Where the pillars of Hercules stood cannot now be known with certainty. The extreme point of land, where nothing but the open sea lay beyond it, was in ancient times said to be the spot on which the pillars of Hercules were erected. Some of the commentators contend that the spot intended by Tacitus was on the coast of the Frisians; others will have it to be the point of the CIMBRIAN CHERSONESUS, now Jutland.

³ Drusus was the younger brother of Tiberius, and father of Germanicus. History ascribes to him the most amiable character, and every Roman virtue. Though educated at the court of Augustus, he was in sentiment a republican. He commanded in Germany, and carried his victorious arms as far as the Elbe. He imposed a trib-

prise; but the navigation was found impracticable in that tempestuous ocean, which seemed to forbid any further discovery of its own element, or the labours of Hercules. Since that time no expedition has been undertaken: men conceived that to respect the mysteries of the gods, and believe without inquiry, would be the best proof of veneration.

We have hitherto traced the western side of Germany. From the point, where we stop, it stretches away with a prodigious sweep towards the north. In this vast region the first territory that occurs, is that of the Chaucians,¹ beginning on the confines of the Frisians, and, though at the extremity bounded by the sea-shore, yet running at the back of all the nations already described, till, with an immense

ute on the Frisians (see *Annals*.) and, in order to explore the German Ocean, sailed as far as the point of Jutland: but did not venture to proceed farther in that violent and tempestuous sea.

¹ The territory of the Chaucians extended from the Ems (*Amisia*) to the Elbe (*Elbis*), and the German Ocean washed the northern extremity. The nation was distinguished into the Greater and the Lesser, divided from each other by the *Visurgis* (the *Weser*). Pliny, in his *Natural History*, has represented the maritime inhabitants in lively colours. He says, he himself had seen the Greater and the Lesser Chaucians, living in a vast level country, which is overflowed twice in the day and night by the reflux of the tide, and leaves a perpetual doubt, whether it is sea or land. Pliny adds, that the wretched inhabitants live on the ridge of hills, or in mud cottages, raised above the high-water mark, having no cattle, no milk, and no fruits of the earth. Fish is their only sustenance, and they catch it with lines made of flags and sea-weed. Their fuel is the common mud, taken up with their hands, and dried rather by the wind than the sun. With fire made of this kind of peat, they warm their food and their bodies almost frozen. The rain-water collected in ditches round their huts, is their only drink. Pliny concludes his account of the Chaucians with an observation natural in the mouth of one who, like all his countrymen, thought that subjection to Rome was the duty of barbarians. If, he says, that wretched people were conquered by the Romans, they would call it slavery, and complain of the yoke of bondage. The fact is, Fortune spares some nations, but her mercy is the severest punishment. She leaves them to their misery. *Et hæ gentes, si vincantur hodie a populo Romano, servire se dicunt. Ita*

compass, it reaches the borders of the Cattians. Of this immeasurable tract it is not sufficient to say that the Chaucians possess it: they even people it. Of all the German nations, they are, beyond all question, the most respectable. Their grandeur rests upon the surest foundation, the love of justice; wanting no extension of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never seek to enrich themselves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great; but the best evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing by injustice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike spirit, they are ever ready in a just cause to unsheath the sword. Their armies are soon in the field.¹ In men and horses their resources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarnished.

Bordering on the side of the Chaucians, and also of the Cattians, lies the country of the Cherusans,² a people by a

est profecto; multis Fortuna parcat in pœnam. Pliny, it should seem, thought luxury a sufficient compensation for the loss of liberty: he did not reflect, that to live under the arbitrary will of man is the worst lot of human life, and that independence can make *barren rocks and bleak mountains smile*. Lucan differed widely from Pliny: Liberty, he says, fled from the guilt of civil war beyond the Tigris and the Rhine, never to return, though often sought by the Romans at the risk of life. In his emphatic manner he calls liberty *a German and a Scythian blessing*.

¹ The Chaucians, with their love of justice and moderation, still retained their warlike spirit. To prevent their incursions, the Romans found it convenient to station garrisons at proper posts. Lucan alludes to those garrisons; but he gives the people a new name, that of CAYCI.

² The territory of the Cherusans began near the Weser (Visurgis), and extended to the Elbe, through the countries now called Luneburg, Brunswick, and part of Brandenburg. Arminius, their chief, made head against the Romans with distinguished bravery, and performed a number of gallant exploits, as related by Tacitus in the first and second book of the *Annals*. He was at last cut off by the treachery of his countrymen, and his character is given in lively colours, in the last section of the second book. Varus and his legions were destroyed by the zeal and violent spirit of Arminius, as

long disuse of arms enervated and sunk in sloth. Unmolested by their neighbours, they enjoyed the sweets of peace, forgetting that amidst powerful and ambitious neighbours, the repose, which you enjoy, serves only to lull you into a calm, always pleasing, but deceitful in the end. When the sword is drawn, and the power of the strongest is to decide, you talk in vain of equity and moderation: those virtues always belong to the conqueror. Thus it has happened to the Cheruskans: they were formerly just and upright; at present they are called fools and cowards. Victory has transferred every virtue to the Cattians, and oppression takes the name of wisdom. The downfall of the Cheruskans drew after it that of the Fosi,¹ a contiguous nation, in their day of prosperity never equal to their neighbours, but fellow-sufferers in their ruin.

In the same northern part of Germany we find the Cimbrians² on the margin of the ocean; a people at present of

appears in the speech of Segestes. Tacitus's *Annals*. The long peace, in which the vigour of this people sunk into sloth and indolence, was, perhaps, occasioned by the death of Arminius; or it might be from the time when Germanicus was recalled by Tiberius, and sent to command the legions in the east. In the time of Augustus, they occupied a large tract of country on the west side of the Weser, as appears in the accounts given by Velleius Paterculus of Drusus, and his wars in Germany.

¹ The Fosi bordered on the Cheruskans near the Elbe; and, since we find them involved in one common calamity, they were, perhaps, subordinate to that nation.

² The Cimbri inhabited the peninsula, which, after their name, was called the Cimbric Chersonesus, and is now Jutland, including Sleswic and Holstein. In the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papius Carbo, A. U. C. 640, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian era, this people, in conjunction with the Teutones, made an irruption into Gaul, and having spread terror and devastation through the country, resolved to push their conquest into Italy. They sent a deputation to the senate, demanding an allotment of lands, and in return promising fidelity. It appears in the *Epitome* of Livy, that, the senate having refused to enter into any compromise with such bold invaders, the new consul, Marcus Silanus, marched against them. The Cimbri stormed his entrenchments, pil-

small consideration, though their glory can never die. Monuments of their former strength and importance are still to be seen on either shore. Their camps and lines of circumvallation are not yet erased. From the extent of ground which they occupied, you may even now form an estimate of the force and resources of the state, and the account of their grand army, which consisted of such prodigious numbers, seems to be verified. It was in the year of Rome six hundred and forty, in the consulship of Cæcilius Metellus and Papirius Carbo, that the arms of the Cimbrians first alarmed the world. If from that period we reckon to the second consulship of the emperor Trajan, we shall find a space of near two hundred and ten years: so long has Germany stood at bay with Rome! In the course of so obstinate a struggle, both sides have felt alternately the severest blows of fortune,

laged the camp, and put almost the whole army to the sword. This victory was followed by the defeat of three more Roman generals, who lost their camp, and had their armies cut to pieces. Florus does not hesitate to say, that Rome was on the brink of destruction, had there not existed in that age a Marius to redeem the Roman name. That officer had triumphed over Jugurtha, and his military skill was equal to his valour. He gave battle to the Teutones at the foot of the Alps, near the place then called Aquæ Sextiæ (now Aix in Provence,) and gained a complete victory. Livy says, (*Epitome*.) that no less than two hundred thousand of the enemy were slain in the action. The whole nation perished. Florus adds, that their king THEUTOBOCHUS was taken prisoner; and, in the triumph of Marius, his immense statue, towering above the heaps of warlike trophies, exhibited to the Roman people an astonishing spectacle. The Cimbri, in the mean time, passed over the Alps, and made a descent into Italy. They penetrated as far as the banks of the Adige, and, having crossed that river, in spite of Catulus Luctatius, the Roman general, spread a general panic through the country. They halted near the Po, and sent to Marius a second time to demand a place for their habitation. Marius answered, that "their brethren, the Teutones, already possessed more than they desired, and that they would not easily quit what had been assigned to them." Enraged by that taunting raillery, the Cimbri prepared for a decisive action. Florus says, that their vigour was relaxed by the soft clime of Italy. The battle was fought, according to Florus,

and the worst calamities of war. Not the Samnite, nor the republic of Carthage, nor Spain, nor Gaul, nor even the Parthian, has given such frequent lessons to the Roman people. The power of the Arsacidæ was not so formidable as German liberty.¹ If we except the slaughter of Crassus and his army,

at a place called Radium, on the east side of the river Lessites, which runs from the Alpes Graiæ, and falls into the Po. Victory declared for the Romans. If we may believe Livy, Florus, and Plutarch in the Life of Marius, above one hundred and forty thousand of the Cimbri perished in the engagement. Mention has already been made (s. viii. note) of the behaviour of the Cimbrian women, when they saw the victory in the hands of the Romans. They dashed out the brains of their children, and completed the tragedy by destroying themselves. In this manner ended the expedition of the Cimbri. The number of the Cimbri, and their confederates, the Teutones, said to have been destroyed by Marius in his two engagements, would seem incredible, were it not in some degree explained by Florus, who says, that the whole nation was driven by inundations of the sea, to seek new habitations in every quarter of the globe. Plutarch, in the life of Marius, says that the number of fighting men was 300,000, besides as great a number of women and children. Their native country, after this grand emigration, continued so depopulated, that at the end of two centuries, when Tacitus wrote this tract, it had not been able to recover itself. It was long after that the Angles and Saxons issued from their northern hive to establish their Anglo-Saxon government in England.

¹ The Germans took up arms in defence of liberty; the Parthians fought for the splendour of the imperial diadem, and, by consequence, riveted their own chains. It is true that Crassus and his whole army were cut to pieces; but the Parthians delivered hostages to the Romans, and their princes received their sceptre from the hands of the emperor. The Germans made a fiercer resistance. The Cimbrians and the Teutones filled all Italy with terror. From that time, during a space of more than two centuries to the reign of Trajan, Rome and Germany were often at war, with alternate victory, and alternate slaughter. Arminius roused his countrymen against the Romans, and he is called by Tacitus the DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY. Civilis, the Batavian chieftain, declared to his people, that Syria, Asia, and the oriental nations, inured to the yoke of despotism, might continue to crouch in bondage; but as to himself and the Gauls, they were born in freedom. By the death of Varus

what has the east to boast of? Their own commander, Pacorus, was cut off, and the whole nation was humbled by the victory of Ventidius. The Germans can recount their triumphs over Carbo, Cassius, Scaurus Aurelius, Servilius Cæpio, and Cneius Manilus,¹ all defeated, or taken prisoners. With them the republic lost five consular armies; and since that time, in the reign of Augustus, Varus perished with his

slavery was driven out of Germany. Those were the sentiments that inflamed the martial spirit of that adventurer. With what heroic ardour he prosecuted the war, Tacitus has related in the fourth book of his History. This triumph of the Germans happened long after the time of Tacitus. In the year of Rome 1229, and of the Christian era 476, Odoacer overturned the western empire, and left the last of the emperors to languish in a castle near Naples. Before the end of the eighth century Charlemagne, king of the Franks, caused one of his sons to be crowned king of Italy by Pope Adrian, and, by the rapid progress of his arms, proved what Tacitus has said, that German liberty is more vigorous than eastern despotism.

¹ Carbo was consul A. U. C. 640, and was routed by the Cimbrians, with his whole army. Lucius Cassius was consul A. U. C. 647. He himself was slain in battle, and his whole army passed under the yoke. Marcus Scaurus Aurelius gave battle to the Cimbrians, and his army was put to flight. He himself was taken prisoner. Being summoned to a consultation held by the enemy, he advised them not to think of passing the Alps, because the Romans were invincible. For that offence Boiorix, a young man of great ferocity, killed him on the spot. Servilius Cæpio proconsul, and Cneius Manlius consul, were both defeated, and their camps were pillaged by the Cimbrians. This last defeat happened A. U. C. 649, and, according to Plutarch, in the life of Lucullus, the anniversary was reckoned among the unlucky days. In order to do justice to the martial ardour of the Germans, Tacitus takes care to observe that these disasters happened in the best days of Rome, that is, in the time of the Republic. He adds, that Augustus the emperor lost Varus and his three legions. The calamity made such an impression on the mind of Augustus, that, as Suetonius relates, he let his hair and beard grow for several months, at times striking his head against the wall, and exclaiming, "QUINTILIUS VARUS, GIVE ME BACK MY LEGIONS." See the fine description of Germanicus and his army traversing the field where the bones of their slaughtered countrymen lay unburied in Tacitus's *Annals*.

three legions. Caius Marius, it is true, defeated the Germans in Italy; Julius Cæsar made them retreat from Gaul; and Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus, overpowered them in their own country; but how much blood did those victories cost us! The mighty projects of Caligula ended in a ridiculous farce. From that period an interval of peace succeeded, till, roused at length by the dissensions of Rome, and the civil wars that followed, they stormed our legions in their winter-quarters,¹ and even planned the conquest of Gaul. Indeed, we forced them to repress the Rhine; but from that time what has been our advantage? We have triumphed, and Germany is still unconquered.

The Suevians² are the next that claim attention. Possess-

¹ During the troubles that followed the death of Nero, and the wars between Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian, Claudius Civilis, the Bata-vian chief, took the field at the head of a confederate army, under a plausible pretence of promoting the interest of Vespasian, but, in fact, to deliver his country and the Gauls from the Roman yoke. He called himself the friend of Vespasian, while he stormed the Roman camps, and obliged the legions to surrender to his victorious arms. He drew many of the German nations into a conspiracy; and acting on every occasion with consummate policy, he appears to have learned in the school of the Romans the art of contending with masters. What he attempted was reserved for a later period, and for the abilities of William Nassau, who freed the United Provinces from the dominion of Spain. See the enterprising spirit and the gallant exploits of Civilis in the History of Tacitus. He was at length abandoned by the Germans, and, by consequence, reduced to the necessity of patching up a peace with Cerealis, the Roman general.

² The territory occupied by the Suevians was of vast extent, stretching southward from the Baltic to the Danube, and eastward from the Elbe to the Vistula, which was the boundary that separated Germany from Sarmatia. Several nations inhabited that vast tract of country. They formed a confederation with the Suevians, and being so connected, were called by one general appellation. Some distinct states were subject to the Suevians, and thence derived the name of Suevians. The new league that was afterwards established took the title of ALAMANNI: see this Tract, s. 29, note. The two names have been promiscuously used by historians to signify the Suevi or the Alamanni: and hence the country, which, after the de-

ing the largest portion of Germany, they do not, like the Cattians and Tencterians, form one state or community, but have among themselves several subdivisions, or inferior tribes, known by distinct appellations, yet all comprehended under the general name of Suevians. It is the peculiar custom of this people to braid the hair, and tie it up in a knot.¹ Between them and the rest of the Germans this is the mark of distinction. In their own country it serves to discriminate the free-born from the slave. If the same mode is seen in other states, introduced by ties of consanguinity, or, as often happens, by the propensity of men to imitate foreign manners, the instances are rare, and confined entirely to the season of youth. With the Suevians the custom is continued through life: men far advanced in years are seen with their hoary locks interwoven, and fastened behind, or sometimes gathered into a shaggy knot on the crown of the head. The chiefs are more nicely adjusted: they attend to ornament, but it is a manly attention, not the spirit of intrigue or the affectation of appearing amiable in the eyes of women. When going to engage the enemy, they fancy that from the high structure of their hair they appear taller and gain an air of ferocity. Their dress is a preparation for battle.

The Semnonēs² are ambitious to be thought the most ancient and respectable of the Suevian nation. Their claim they think confirmed by the mysteries of religion. On a stated day a procession is made into a wood consecrated in ancient times, and rendered awful by auguries delivered down from age to age. The several tribes of the same descent appear by their deputies. The rites begin with the slaughter of a man, who is offered as a victim, and thus their barbarous

struction of the wall erected by the emperor Probus, became the theatre of war, was alternately called Alamanni and Suabia.

¹ It should seem, from what is here said, that the rest of the Germans let their hair flow loosely about their head and shoulders. Martial, in his first book (epigram iii.) on the public spectacles exhibited at Rome, talks of the Sicambri with their hair collected into a knot.

² The Semnonēs occupied both banks of the Viadrus (now the ODER), with part of Pomerania, Brandenburg, and also of Silesia.

worship is celebrated by an act of horror. The grove is beheld with superstitious terror. No man enters that holy sanctuary without being bound with a chain, thereby denoting his humble sense of his own condition, and the superior attributes of the deity that fills the place. Should he happen to fall, he does not presume to rise, but in that grovelling state makes his way out of the wood. The doctrine intended by this bigotry is, that from this spot the whole nation derives its origin, and that here is the sacred mansion of the all-ruling mind, the supreme God of the universe, who holds every thing else in a chain or dependence on his will and pleasure. To these tenets much credit arises from the weight and influence of the Semnoncs, a populous nation, distributed into a hundred cantons, and by the vast extent of their territory entitled to consider themselves as the head of the Suevian nation.

The Langobards¹ exhibit a contrast to the people last described. Their dignity is derived from the paucity of their numbers. Surrounded as they are by great and powerful nations, they live independent, owing their security not to mean compliances, but to that warlike spirit with which they encounter danger. To these succeed in regular order the Reudignians,² the Aviones, Angles, and Varinians: the Eudo-

¹ The Langobards are supposed, in the time of Augustus, to have inhabited the country now called Lunenburg and Magdeburg, on the west side of the Elbe. Velleius Paterculus says they were subdued by Tiberius, when he commanded in Germany, and that they were a people that exceeded even German ferocity. Seutonius (*Life of Augustus*) says they were driven beyond the Elbe. It is evident, however, that they afterwards recovered their strength, since we find the dominion of the Langobards flourishing in Italy, till in the year 784 they were totally subdued by Charlemagne. Their code of laws is preserved by Lindenbrogius. Tacitus has made no mention of the Burgundians, perhaps because they were in his time of little or no consideration; though at the end of several centuries, they were able to make an irruption into Gaul, where they possessed the country which, after them, is to this day called the province of Burgundy. The Burgundian laws are still extant.

² With regard to the seven nations here enumerated, there are no lights of history to guide us at a distant period. Brotier supposes

cians, Nuithones, and Suardonians, all defended by rivers, or embosomed in forests. In these several tribes there is nothing that merits attention, except that they all agree to worship the goddess Earth, or, as they call her, Herth,¹ whom they consider as the common mother of all. This divinity, according to their notion, interposes in human affairs, and, at times, visits the several nations of the globe. A sacred grove on an island² in the Northern Ocean is dedicated to her.

that the Reudignians dwelt in what is now called Mecklenburg and Lauenburg. The Aviones, he thinks, were situated in a portion of the duchy of Mecklenburg, near a river which, after their name, is called Ava by the inhabitants. The Varinians are generally thought to have occupied the eastern part of Mecklenburg, where the city of Warren stands at present. The Eudosians, the Nuithones and Suardonians, are almost lost in mists of antiquity. The Angles are better known. They occupied part of Holstein and Sleiswick. In the fifth century they joined the Saxons in their expedition into Britain, and, by giving the name of England to the southern part of the island, immortalized the glory of their nation.

¹ "It was the opinion of all the Celtic nations, and of the ancient Syrians, that the Supreme Being, or celestial God, had united with the earth to produce the inferior deities, man, and all other creatures. Upon this was founded that veneration they had for the earth, which they considered as a goddess. They called her MOTHER EARTH, and the HERTHA of the Germans was the same as *Frica* or *Frea*, the wife of Odin, mother of the gods; she was also known under the name of ASTAGOOD, or the goddess of love; a name not very remote from the ASTARTE of the Phœnicians; and under that of GOYA, which the ancient Greeks gave to the earth. The FATHER of the gods and MOTHER EARTH were called by some of the Scythian nations JUPITER and APIA; by the Thracians, COTIS and BENDIS; by the inhabitants of Greece and Italy, SATURN and OPS. Antiquity is full of traces of this worship, which was formerly universal. The Scythians adored the earth as a goddess, wife of the Supreme God; the Turks celebrated her in their hymns, and the Persians offered sacrifices to her." *Northern Antiquities*.

² Cluverius pretends that the island intended by Tacitus is the isle of RUGEN, which is in the Baltic sea, on the coast of Pomerania. He mentions a forest on the island, in the midst of which was a vast lake, always an object of superstition. La Bletterie observes, that Hel-

There stands her sacred chariot, covered with a vestment, to be touched by the priest only. When she takes her seat in this holy vehicle, he becomes immediately conscious of her presence, and in his fit of enthusiasm pursues her progress. The chariot is drawn by cows yoked together. A general festival takes place, and public rejoicings are heard, wherever the goddess directs her way. No war is thought of; arms are laid aside, and the sword is sheathed. The sweets of peace are known, and then only relished. At length the same priest declares the goddess satisfied with her visitation, and re-conducts her to her sanctuary. The chariot with the sacred mantle, and, if we may believe report, the goddess herself, are purified in a sacred lake. In this ablution certain slaves officiate, and instantly perish in the water. Hence the terrors of superstition are more widely diffused; a religious horror seizes every mind, and all are content in pious ignorance to venerate that awful mystery, which no man can see and live. This part of the Suevian nation stretches away to the most remote and unknown recesses of Germany.

ON the banks of the Danube (for we shall now pursue that river, in the same manner as we have traced the course of the Rhine,) the first and nearest state is that of the Her-

— moldus, a writer of the twelfth century, calls the isle of RUGEN the centre of paganism till the missionaries converted the natives, and built a church. But the Christian religion did not long prevail. The islanders, relapsing into their former errors, banished the priests, and changed the church into a temple for their pagan worship. And yet, as Tacitus places this island in the ocean, and as he afterwards mentions the Rugians (see s. xliii.), without ascribing to them the same religious rites, it is more likely to have been the isle of HEILIGELAND, which is not far from the mouth of the Elbe. The Angles (from whom our English ancestors derived their name) were seated on this coast; and Arnkiel hath shown, in his Cimbric Antiquities, that the ancient Germans held this island in great veneration. The word HEILIGELAND signifies "Holy Land." Other learned men pretend that the isle in question was Zealand; but it is, after all, not very certain or important.

mundurians,¹ a people in alliance with Rome, acting always with fidelity, and for that reason allowed to trade not only on the frontier, but even within the limits of the empire. They are seen at large in the heart of our splendid colony in the province of Rhætia, without so much as a guard to watch their motions. To the rest of the Germans we display camps and legions, but to the Hermundurians we grant the exclusive privilege of seeing our houses and our elegant villas. They behold the splendour of the Romans, but without avarice, or a wish to enjoy it. In the territories of these people the Elbe takes its rise,² a celebrated river, and formerly well known to the Romans. At present we only hear of its name.

¹ We are now entering on what may be considered as the third part of this Treatise. In it he pursues the course of the Danube, as long as it divides Germany from the Vindelici, from Noricum, and Pannonia. He then follows the eastern side of the country, where a chain of mountains, or, as he expresses it, mutual fear, draws the line of separation from Dacia and Sarmatia. In this geographical chart, the first nation that occurs is that of the Hermundurians, who occupied a country of prodigious extent, at first between the Elbe, the river Sala, and Boiemum (now Bohemia), which became the territory of the Marcomanni, when that people expelled the Boians, and fixed their habitation in the conquered country. In the time of Tacitus the Hermundurians possessed the southern part of Germany, and, being faithful to the Romans, were highly favoured. In the reign of Marcus Aurelius they entered into a league with their countrymen, and met with a total defeat. The colony in the province of Rhætia (the country of the Grisons), where they enjoyed a free intercourse, was most probably AUGUSTA VINDELICORUM (now Ausburg). Vindelica was a part of Rhætia. The liberty of passing and repassing within the limits of the empire without a guard to watch their motions, which was granted to the Hermundurians, was a great mark of confidence. The like indulgence was not extended to other nations, as may be seen in the complaint of the Germans to the Ubians, then inhabitants of the Agrippinian colony: The earth, they say, the light of heaven, rivers and cities are barred against us; and, to the disgrace of men born to the use of arms, we are obliged to approach the walls of your city defenceless, naked, in the custody of a guard, and even for this a price is exacted.

² Tacitus is supposed in this place to be guilty of a geographical

Contiguous to the last mentioned people lies the country of the Nariscans, and next in order the Marcomannians and the Quadians.¹ Of these the Marcomannians are the most eminent for their strength and military glory. The very territory now in their possession is the reward of valour, acquired by the expulsion of the Boians. Nor have the Nariscans or Quadians degenerated from their ancestors. As far as Germany is washed by the Danube, these three nations extend along the banks, and from the frontier of the country. The Marcomannians and the Quadians, within our own memory, obeyed a race of kings, born among themselves, the illustrious issue of Maroboduus² and of Tudrus. Foreign princes

mistake. The source of the Elbe is in Bohemia, among the mountains that separate that country from Silesia. Bohemia, as will be seen in the following section, was, after the expulsion of the Boians, inhabited by the Marcomanni. It should, however, be remembered that the Hermundurians served in the army of Maroboduus, in his expedition against the Boians, and, perhaps, were rewarded with an allotment of lands in that part of Bohemia where the Elbe takes its rise.

¹ The Nariscans occupied the country between Bohemia and the Danube, which is now part of Bavaria. The Marcomannians, before they took possession of Boiemum, or Bohemia, are said to have inhabited the country near the Danube, now called the duchy of Wirtemberg, in the north part of the circle of Suabia. They derived their name from the circumstance of their being settled on the borders of Germany, the word *MARO* signifying a frontier or boundary. The Quadians occupied Moravia and part of Austria; in the time of Tacitus, a brave and warlike people, but in the reign of *VALENTINIAN* and *VALENS*, a nation of little consequence.

² Maroboduus was king of the Marcomannians. For an account of him, and his alliance with the Romans against Arminius, see Tacitus's *Annals*; and see Velleius Paterculus, who says, that this prince, a barbarian by his birth, not by his talents, was able to subdue the neighbouring states, or by conventions to reduce them to subjection. He was attacked afterwards by Catualda at the head of a powerful army, and driven from his throne. He fled for refuge into Italy, and lived a state prisoner at Ravenna during a space of twenty years, forgetting all his former dignity, and growing grey in disgrace and misery. *Annals*. With regard to Tudrus, the other prince mentioned by Tacitus, nothing is known at present.

at present sway the sceptre; but the strength of their monarchy depends upon the countenance and protection of Rome.¹ To our arms they are not often indebted: we choose rather to supply them with money.

At the back of the Marcomannians and Quadians lie several nations of considerable force, such as the Marsignians, the Gothinians, the Osians, and the Burians.² In dress and language the two last resemble the Suevians. The Gothinians, by their use of the Gallic tongue, and the Osians by the dialect of Pannonia, are evidently not of German original. A further proof arises from the submitting to the disgrace of paying tribute, imposed upon them as aliens and intruders, partly by the Sarmatians, and partly by the Quadians. The Gothinians have still more reason to blush; they submit to the drudgery of digging iron in mines.³ But a small part of

¹ We are told by Tacitus that it was the policy of Rome to make even kings the instruments of her ambition. With this view, the emperors disposed of sceptres whenever an occasion offered itself; and accordingly Tiberius, to keep in subjection a large body of German emigrants, appointed Vannius to reign over them. *Annals*. When the German prince was afterwards attacked by the Hermundurians, the emperor Claudius declined to take any part in the war, thinking it sufficient to promise the German king a safe retreat if the insurgents prevailed against him. *Annals*. We read in Dio that the Lygians, harassed in Mysia by the Suevians, sent their ambassadors to solicit the protection of Domitian, who was unwilling to involve the empire in a war, and therefore sent a slender force, but privately assisted with a supply of money.

² History has not left materials for an accurate account of the four nations here enumerated. The commentators, however, assign their territories in the following manner. The Marsignians dwelt on the northeast of Bohemia, near the Viadrus (now the ODER), which rises in Moravia, and runs through Silesia, Brandenburg, and Pomerania into the Baltic. The Gothinians inhabited part of Silesia, and Hungary. The Osians bordered on the last people, and extended as far as the Danube. The Burians were settled near the Krapack mountains and the sources of the Vistula.

³ The answer of Solon to Cræsus, king of Lydia, is well known: The people, he said, who have most iron, will be masters of all your gold. The Gothinians did not understand that plain and obvious truth.

the open and level country is occupied by these several nations: they dwell chiefly in forests, or on the summit of that continued ridge of mountains,¹ by which Suevia is divided and separated from other tribes that lie still more remote. Of these the Lygians² are the most powerful, stretching to a great extent, and giving their name to a number of subordinate communities. It will suffice to mention the most considerable; namely, the Arians, the Helvecomes, the Manimians, the Elysians, and Naharvalians.³ The last show a grove famous for the antiquity of its religious rites. The priest appears in a female dress. The gods whom they worship, are, in the language of the country, known by the name of Alcis, by Roman interpreters said to be Castor and Pollux.⁴ There are, indeed, no idols in their country; no symbolic representation; no traces of foreign superstition. And yet their two deities are adored in the character of young men and brothers. The Arians are not only superior to the other tribes

¹ These are the mountains between Moravia, Hungary, Silesia and Bohemia.

² The nations of the Lygians inhabited part of Silesia, of Prussia, and Poland as far as the banks of the Vistula. They are mentioned by Tacitus in his *Annals*.

³ The situation of these several tribes cannot be stated with any degree of certainty. Brotier, and other learned critics, place them in Silesia, Brandenburg, and Poland, between the Viadrus (the ODER) and the Vistula. Some of the commentators will have it, that the word *Silesia* was derived from the people called the ELYSIANS. The etymology seems to be strained, and how it is supported does not merit further inquiry.

⁴ The Romans worshipped Castor and Pollux, as two stars propitious to mariners. During a storm they saw meteors and glittering lights on the sails and masts of ships. Considering those exaltations as the forerunners of an approaching calm, they deified that phenomenon, and paid their adoration to it. The Naharvalians, who dwell near the Baltic, were well acquainted with this *ignis fatuus*, and called it in their own language, by the name of *Alff*, or *Alp*, which is still the term among the northern nations for the geni of the mountains. Tacitus, it is most likely, changed the word to ALCIS. This phenomenon is now known among Mediterranean sailors as St. Elmo's fire.

above mentioned, but are also more fierce and savage. Not content with their natural ferocity, they study to make themselves still more grim and horrible by every addition that art can devise. Their shields are black; their bodies painted of a deep colour,¹ and the darkest night is their time for rushing to battle. The sudden surprise and funeral gloom of such a band of sable warriors are sure to strike a panic through the adverse army, who fly the field, as if a legion of demons had broke loose to attack them; so true it is, that in every engagement the eye is first conquered. Beyond the Lygians the next state is that of the Gothones,² who live under regal government, and are, by consequence, ruled with a degree of power more rigorous than other parts of Germany, yet not unlimited, nor entirely hostile to civil liberty. In the neighbourhood of these people, we find, on the sea-coast, the Rugians and Lemovians,³ both subject to royal authority. When their round shields and short swords are mentioned, there are no other particulars worthy of notice.

The people that next occur are the Suiones,⁴ who may be

¹ Cæsar says, the Britons in general paint themselves with woad, which gives a blue cast to the skin, and makes them look dreadful in battle. Book v. s. 14 The Britons, who retired to the hills of Caledonia, were called PICTS, from the custom of painting their bodies and their shields. The elder Pliny mentions the same custom among the Dacians and Sarmatians.

² The Gothones dwelt near the mouth of the Vistula, in part of Pomerania and the north-west of Poland. If they were not the same as the Goths, who will be mentioned hereafter, they were most probably in alliance with that famous people.

³ The Rugians were situated on the Baltic shore. The town of RUGENWALD and the isle of RUGEN are subsisting memorials of this people and their name. The Lemovians were in the neighbourhood of the Rugians on the coast of the Baltic, near the city of DANTZIG. History has recorded the exploits of the HERULI, who afterwards inhabited the territory of the last-mentioned people, and were the first of the Germans, who, under ODOACER, established themselves in Italy.

⁴ The Suiones occupied Sweden, and the Danish isles of Funen, Langland, Zealand, &c. From them and the Cimbrians issued forth the Norman race, who carried the terror of their arms through

said to inhabit the ocean itself. In addition to the strength of their armies, they have a powerful naval force.¹ The form of their ships is peculiar. Every vessel has a prow at each end, and by that contrivance is always ready to make head either way. Sails are not in use, nor is there a range of oars at the sides. The mariners, as often happens in the navigation of rivers, take different stations, and shift from one place to another, as the exigence may require. Riches are by this people held in great esteem,² and the public mind, debased by that passion, yields to the government of one with unconditional, with passive obedience. Despotism is here fully established. The people are not allowed to carry arms in common, like the rest of the German nations. An officer is appointed to keep in a magazine all the military weapons, and for this purpose a slave is always chosen. For this policy the osten-

several parts of Europe, and at length took possession of the fertile province in France, which derived from those adventurers the present name of Normandy. The GOTHs, VISIGOTHs, and OSTROGOTHs, overturned the Roman empire, and took the city of Rome, which had vainly promised itself an eternal duration, and boasted of the immovable stone of the capitol. The laws of the Visigoths are still extant, but they have not the simplicity of the German laws. The SUIONES are said by Tacitus to have dwelt in the ocean. Scandinavia (the ancient name of SWEDEN and NORWAY) was supposed to be an island.

¹ The naval force of the Suiones was for a long time considerable. Their descendants in the eleventh century, had the honour of framing the code of nautical laws, which were published at Wisby, the capital city of the isle of Gothland.

² As a proof of the vast wealth of the SUIONES, Adam of Bremen describes a temple built at Ubsola (now Upsal,) not far from the cities of Sictona and Birca. The temple, he says, is richly adorned with gold, and the people worship the statues of their principal gods. THOR is seated on a couch, with WODEN on one side, and FRICA on the other. Stockholm, the present capital of Sweden, rose out of the ruins of the two ancient cities of Sictona and Birca. The crown among the Suiones is said by the learned to have been hereditary, not elective; and this seems to be fairly inferred from an arbitrary government, that knew no limitations, no uncertain or precarious rule of submission.

sible reason is, that the ocean is their natural fence against foreign invasions, and in time of peace the giddy multitude, with arms ready at hand, soon proceeds from luxury to tumult and commotion. But the truth is, the jealousy of a despotic prince does not think it safe to commit the care of his arsenal to the nobles or the men of ingenuous birth. Even a manumitted slave is not fit to be trusted.

At the further extremity beyond the Suiones there is another sea,¹ whose sluggish waters seem to be in a state of stagnation. By this lazy element the globe is said to be encircled, and the supposition receives some colour of probability from an extraordinary phenomenon well known in those regions. The rays of the setting sun continue till the return of day, to brighten the hemisphere with so clear a light, that the stars are imperceptible. To this it is added by vulgar credulity, that when the sun begins to rise, the sound of the emerging luminary is distinctly heard, and the very form of the horses, the blaze of glory round the head of the god, is palpable to the sight. The boundaries of nature, it is generally believed, terminate here.

On the coast to the right of the Suevian ocean the Æstyans² have fixed habitation. In their dress and manners they resemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to the dialect of Britain. They worship the mother of the gods.³ The figure of a wild boar is the symbol of their superstition; and he, who has that emblem about him, thinks himself secure even in the thickest ranks of the enemy, without any need of arms, or any other mode of defence. The use of iron is unknown, and their general weapon is a club. In

¹ The Frozen Ocean, which begins in latitude 81.

² The Æstyans inhabited the kingdom of Prussia, Samogitia and Courland, and the palatinate of Livonia. La Bletterie is of the opinion, that they were called ÆSTYI from the word EST, because they were situated on the eastern side of Germany, on the borders of the Suevian Ocean, or the Baltic Sea.

³ FREA, or FRICA, was deemed to be the mother of the gods. Vestiges of her worship are still subsisting in Sweden, where the peasants, in the month of February (the season formerly sacred to FREA,) make boars of paste, and use them in superstitious ceremonies.

the cultivation of corn, and other fruits of the earth, they labour with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is exerted in another instance: they explore the sea for amber, in their language called GLESE,¹ and are the only people who gather that curious substance. It is generally found among the shallows; sometimes on the shore. Concerning the nature or the causes of this concretion, the barbarians, with their usual want of curiosity, make no inquiry. Amongst other superfluities discharged by the sea, this substance lay long neglected, till Roman luxury gave it a name, and brought it into request. To the savages it is of no use. They gather it in rude heaps, and offer it to sale without any form or polish, wondering at the price they receive for it. There is reason to think that amber is a distillation from certain trees, since in the transparent medium we see a variety of insects, and even animals of the wing, which, being caught in the viscous fluid, are afterwards, when it grows hard, incorporated with it. It is probable, therefore, that as the east has its luxuriant plantations, where balm and frankincense perspire through the pores of trees, so the continents and islands of the west have their prolific groves, whose juices, fermented by the heat of the sun, dissolve into a liquid matter, which falls into the sea, and, being there condensed, is afterwards discharged by the winds and waves on the opposite shore. If you make an experiment of amber by the application of fire, it kindles, like a torch, emitting a fragrant flame, and in a little time, taking the tenacious nature of pitch or rosin.² Beyond the Suiones, we next find the nation of Sitones,³ differing in nothing from the former, except the tameness, with which they suffer a

¹ *i. e.*, GLASS. Pliny says that it was found in great quantities in the islands of the northern seas, and that one of those islands, remarkably productive, was known by the name of *Glessaria*.

² A late writer (Formey, of the Academy at Berlin), who pursued his inquiry with unwearied diligence, has concluded, not without probability, that amber is a fluid that oozes from pine and poplar trees.

³ The Sitones, according to Brotier and others, were inhabitants of Norway; and since they are mentioned as a people included

woman to reign over them.¹ Of this people it is not enough to say, that they have degenerated from civil liberty; they are sunk below slavery itself. At this place ends the territory of the Suevians.

Whether the Peucinians,² the Venedians, and Fennians are to be accounted Germans, or classed with the people of Sarmatia,³ is a point not easy to be determined: though the

in the general name of the Suevian nation, an idea may be formed of the vast extent of that prodigious territory, reaching from the Baltic to the Danube.

¹ Tacitus makes this reflection in the true spirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country, not to suffer the softer sex to intermeddle in any department of the state. The ladies at Rome, were during their whole lives, subject to the authority of their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers. Freinshemius is angry with Tacitus for the opinion which so pointedly proscribes a female reign. He says that, in the time of Tacitus, Norway was governed by a queen distinguished by her spirit of enterprise.

² The Peucinians, often known by the name of Bastarnians, and so called by Pliny, dwelt on the eastern side of Germany, and extended as far as the island now called Piczina, which is formed by the branches of the Danube, near the Pontic Sea. The territory of the Venedians, a contiguous people, lay on the north-east side of Germany, and stretched over a long tract of country as far as the SINUS VENEDICUS, now the gulf of Dantzic. When the German nations burst into Italy, France, and Spain, the Venedians, who were also called WINEDI, settled on vacant lands between the Vistula and the Elbe, and soon after crossed the Danube to plant themselves in Dalmatia, Illyricum, and Carniola near the Noric Alps. Their language was the Scalavonian, which subsists at this day. The FENNIANS are described by Pliny, who calls their country Eningia, but, as Brotier observes, the better reading seems to be Feningia; now Finland, a province of Sweden.

³ Sarmatia (as has been mentioned s. i. note) was divided from Germany by the Vistula, and a range of mountains; but still we find, that, towards the north, part of the country on the east side of that river was supposed to belong to Germany, and was called GERMANIA TRANSVISTULANA. Tacitus, however, assigns all beyond the Vistula to Sarmatia. Modern geographers upon the authority of Pliny and other writers, considered the Peucinians and Venedians

Peucinians, called by some the Bastarnians, bear a strong resemblance to the Germans. They use the same language: their dress and habitations are the same, and they are equally inured to sloth and filth. Of late, however, in consequence of frequent intermarriages between their leading chieftains and the families of Sarmatia, they have been tainted with the manners of that country. The Venedians are a counterpart of the Sarmatians: like them they lead a wandering life, and support themselves by plunder amidst the woods and mountains, that separate the Peucinians and the Fennians. They are, notwithstanding, to be ascribed to Germany, inasmuch as they have settled habitations, know the use of shields, and travel always on foot, remarkable for their swiftness. The Sarmatians, on the contrary, live altogether on horseback or in wagons. Nothing can equal the ferocity of the Fennians,¹ nor is there any thing so disgusting as their filth and poverty. Without arms, without horses, and without a fixed place of abode, they lead a vagrant life; their food the common herbage; the skins of beasts their only clothing, and the bare earth their resting-place. For their chief support they depend on their arrows, to which, for want of iron, they prefix a pointed bone. The women follow the chase in company with the men, and claim their share of the prey. To protect their infants from the fury of wild beasts, and the inclemency of the weather, they make a kind of cradle amidst the branches of trees interwoven together, and they know no other expedient. The youth of the country have the same habitation, and amidst the trees old age is rocked to rest. Savage as this way of life may seem, they prefer it to the drudgery of the field, the labour of building, and the painful vicissitudes of hope and fear, which always

as German nations, and therefore, in their charts, called their territory by the name of GERMANO-SARMATIA. It is evident, that, living beyond the Vistula, they were properly inhabitants of Sarmatia, though their language, their modes of life, and their apparel, clearly demonstrate a German origin.

¹ The Fennians, or, in modern language, the Finlanders, were settled in Scandinavia, which was reckoned part of Germany.

attend the defence and the acquisition of property. Secure against the passions of men, and fearing nothing from the anger of the gods, they have attained that uncommon state of felicity, in which there is no craving left to form a single wish.

The rest of what I have been able to collect is too much involved in fable, of a colour with the accounts of the Hellusians¹ and the Oxionians, of whom we are told that they have the human face, with the limbs and bodies of wild beasts. But reports of this kind, unsupported by proof, I shall leave to the pen of others.²

¹ The Hellusians and Oxionians, who are the last people mentioned by Tacitus, are supposed by learned antiquaries to have been inhabitants of Lapland. Nothing more is known of them, than that fame reported them to be an ambiguous mixture of the human countenance and the limbs of wild beasts. What gave birth to those ancient fables was, probably, the dress of the natives, who, in those regions of frost and snow, were covered with the hides of animals, like the Samojedes, and other savage nations near the Frozen Ocean.

² The readers of these notes may ask how it has happened that the manners of the ancient Germans can be traced with so much certainty in all the countries of Europe? The answer is obvious. The descendants of those people, when they made their irruption into France, Spain, and Italy, carried with them the manners of their country, and founded laws, which sprung from the same source. The codes still extant, such as the Salic, the Ripuarian, the Burgundian, the Lombard, and many others, evidently bespeak their German origin. The Anglo-Saxon government in this country plainly shows from what soil it sprung. The *michelgemote*, or great meeting; the *wittena-gemote*, or meeting of the wise men; the shires, the hundreds the composition for homicide, and, above all, the limited authority of the king, are manifest proofs of the obligation the people of England are under to their German ancestors for that free constitution, which for so many centuries has stood the shock of civil wars, and, though often tottering on the brink of destruction, still rears its head, the pride of every honest Briton, and the wonder of foreign nations.

Sir William Blackstone, who knew how to be profound with ease and elegance, has truly said, if we would investigate the elements

of the English laws, the originals should be traced to their fountains; to the customs of the Britons and Germans, as recorded by Cæsar and Tacitus; to the codes of the northern nations, and, more especially, to those of the Saxon princes; but, above all, to that inexhaustible reservoir of antiquities, the Feodal Law, or, as Spelman has entitled it, the Law of Nations in our Western Orb. The same observation has been made by Vertot with regard to the constitution of the French monarchy, which stood, for a length of time, on the foundation of civil liberty, till the three estates, or general council of the realm, were merged in a supreme court of justice, improperly called a parliament. Vertot has given a compendious view of Tacitus, and, by a curious parallel between the manners of the Franks and those of the ancient Germans, has clearly shown the origin of the French constitution. Those pieces are a just commentary on Tacitus; and, if we add the laws and institutions of other parts of Europe, we shall be of opinion with Montesquieu, that "in Cæsar and Tacitus we read the code of Barbarian laws, and in the code we read Cæsar and Tacitus."

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